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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS
AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

Vol IV

(PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA, KARMAVIVAKA,
ANTYESTI, ĀSAUCA, ŚUDDHI, SRĀDDHA
AND TĪRTHAYĀTRA)

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

1953

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PREFACE

The third volume of the History of Dharmasāstra was published in October 1946. In the brief preface to that volume I intimated that the remaining topics of Dharmasāstra would be dealt with in one volume. But as I proceeded with the task I found that that was a miscalculation. To present in one volume all the topics that remained in the manner and on the scale that I had adopted in the first three volumes was found to be impossible. Besides, as my age advanced, I could not maintain the same speed and finish the whole history in a few years as I intimated I would do in the preface to the third volume. Therefore, I had to decide, however reluctantly, to spread the remaining work over two volumes. Owing to the scarcity of paper and paucity of skilled workers, this volume has been in the press for more than three years. This volume deals with eight topics, viz Pātaṅga, Prāyascitta, Karmaṇipāka, Antyesti, Āśauca, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and Tirthayātrā. These subjects are of great interest to anthropologists. There was great temptation for me, when dealing with these topics, to indulge in dwelling upon similar beliefs, usages and rites described in such works as Frazer's 'Golden Bough.' For two reasons, however, I have rarely succumbed to this temptation. In the first place, there was the fear of increasing the bulk of the work which has already assumed enormous proportions. In the second place, dwelling on comparisons of ancient and medieval Indian usages and rites with similar usages and rites found elsewhere is liable to serious misunderstanding. Frazer's volumes are largely made up of materials concerning the beliefs, usages and rites of very primitive people. It appeared to me that readers of such comparisons might be led to think that people in ancient and medieval India were at a primitive stage of culture, while as a matter of fact they had a very high culture in most matters, although they retained certain beliefs and usages derived from remote antiquity. Many cultured societies retain some usages that belong to periods of antiquity. The queen in France was not to leave for a whole year the room in which the death of her consort was announced to her. Wretched old women deemed to be witches were prosecuted and sentenced to death in England up to the beginning

of the eighteenth century, while Manu (IX. 290) more than two thousand years ago prescribed the mild punishment of a fine of two hundred *panas* for all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites and for raising ghosts and goblins. My main aim has throughout been to discover, collect, classify and interpret the facts of the various departments of Dharmaśāstra and my endeavour has been, as far as in me lies, to present the truth with detachment and intellectual integrity and without bias (except what might have been unconsciously engendered in my mind owing to my being born and brought up in a brāhmaṇa family) to show the continuity, the developments and transformations in Indian beliefs, rites and usages throughout the ages and, while bringing the past in its causal relations with the present, to indicate and suggest future trends and changes in these matters. †

The fifth and last volume will mainly deal with the following subjects *vratas* and *utsavas*, *sānti* rites, *kāla* and *muhūrta*; *paurāṇa-dharma*, the influence of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* and other *śāstras* on *dharmaśāstra*; the cosmological, religious and philosophical background of *dharmaśāstra*; the fundamental aspects of our culture through the ages; the impact of modern social and other ideas and trends on the dogmas and ideals of *dharmaśāstra* and the future of the latter. This by itself is rather an ambitious programme. Now that I am over seventy-three years of age and suffering from several ailments I have misgivings whether I would be able to write this last volume and publish it while all mental and physical faculties are sound. I am myself extremely anxious to write this last volume as early as possible and bring to a conclusion an undertaking to which I have devoted all my leisure for over thirty years regardless of monetary losses and bodily ailments. With that object in view I have given up either entirely or very largely most of my other activities and engagements and have thereby offended many of my friends.

This volume also is full of quotations, references to inscriptions and judicial decisions. The reasons for this have

† Prof. J. B. Bury, a distinguished Professor of History in the Cambridge University, thought that freedom from bias was not possible and was not also desirable, since a man writing history completely free from bias would produce a colourless and dull work. Vide 'Selected Essays' (edited by Harold Temperley, 1930) p. 70

been stated at length in the preface to the second volume and therefore they need not be repeated here. The list of additions to this volume is much larger than in the preceding volumes. I may be pardoned for frankly stating the reason. The first and second volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra were published so far back as 1930 and 1941 respectively. No second edition of these has yet been called. It seems to me quite possible that during my life-time no second edition of the volumes of the History, or at least of this volume, might appear. Therefore, I tried to incorporate by way of additions such information as had escaped me while the work was being written in order to make it as complete as possible.

I now discharge the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, and the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East have been very useful in preparing this volume as in the case of its predecessors. Paramahansa Swami Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai has been a tower of strength in all matters of doubt and difficulty and has helped me by offering prompt guidance in solving some intricate problems. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, for help in the correction of proofs and to Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, and Tarkatīrtha Raghunāth Shāstri Kojke of Lonavla for reading the printed sheets as they came and making valuable suggestions.

It is difficult to name all those who in various ways, during the progress of this volume for over six years, kindly rendered assistance, but I should like to make special mention of Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. P. K. Gode, Tarka-tīrtha Lakṣmanashāstri Joshi, Mr. G. H. Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, Dr. Umesha Mishra, Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. L. Renou, Prof. H. D. Velankar. Thanks are due to these scholars and many others for help and interest in this volume. I am conscious that in spite of so much help and generous encouragement from friends there are in this volume several mistakes, the sole responsibility for which rests on my shoulders. In a work replete with thousands of quotations and references

it is quite likely that many slips have escaped my attention. § For these and for the elision of a few diacritical marks and the displacement of parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing the indulgence and forgiveness of all readers are sought. I sincerely thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press Poona, for carrying out the work of printing this volume with care in spite of difficulties caused by paper and labour shortage.

BOMBAY, }
10-10-1953 }

P V KANE

§ I take this opportunity of correcting two mistakes that I regret I committed in the third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra. In note 1886 on p 968 (of vol III) I refer to a work of Mr Batuknath Bhattacharya that contains a full treatment of *Kalivarjya*. I suggested in that note that Mr. Bhattacharya probably retouched his thesis after 1937 though it was written in 1933, in view of the fact that he referred to the *Smṛtimuktāphala* (which was published in 1937 by Mr Gharpure). Through oversight I forgot that Mr. Bhattacharya had expressly stated that he used the transcript of a ms of the *Smṛtimuktāphala* specially made for him. Therefore, I was wrong in my surmise that he probably retouched his thesis and I must say that the thesis as published in 1943 is the same as that written in 1933 for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize. The second mistake refers to Dr. U. N. Ghosal on p 32 (of vol III). I stated 'it is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U Ghosal and others do that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manusmṛiti to support the brāhmana empire of Puryamitra'. In writing this sentence my memory was at fault. I find that Dr. Ghosal does not hold the view that I attributed to him. In the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' (vol 23, pp 68-70) Dr Ghosal justly protests against my bracketing him with Jayaswal, but I cannot help observing that the last sentence in the paper shows unexpected acerbity. In his whole career as a writer Dr Ghosal was not probably guilty of a single slip and could not therefore bring himself to believe that my mistake might have been *bona fide*.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Most of the abbreviations on pp. 728-29
are not included in this list)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>A. G. = Ancient Geography of India</p> <p>Am. A. = Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal</p> <p>Art. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</p> <p>A. I. R. = All India Reporter</p> <p>A. K. D. = Antyakarmadīpika</p> <p>All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad series</p> <p>Anu. = Anuśāsanaparva</p> <p>Āp. = Āpastamba</p> <p>Āp. Dh. or Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastambadharmasūtra</p> <p>Āp. Gr. = Āpastambagrhyasūtra</p> <p>Āp. M. P. = Āpastambamantrapātha</p> <p>Āp. Śr. or Āp. Śr. S. or Āp. Ś. S. = Āpastambasrautasūtra</p> <p>A. S. R. = Archaeological Survey Reports</p> <p>Āśv. gr. or Āśv. gr. S. = Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra</p> <p>Āśv. Śr. S. or Āśv. Śr. = Āśvalāyanasrautasūtra</p> <p>A. V. = Atharvaveda</p> <p>Baud. = Baudhāyana</p> <p>Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyanadharmasūtra</p> <p>Baud. Gr. = Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra</p> <p>Baud. P. S. = Baudhāyanapitrmedhasūtra</p> <p>Baud. Śr. = Baudhāyanasrautasūtra</p> <p>Beng. L. R. = Bengal Law Reports</p> <p>Bom. G. = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes</p> | <p>B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series</p> <p>Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay series</p> <p>Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter</p> <p>Br. Up. = Brhadāranyakopaniṣad</p> <p>B. R. W. W. = Buddhist Records of the Western World by Beal</p> <p>Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta series</p> <p>C. I. I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</p> <p>Chān. Up. = Chāndogyopaniṣad</p> <p>C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal</p> <p>C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes</p> <p>Dh. or Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra</p> <p>ed. = edited</p> <p>E. I. = Epigraphia Indica</p> <p>Gaut. or Gaut. Dh. S. = Gautamadharmasūtra</p> <p>Gobhila Gr. = Gobhila-grhyasūtra</p> <p>G. O. S. = Gaikwad Oriental series</p> <p>G. P. S. = Gautama-pitrmedhasūtra</p> <p>Gr. R. = Grastharatnākara</p> <p>H. of D. or H. of Dh. = History of Dharmasāstra</p> <p>Hir. Gr. or Hir. gr. = Hīranyakeśigrhyasūtra</p> <p>Hir. P. S. = Hīranyakeśipitrmedhasūtra</p> <p>I. A. = Indian Antiquary or Law Reports, Indian Appeals (according to context)</p> <p>I. L. R. = Indian Law Reports series</p> |
|--|--|

- I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
 J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
 Jai = Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra
 Jaimini Gr. = Jaimini-grhya-sūtra
 JBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
 Jiv. = Jivananda Vidyāsagara's edition
 J. O. R. = Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)
 J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
 Kāt = Kātyāyana
 Kāt Śr. or Kāt. Śr. S. = Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra
 Kāthaka Gr. = Kāthaka-grhya-sūtra
 Kātyāyana = Kātyāyana-smṛtisāroddhāra (ed. by me)
 Kauś or Kauśika = Kauśikasūtra
 Kaus Up = Kausītaki Upaniṣad
 Khādīra Gr. = Khādīra-grhya-sūtra
 m = mentioned
 Märk = Märkandeyapurāna
 Mit = Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yājñavalkya
 M. S. = Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā
 Nir = Nirukta
 Nirn. = Nirṇayasāgara Press ed
 Pān = Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī
 Pār. gr. = Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra
 Par M. = Parāśara-Mādhaviya
 Pr M. = Prāyaścitta-mayūkha
 Pr. Pr. or Pr Prakāśa = Prāyaścitta-prakāśa
 Pr. Prakarana = Prāyaścitta-prakarana
 Pr S or Pr. sāra = Prāyaścittasāra
 Pr T or Pr Tattva = Prāyaścittatattva
 Pr. V. or Pr. Vī. = Prāyaścittaviveka
 q = quoted
 Q. B. D. = Queen's Bench Division
 Rg. = Rgveda
 Sāma. Br. = Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa
 Śān. Br. = Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa
 Śān. gr. = Śāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra
 Śān Sr or Śān. Śr. S. = Śāṅkhāyanaśrauta-sūtra
 Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
 Sat Śr = Satyāsādhaśrauta-sūtra
 S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Maxmuller)
 S K. = Suddhikaumudī
 S. K. L. = Śrāddhakalpalatā
 Sm. C. or Smr. C. = Smṛticandrikā
 Smr M = Smṛtimuktāphala
 Śr. P. or Śr Pr = Śrāddhaprakāśa
 Śr. K. K. = Śrāddhakriyākaumudī
 S. V = Sāmaveda
 Tai Ā. or Tai. Ār = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
 Tai Br = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
 Tai. S. = Taittirīya Saṃhitā
 Tai Up = Taittirīya-upaniṣad
 Tāndya Br. = Tāndyamahābrāhmaṇa
 Tīr. C. = Tīrthacintāmaṇi
 Tīr. K = Tīrthakalpataru
 Tīrthapr. or Tīr Pr. = Tīrthaprakāśa
 Trī. S. = Tristhalisetu
 T S = Tīrthasāra
 Up. = Upaniṣad
 Vaik Smārta or Vaik Sm. S. = Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra
 Vaik Śr or Vaik Śr. S. = Vaikhāṇasaśrauta-sūtra
 Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā
 Vas = Vasistha-dharma-sūtra

Viṣṇu Dh. or Viṣṇu Dh. S. =

Viṣṇudharmasūtra

Vy. M. = Vyavahāramayūkha

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti

अ. क. दी. = अन्यकर्मदीपक

अग्नि. or अग्निपु. = अग्निपुराण

अथर्व. = अथर्ववेद

अनु. = अनुशासनपर्व

अन्येष्टिप. = अन्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायण

आ. गृ. परि. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यपरिशिष्ट

आप. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

आप. गृ. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र

आप ध. or आप. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

आप म. पा = आपस्तम्बमन्त्रपाठ

आप. श्रौ. or आ. श्रौ. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र

आश्व गृ. परि. = आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट

आश्व. गृ. or आश्व गृ सू. = आश्वलायनगृह्य-
सूत्र

आश्व. श्रौ. or आश्व श्रौ. सू. = आश्वलायन-
श्रौतसूत्र

ऋ. = ऋग्वेद

ऐ आ. = ऐतरेय-आरण्यक

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण

क. उप. or कठ. or कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्

कल्प. = कृत्यकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर

कात्या. = कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार

का. श्रौ. सू. or कात्या. श्रौ. or कात्या. श्रौ. सू.

= कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र

कौ. ब्रा. उप. or कौषीतकि-ब्रा. उप. =

कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्

गङ्गाभक्ति. or गङ्गाभ. = गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी

गङ्गावाक्या or गङ्गावा. = गङ्गावाक्यावलि

गरुड or गरुडपु. = गरुडपुराण

गृह र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर

गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र

गौ. पि. सू. = गौतमपितृमेधसूत्र

चतुर्विंशति. or चतुर्विंश. or चतु सं. = चतु-

विंशतिमतसंग्रह

चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of हेमाद्रि

छा. उप. or छां. उप. or छान्दोग्योप. =

छान्दोग्योपनिषद्

ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण

तीर्थकल्प. = कल्पतरु on तीर्थ (G. O. S.)

ती. प्र. or तीर्थप्र. = तीर्थप्रकाश

ती. चि. or तीर्थचि. = तीर्थचिन्तामणि of
वाचस्पति

तै आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक

तै. उप. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्

तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण

तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता

त्रि. से. सा. स. = त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसङ्ग्रह of
भट्टोजि

त्रिस्थली = त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट

निर्णय. or नि. सि = निर्णयसिन्धु

पद्म. or पद्मपु. = पद्मपुराण

परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय

पा = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी

पार. गृ. = पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र

पृथ्वी. or पृथ्वीच. or पृथ्वीचन्द्र. = पृथ्वी-
चन्द्रोदय

प्राय. तत्त्व = प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व

प्राय. प्रकरण or प्राय प्रक. = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण

प्रा प्रकाश = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश

प्राय. वि or प्रा. वि. or प्राय. वि. = प्राय-
श्चित्तविवेक

प्राय. म. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख

प्राय. सा. or प्राय. सार = प्रायश्चित्तसार

बृह उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्

बृ. सं = बृहत्संहिता of बराहमिहिर

बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र

बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र

बौ. श्रौ. = बौधायनश्रौतसूत्र

ब्रह्मपु. = ब्रह्मपुराण

भवि पु or भविष्यपु. = भविष्यपुराण

मत्स्य = मत्स्यपुराण

मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात

मनु = मनुस्मृति

महार्णव = महार्णवकर्मविपाक (ms.)

मानवगृ. = मानवगृह्यसूत्र

मिता. = मिताक्षरा

मेधा. = मेधातिथि, commentator of मनु

मै. सं = मैत्रायणीसंहिता

या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति

राजत. = राजतरङ्गिणी of कल्हण

वाज सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता

वायु or वायुपु. = वायुपुराण

विष्णुपु = विष्णुपुराण

वि र. = विवादरत्नाकर

विष्णु or विष्णुध. सू = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र

वृद्ध्या. = वृद्ध्यागवल्क्य

वे. सू = वेदान्तसूत्र

व्यव नि = व्यवहारनिर्णय

व्य म. = व्यवहारमयूख

गत ब्रा or गतपथ or गतपथब्रा. = गतपथ-
ब्राह्मण

गातातप = गातातपस्मृति

शाङ्खायनब्रा or शा ब्रा = शाङ्खायनब्राह्मण

शा. श्रौ. or शां श्रौ. सू. = शाङ्खायनश्रौतसूत्र

शान्ति = शान्तिपर्व

शु कौ. or शुद्धिकौ. = शुद्धिकौमुदी

शुद्धिकल्प. = कल्पतरु on शुद्धि

शुद्धिप्र or शु प्र. = शुद्धिप्रकाश

श्रा. क ल = श्राद्धकल्पलता

श्रा. कि कौ = श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी

श्राद्धप्र. or श्रा. प्र = श्राद्धप्रकाश

सत्या श्रौ. = सत्यापाठश्रौतसूत्र

साम ब्रा = सामविधानब्राह्मण

स्कन्द or स्कन्दपु = स्कन्दपुराण

स्मृतिव = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका

स्मृतिपु or स्मृ सु. = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल

श्रा. वि = श्राद्धविवेक of स्मधर

हिर गृ. or हिरण्य गृ. = हिरण्यकेशिगृह्यसूत्र

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

some important Sanskrit works and authors referred
to in volume IV

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and disputed by several scholars. Most of the dates about authors from the 8th or 9th century refer to the probable periods of their literary activity except in the case of a few authors such as Śaṅkarācārya and Vidyāpati.

4000 B. C.—1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmanas and Upanisads. Some hymns of the Ṛgveda, of the Atharvaveda, and in the Taittiriya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B. C. and some of the Upanisads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C. Some scholars have criticized me for ascribing the vedic samhitās to such an early date as 4000 B. C. Time and health permitting, I may have to deal with this question in a separate work after I finish the 5th and last volume on which I am now engaged.

800 B. C.—500 B. C.—The Nirukta of Yāska

800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal śrautasūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyāsīdha and others) and some of the grhyasūtras (such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana)

600—300 B. C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasīṣṭha and the Grhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—The Bhagavadgītā

300 B. C.—Vararuci Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pāṇini's sūtras

300 B. C.—100 A. D.—Arthaśāstra of Kautilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter)

150 B. C.—100 A. D. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (probably nearer the former date than the latter)

200 B. C.—100 A. D.—Manusmṛti

- 100 A. D.-300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 100 A. D.-300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra
 100 A. D.-400 A. D.—Nārada-smṛti
 200 A. D.-400 A. D.—Śabara's bhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra (rather nearer the former date)
 300 A. D.-500 A. D.—Brhaspati-smṛti on Vyavahāra and other topics (not yet found) Extracts on Vyavahāra were translated in S. B. E. vol. 33 and extracts on many topics of Dharma were collected by Prof. Rangasvami Aiyangar and published in Gaikwad Oriental series
 300 A. D.-600 A. D.—Some of the extant Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇdeya, Matsya, Kūrma
 500 A. D.-550 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Pañca-siddhāntikā, Brhatsamhitā, Brhat-Jātaka and other works
 600 A. D.-650 A. D.—Bāna, author of the Kādambārī and Harsacarita
 650-665 A. D.—Kāśikā, commentary by Vāmana and Jayāditya on Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī
 650-700 A. D.—Kumārīlabhatta, author of Tantravārtika and other works.
 600 A. D.-900 A. D.—Most of the smṛtis such as those of Parāśara, Śaṅkha, Devala and some of the Purāṇas such as Agni, Garuda.
 788 A. D.-820 A. D.—Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher
 800 A. D.-850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 825 A. D.-900 A. D.—Medhātithi, a commentator of Manusmṛti
 966 A. D.—Utpala composed his commentary on the Brhajjātaka of Varāhamihira
 1000 A. D.-1050 A. D.—Dhāreśvara Bhoja, author of numerous works
 1080 A. D.-1100 A. D.—Viṣṇuśeṣvara, the author of the Mitākṣarā commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 1080 A. D.-1110 A. D.—Govindarāja, a commentator of Manusmṛti
 1100-1130 A. D.—Lakṣmīdhara, the author of a vast digest on Dharmaśāstra called Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru
 1100-1150 A. D.—Jimūtavāhana, author of the Dāyabhāga, Kālaviveka and Vyavahāramātrkā.
 1100-1150 A. D.—Bhavadevabhatta, author of Prāyaścitta-prakarana and other works
 1110 A. D.-1130—A. D. Aparārka, Śilāhara king, composed a commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 1127 A. D.-1138 A. D.—Mānasollāsa or Abhilasītārtha-cintāmani of Someśvaradeva

- 1150 A.D.-1160 A.D.—Rājataranginī of Kalhana
 1150 A.D.-1180 A.D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā
 1150 A.D.-1200 A.D.—Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara
 1150 A.D.-1300 A.D.—Haradatta, commentator of the Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba and some grhyasūtras
 1200 A.D.-1225 A.D.—Smṛticandrikā of Devanabhatta
 1150 A.D.-1300 A.D.—Kullūka, a commentator on Manusmṛti
 1175 A.D.-1200 A.D.—Halāyudha, son of Dhanañjaya and author of Brāhmanasarvasva
 1260 A.D.-1270 A.D.—Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādī
 1275 A.D.-1310 A.D.—Śrīdatta, author of Pitṛbhakti, Samaya-pradīpa and other works
 1300 A.D.-1370 A.D.—Candēśvara, author of Grhastharatnākara, Vivādaratnākara, Kṛtyaratnākara and other works
 1300 A.D.-1380 A.D.—Sāyana, compiler of bhāṣyas on Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas
 1300 A.D.-1380 A.D.—Mādhavācārya, commentator of Parāśara-smṛti and other works and brother of Sāyana
 1360 A.D.-1390 A.D.—Madanapārijāta and Mahānavaprakāśa compiled under king Madanapāla and his son
 1360 A.D.-1448 A.D.—These are the dates of the birth and death of Vidyāpati, author of Gangāvākyāvalī and other works. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 14 pp 190-191 for an inscription which records in four eras the grant of the village Bisapī to Vidyāpati by king Śivasimha, son of Devasimha (śaka 1321, samvat 1455, La. Sam. 283 and *see* 807)
 1375 A.D.-1440 A.D.—Śūlapāni, author of Dīpakalikā, commentary on Yājñavalkya, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Durgotsavaviveka and other works.
 1375-1500 A.D.—Prthivīcandra, son of Nāgamalla, author of a vast digest called Dharmatattvakalānidhi, divided into Prakāśas on śrāddha, vyavahāra and other topics.
 1425-1450 A.D.—Madanaratna, an extensive digest compiled by king Madanasimhadeva
 1425 A.D.-1460 A.D.—Rudradhara, author of Śuddhiviveka, Śrāddhaviveka and other works
 1425-1490 A.D.—Vācaspati, author of Śuddhicintāmaṇi, Tīrthacintāmaṇi and numerous other works.
 1450-1500 A.D.—Vardhamāna, author of Dandaviveka, Gangākṛtyaviveka and other works
 1490 A.D.-1515 A.D.—Nṛsimhaprasāda of Dalapati, of which Śrāddhasāra, Tīrthasāra, Prāyaścittasāra and several more are parts.

- 1500 A.D.-1540 A.D.—Govindānanda, author of *Śuddhikaumudī*, *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* and other works
- 1513-1580—Nārāyanabhatta, author of *Prayogaratna*, *Antyestipaddhati*, *Tristhalisetu*
- 1520-1575—Raghunandana, author of numerous works called *Tattvas* on *Śrāddha*, *Tīrtha*, *Śuddhi*, *Prāyaścitta* and other topics
- 1520-1589—Todarānanda compiled under the patronage of Todarmal and divided into *Saukhyas* on *Śuddhi*, *Śrāddha*, *Tīrtha*, *Prāyaścitta*, *Karmavipāka* and about 15 more topics
- 1590-1630 A.D.—Nandapandita, author of several works such as *Vaijayantī* (com. on *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*), *Śrāddha-kalpalatā*, *Śuddhicandrikā*, *Dattakamīmāṃsā*
- 1610-1640—Kamalākaraḥbhatta, author of *Nirnayasindhu* and over 20 works besides
- 1610-1640—Viramitrodaya of *Mitramisra*, of which *Tīrthaparakāśa*, *Prāyaścittaparakāśa*, *Śrāddhaparakāśa* are parts
- 1610-1645—Nilakantha, author of *Bhagavantabhāskara* in 12 *Mayūkhas* on *Prāyaścitta*, *Śuddhi*, *Śrāddha* and other topics
- 1700-1740—*Smṛtimuktāphala* of Vaidyanātha
- 1700-1750 A.D.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhatta, author of about 30 works among which *Tīrthenduśekhara*, *Prāyaścittenduśekhara*, *Śrāddhenduśekhara* were used in this volume
- 1790—Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, author of *Dharmasindhu*, composed it in śaka 1712
- 1730-1820—Bālabhatta, author of a commentary on the *Mitākṣarā*, called *Bālabhattī*
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Prthūdaka, seven forests; Mathurā, its history, twelve forests, Vrndāvana, Govardhana, Gokula or Vraja, Purusottama tīrtha or Jagannātha; peculiar features of Jagannātha, viz. car festival, army of attendants, five important tīrthas, obscene sculptures on walls of Jagannātha temple. Narmadā, eulogy of and sub-tīrthas on Narmadā, Godāvarī and 100 tīrthas thereon described in Brahmapurāṇa such as Tryambaka, Janasthāna, Nāsik, Govardhana, Pañcavatī, Kāñcī, Pandharpur, its chief temple of Vithobā, large staff of priests, temple of devotees Fundalika, Vārkaris	. 680-722
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IMPORTANT WORKS CONSULTED

(N. B.—Works referred to only once or twice have generally been omitted)

Ānan, stands for Ānandaśrama Press edition; B I. for Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta; Ghar. for Mr. J. R. Gharpure's Publications; G. O. S. for Gaikwad Oriental series; Nirm. for Nirmaya-sāgara Press editions, Jiv. for Jivānanda Vidyāsagar's Publications and Venk. for Venkatesvara Press Publications.

Aitareya Āranyaka (ed. by Prof. Keith in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*)

Aitareya Brāhmana with Sāyana's *bhāṣya* (Ānan.)

Atharvaveda-samhitā (ed. by S P. Pandit and sometimes the edition of Pandit Sātavalekar)

Brhadāranyakopaniṣad

Chāndogyopaniṣad

Gopatha Brāhmana (B. I. series)

Jābālopaniṣad

Jaiminiya Samhitā, ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira.

Kāthaka Samhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Kāthopaniṣad

Kausītaki Brāhmana (ed. by Lindner, Jena, 1887)

Kausītaki-brāhmanopaniṣad

Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Rgveda Samhitā with Sāyana's *bhāṣya* (ed. by the Poona Vaidika-saṁsodhana-maṇḍala)

Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana (ed. by A. C. Burnell, 1873)

Śāṅkhāyana-brāhmana (Ānan.)

Śatapatha-brāhmana (ed. by A. Weber)

Taittirīya-āranyaka (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-brāhmana (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-samhitā (Ānan.; sometimes Pandit Sātavalekar's edition has been used)

Tāndya-brāhmana (also called Pañcaviṁśa-brāhmana)—B. I. series

Vājasaneyi Samhitā (ed. by Pandit Sātavalekar).

Śrauta, grhya and dharma sūtras, Vedāṅgas

Āpastamba-dharmasūtra with the commentary of Haradatta published at Kumbhakonam by Halasyanatha Sastrī

- Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra with the com. of Sudarśanācārya (Mysore Govt Oriental Library series)
- Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha (ed. by Dr. Winternitz, 1897)
- Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra with Nārāyana's commentary (Nirn.)
- Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra with the com. of Nārāyana (B. I. series).
- Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (Ānan.)
- Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra with grhya-śesa-sūtra, grhyaparibhāṣā and Baudhāyana-pitrmedhasūtra (ed by Dr Sham Sastri in Mysore University Oriental Library Publications, 1920).
- Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra (ed. by Dr. Caland in B I series)
- Bhāradvāja-grhya-sūtra (ed. by Dr. Salomons, Leyden, 1913)
- Brahmasūtra—see Vedāntasūtra
- Bṛhad-devatā (ed by Prof. A. A Macdonell)
- Gautamadharmasūtra (Ānan.)
- Gobhila-grhya-sūtra (B I. series)
- Gobhilaśmṛti or Karmaśradīpa (Ānan.)
- Hiranyakeśi-grhyasūtra (ed by Dr. J. Kirste, 1889)
- Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra with the bhāṣya of Sabara and the Tantravārtika of Kumārila (Ānan.)
- Kāthaka-grhya with the commentaries of Ādityadarśana, Devapāla and Brāhmanabala (ed by Dr Caland, 1925)
- Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (ed. by A. Weber)
- Kauśikasūtra (ed. by Prof Bloomfield)
- Kausītaki-grhya-sūtra (Benares Sanskrit series) or Madras University Sanskrit series
- Khādīragrhyasūtra with the com. of Rudraskanda (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series)
- Mānavagrhyasūtra with the com. of Astāvakra (G O. S.)
- Nirukta of Yāska, ed by Roth, sometimes the edition of Prof. V. K. Rajwade with a translation and notes in Marathi has been relied upon
- Pāraskara-grhyasūtra—edited by M M. Shridharshastri Pathak with a Marathi translation
- Rgvidhāna of Śaunaka (ed by Prof. Jagadīsh Shastri), 1940
- Sāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra (same as Kausītaki-grhya-sūtra)—published in the Benares Sanskrit series
- Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra (ed by Dr Hillebrandt)—B. I Series
- Satyāsādha-śrauta-sūtra (Ānan.)

- Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (edited with English translation by Dr. Caland)
 Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra ed. by Dr. Caland (B. I. series, 1941)
 Vārābhaghyasūtra (G. O. S.)
 Vasistha-dharmasūtra (Bombay S. series)
 Vedāntasūtra with the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara (Nirn.)
 Viśṇudharmasūtra (ed. by Dr. Jolly)

Smritis

- Āpastambasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)
 Atri-smṛti (Ānan.)
 Auśanasa-smṛti (Jiv.)
 Bhagavad-gītā
 Brhat-Parāśara-smṛti (Jiv.)
 Caturvimsatī-mata-sangraha (Benares Sanskrit Series)
 Daksasmṛti (Ānan.)
 Devalasmṛti (Ānan.)
 Harivamśa (Chitrāśālā Press ed. Poona)
 Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (reconstructed by P. V. Kane under the title 'Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra' with English Translation and notes)
 Laghu-Hārīta (Ānan.)
 Laghu-Viṣṇu (Ānan.)
 Laghu-Āśvalāyana (Ānan.)
 Mahābhārata with the com. of Nīlakantha (oblong Bombay edition)
 Manusmṛti with the commentary of Kullūka (Nirn.), where other commentaries on Manu are referred to, it is Mandlik's edition with several commentaries that is cited
 Nārada-smṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly)
 Parāśara-smṛti (Bombay S. series)
 Prajāpati-smṛti (Ānan.)
 Saṁvartasmṛti (Ānan.)
 Śaṅkha-smṛti in verse (Ānan.)
 Vedavyāsa-smṛti (Ānan.)
 Vṛddha-Gautama-smṛti (Jiv.)
 Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti (Ānan.)
 Yājñavalkya-smṛti with the com. Mītakṣarā (Nirn.)

PURĀNAS

The Ānandāśrama editions of the Agni, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Matsya, Padma and Vāyu have been used, the Nirṇ edition of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (text only) and the edition of the Narasimhapurāṇa published by Messrs Gopal Narayan and Co. have been relied upon, the Venkateśvara Press editions of the Bhaviṣya, Brahmānda, Brhan-Nārādiya (or simply Nārādiya), Garuda, Kālikā, Kūrma, Linga, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇupurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara have been used, the Nīlmatapurāṇa, ed. by Pandits Ramlal Kanjūlal and Jagaddhar Zadoo (1924)

COMMENTARIES, DIGESTS, MISCELLANEOUS
SANSKRIT, PĀLI AND PRĀKRIT WORKS AND AUTHORS.

Abhisatārthacintāmaṇi (= Mānasollāsa), published by Mysore Oriental Library and in G. O. S.

Antyakarmadīpaka of Nityānanda (Kashī Sanskrit series)

Antyestipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhatta (Nirṇ.) except on pp. 212, 303 where a ms. of it was used.

Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (Ānan.)

Arthaśāstra of Kautilya (ed. by Dr. Sham Shastri, second ed.)

Āśaucadaśaka of Viṣṇaśeṣvara (printed in Appendix pp 832-833)

Āśaucāstaka of Vararuci (published in Trivandrum S. series)

Bālabhāṭī, commentary on the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya, ed. by Mr Gharpure

Bārhaspatya-sūtra (ed. by Dr F. W. Thomas, Lahore 1921)

Brāhmanasārvasva—D C. ms No. 9 of A 1883-84

Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira with the com of Utpala (ed. by M. M. Sudhakara Dvivedī)

Dandaviveka of Vardhamāna (G. O. S.)

Dāyabhāga of Jimutavāhana (Jiv)

Dharmadvaitanirṇaya of Śankarabhatta (Ghar.)

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2 Patna L. J.	581n
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

N. B.—Some cases where the correction can be easily made [as in the elision of an anusvāra or mātṛā or a diacritical mark] have not been noted]

Page Line or Note

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|---|
| 8 | note 17 | Read न स स्वो दक्षो वरुण धृति |
| 9 | note 19 | Add at end 'Vide also विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33 1' |
| 15 | last line | Put a full stop after the word 'Visnu' |
| 17 | note 36 | Read 'व्यापारे रुढ'. |
| 18 | line 25 | Read 'selling of flesh' |
| 19 | note 43 1 8 | Read 'अग्निपुराण 173.5' |
| 24 | note 58 | Read न तु गुरोरङ्गना गुर्वङ्गना |
| 28 | note 68 line 7 | Read दोषो न संसर्गः |
| 36 | line 34 | Read 'they pray'. |
| 37 | note 88 | Read यत्किंचिद् वरुण दैव्ये |
| 42 | line 24 | Read 'to be spread over from one' |
| 43 | line 23 | Read 'yadadivyan' (Tai. Ā II 4.1, and Baud. Dh. S. III 7. 10)' |
| 44 | line 29 | Read 'by offering either' |
| 46 | note 107 line 4 | Read अथर्वशिरस्. |
| 47 | line 7 | Read 'four pākayaññas or mahāyajñas' |
| 47 | note 109 | Read 'the five mahāyajñas or pākayaññas as they are called in Manu II 86' |
| 54 | note 133a | Add—The verse 'उपावृत्तस्य वर्जित' is अग्निपु 175 5-6 and is cited as from भविष्यपुराण by कल्पतरु on व्रत p 3. Hemādri on vrata, vol I. p 1009 quotes विष्णुधर्मोत्तर on the meaning of गुण as 'तज्जाप्यजापी तदध्यान-तत्कथाध्वनादिकम् । तदचनं च तन्नामकीर्तनश्रवणादय ॥ उपवासकृतो ह्येते गुणा' प्रोक्ता मनीषिभि ।' The verse उपावृत्तस्य is ascribed to Vasistha by Hemādri on vrata vol. I. p. 1004 |
| 58 | note 139 line 6 | Read प्रायश्चित्तं विध्यपराधे |
| 94 | lines 19 | Add at end 'It may be noted that the digests on Dharma forbid bathing in the sea at any |

Page Line or Note

time one pleases and allow it only on Full Moon, on Amāvasyā and on *parvan* days and prescribe that at Setubandha one may bathe in the sea on any day. Compare. अश्वत्थसागरौ सेव्यौ न स्पृष्टव्यौ कदाचन । अश्वत्थं मन्दवारं च सागरं पर्वणि स्पृशेत् । न कालनियमः सेतौ समुद्रस्नान-कर्मणि ॥ धर्मसिन्धु I. 1 p. 36

- 106 note 242 line 3 Read प्राय. वि.
- 108 note 247 Add at end 'Verses from गाव. सुरभयो नित्यं to हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति are अग्निपुराण 292. 14-20'
- 113 note 257 At the end add 'The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 remarks: यदा गार्हस्थ्यपरिग्रहेण संन्यासात्प्रच्युतो भवति तदा संवत्सरे ब्रह्मव्यम्—संन्यस्य दुर्मतिः कश्चित्प्रत्यापत्तिं ब्रजेद्यदि । स कुर्यात्कृच्छ्रमभ्रान्तः षण्मासात्प्रत्यनन्तरम् ॥ ' This is संवत् 171-72
- 114 line 2 Add 'Vide the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis tūbhayathāpi).'
- 116 line 23 Add after the words 'for a month'—'It appears that simply officiating as a priest or accepting a gift entailed a prāyaścitta; vide Tai. Ā. II. 16. 17 'याजयित्वा प्रतिष्ठं वानश्मन् त्रिः स्वाध्यायं वेदमधीयीत'. Manu X. 109-111 appear to endorse this view.
- 140 line 7 Read 'and as marking'
- 149 line 23 Add at end 'Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III 248 states that in the Āngirasa-smṛti an expiation called Vajra is described and it is provided therein that those who are guilty of a mahāpātaka are purified after three years. The Mit. on Yāj. III 254 quotes the same half-verse as of Angiras'.
- 164 n 395 line 2 Read अष्टाविंशतिकोऽथ
- 169 n 406 Add 'This verse is quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his commentary on उद्योगपर्व 33. 72 and in the साख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति Chowkhamba S series p. 45.'
- 185 line 11 Add after 'namo Vāsudevāya.'—Vide भगवद्गीता 8. 5-6 and पद्मपुराण V. 47. 262 'मरणे या मतिः पुसा गतिर्भवति तादृशी', for the belief about the thoughts of a dying man.'

Page	Line or Note	
185	n 432	Read 'शान्तिपत्रे, 285. 74 ff for शिवसहस्रनाम'
192	n 443	
	last line	Read 'Fargard'
200	n 476	Read in 2nd line 'recital' and 'bones' in line 3.
212	line 12	Add a new paragraph after this line viz 'A peculiar rite called Sampratti (transmission) is described in Br Up. I 5 17 and Kauṣītaki-brāhmanopaniṣad II 15, wherein a father when about to die calls his son and transmits to him his own finished and unfinished work such as yajñas.
212		Add footnote 500a 'Though in modern times Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Antyestipaddhati is generally followed, it must be stated here in order to avoid misunderstanding that now no one spreads kuśas and antelope skin on the funeral pile nor is the wife made to sit down near the deceased nor is she then raised up by anybody'.
216	n503 l 1	Read 'मिता on या. III. 2, मद्. पा p. 395'
239	line 29	Read 'text of Samvartā that a'
244	line 6	Put the figure 555 above Rg VIII. 95. 7-9
265	n 594a	Read in last line but one तदूर्प देहमन्यं
269	n 603 l. 2	Read तन्तुं तन्वन्त्रजसो भानुमन्विषधानहो
271	l 35	Add after the word 'death.' 'It should be noted that in almost all parts of India except in Bengal members of all varṇas including śūdras observe by usage only ten days' impurity on death'
277	l 13	Read 'preferably'
300	n 677, l 3	Read 'पतितानां च'
308	l 17	Omit the words 'with Sanskrit explanation'
310	note 695	Read 'संमार्ष्टव्या जत'
312	n 700	Add at end "Though Manu V 130 says generally 'नित्यमास्यं शुचि स्त्रीणाम्' the words must be narrowed down to the occasions of dalliance in view of what Baud Dh S I. 4 57 (स्त्रियश्च रतिसंसर्गो), Vas 28 8, S'ankha 16 16, Atri V. 14 and most of the commentators of Manu say."

Page Line or Note

- 321 lines 11-15 I should have mentioned here the four verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarnāḥ' of the Tai S V. 6 1.1
- 345 top Read 'Pañcajanāḥ'
- " n. 776 l. 4 Read 'पङ्क्तवस्तान् पितृन् परिवक्षते'
- 355 n. 807 l. 1 Read 'भेषमजं बालभते'
- 368 n. 838 l. 2 Read शकुना इव
- 377 n. 851 l. 2 Read तथैषु स्वभूमौ च प्रयत्नतः
- 382-383 note 861 Add at end "In several works the 96 śrāddhas are enumerated somewhat differently. For example the धर्मसिन्धु II. 2-p. 39 says 'अमा १२ शुक्ल ४ मनु १४ कान्ति १२ धृति १२ पात १२ महालयाः १५ ॥ अष्टका ५ अन्वष्टका ५ पूर्वेषुः ५ आर्द्धैर्नवतिष्व पद ॥ इति हेयानि ॥' For 12 Astakās there is very ancient authority; vide note 861 quoting शतपथब्राह्मण. It is very rare to find 15 Astakās mentioned; vide p 361 and note 828 above."
- 388 note 870 In last line but one read प्रदत्त्यति
- 389 note 873 Read अनर्हान् हन्यन्त्येषु
- 410 note 921 Read स याति नरकं चोरं
- 427 n959l.5 from end Read यमायाङ्गिरस्वते
- 441 note 985 Read अर्हणीयानां पुरतः
- 442 l. 17 Read 'then turn it'
- 457 note 1018 Add at end of note 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (III. 176 1-5) reads the names of the ten विश्वेदेवाः somewhat differently'.
- 532 note 1195 Read 'विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनाऽसम्भवे (separate as विधिना and असम्भवे)'
- 534 note 1200 Add at end—"Vide 'अन्नं ह प्राणः' ऐ. ब्रा. 33 1"
- 546 l. 17 Add after 'in an intercalary month' the following -
According to the Nirṇayasindhu (p 12) the first year anniversary śrāddha has to be performed in the intercalary month and subsequent anniversary śrāddhas are to be performed in the pure month and not in the intercalary month, if the deceased died in an ordinary month, while at the time of the first anniversary or subsequent anniversary śrāddha

Page Line or Note

- the year has the same month as an intercalary as well as an ordinary month. The Dharmasindhu also (p. 5) holds the same view 'इदमासं चतुर्णां तु प्रथमादिर्कं मलमास एव कार्यं न शुद्धे द्वितीयादिर्कं तु शुद्धे एव ।'
- 560 note 1260 After line 13 in note add 'The दिग्बुधनोत्तरपुराण III. chap 17¹ mentions *nine* mountains 'हिमवान्देव-कूटश्च निषधो नील एव च । श्वेतश्च शृङ्गवान् मेरुर्मात्यवान्पु-मादन । नन्दवान् गैलवृषतीश्वर्या पञ्चमेन्द्रः ॥' (in पर्वताटलीप्रति)
- 561 l. 7 Read 'a work like that of Dr. Alexis Carrel.'
- 577 n. 1308 l. 5 Read 'उभेत्तु स. and attributes it to गरुडपुराण.'
- 588 note 1333 Read 'डिवि डुव्यन्तरिजे च'
- 592 n. 1340 l. 21 Read 'Another rule is that one makes'
- 595 n. 1347 l. 2 Read 'जलं स ने प्रीति इति'.
- 599 note 1360 Read 'पादलोकेः'
- 605 n. 1372 l. 6 Read 'the Aphsad stone Inscription'.
- 609-613 The figures of the notes and the notes themselves have been wrongly arranged in these pages
On p 609 l. 5 put the figure 1385 above the word 'Gangāvakyāvali' and note (as printed) 1387 should be 1385 and brought under p 609
On the same page (both in the text and notes) the figures 1384a. 1385 should be changed to 1386 and 1387. On the same page the note 1386 should really be 1393a, which figure should be placed on p 613 in line 24 on the word 'moksa' and the footnote so numbered should be placed after footnote 1393
- 615 note 1397 last line but one—Read 'occur in नारदीय'
- 633 note 1448 line 1 Read 'तावत्तैव'.
- 648 n. 1473 l. 3 Read 'तपदेन्'
- 654 note 1500 Read 'गङ्गा पादोदकं'
- 657 line 36 After 'difficult to say.' add 'Recently the Bihar State Legislature passed 'The Bodh Gaya Temple Act' (Act XVII of 1949) for the better management of the Bodh Gaya Temple and the properties appertaining thereto. It is provided by this Act that the Government of Bihar Province shall constitute a committee for the management and control of the temple and its properties, consisting of a chairman and

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eight members, of whom four shall be Buddhists and four shall be Hindus including the Mahānāth i. e. the presiding priest for the time being of the Śaivite monastery of Bodhi Gaya, that the District Magistrate of Gaya shall be the ex-officio chairman, but that, if the District Magistrate happens to be a non-Hindu, the Provincial Government may nominate a Hindu as chairman and that Hindus and Buddhists of every sect shall have access to the temple and temple land for the purpose of worship and *pinda dāna*’

670 1 6 Read ‘śrāddhas at Gayā’

673 note 1524 1 4 Read ‘तीर्थचि.’

689 n. 1565 1.2 Add. It may be noted that in the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I chapters 201-202 it is stated that Gāndhārvas, sons of Sāulūsa, devastated the country on both banks of the Sindhu and Rāma sent his brother भरत to chastise them, ‘जहि नैल्लधतनयान् गन्धर्वान् पापनिश्चयान्’ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 202. 10”

691 n. 1568 1 2 Read ‘सुषुम्ना’

695 line 9 Add at end: ‘Vide, for example, the statement that Purusottama is situated on Nīlaparvata (chap 1), that a dialogue between Śabara (a *bhīllā*) and Vidyāpati the brother of Indradymna’s purohita took place (chap 7), that three *rathas* were manufactured for the three images (chap. 27) for being worshipped’

696 n 1577 1.3 Read ‘चक्रं दृष्ट्वा’

799 1 13 Add after this line ‘Millions of devotees visit Jagannātha every year and the endowments of the principal temple and the shrines and sacred places within its premises are worth millions of rupees Great dissatisfaction is felt about the management of the funds and about the due performance of religious rites at Puri. The State of Orissa passed the Puri Śrī Jagannath Temple Administration Act (No. XIV of 1952) providing for the consolidation of the rights and duties of the *Sevaks Pujaris* and such other persons as are connected with the *Seva, Puja* and management of the *devasthan*. But this Act does not, in the opinion of many devotees, go far enough. It only provides for some supervision.’

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- 699 n 1582 Add at the end 'The mantra occurs in the मैत्रायणी-संहिता II, 9 10 and तै अ X 45.1'.
- 709 l. 20 Read 'in Pañcavatī and on the left bank' &c.
- 721 l. 14 Add at end "Vide a paper on 'Identification of the idol of Vitthala in the Vitthala temple at Hampi' by Dr. C. Narayanrao in the Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore pp 715-728 and a very informative and exhaustive thesis for Ph. D Degree on 'the cult of Vithobā' by Rev G. A. Deleury accepted by the Poona University in 1952."
- 732 Add under Āmardaka 'Vide E I vol. I pp 354 ff. for Āmardakatīrtha in Rānod in Gwalior State'
- 758 Under 'Irāvati' add—'Vide Visnubharmottara I, 149 (twenty-five verses) for a fine poetic description of this river and I 162, 61-65 for the confluence of Irāvati with Sindhu and of ten more confluences of several rivers of northern India.'
- 769 Column 2 under Konārka add "Vide Proceedings of the 8th Indian Historical Congress pp 153 ff. for an article 'Sungod of Konārka—where is he', which criticizes the article in the Modern Review."
- 796 Add under Rohitaka—'In the Madanpur plate of Śricandra in E. I. vol 28 at p 53 the place of origin of the Chandra dynasty is said to be Rohitagiri (acc to some Rohtasgadh in Bihar and Lalmai Hill, West of Comilla, acc to others)'
- 806 Column one under Śona add—'The Nīrnayasindhu p 110 quotes a verse of Devala enumerating seven *nadas* शोणसिन्धुहिरण्याख्या कोकलोहितवर्धरा । शतद्रव्य नदाः सप्त पावना परिकीर्तिता ॥ It is difficult to say what rivers are meant by हिरण्य and कोक Lohita is Brahmaputrā
- 832 line 5 Read 'अञ्जुवध्व'
- 832 lines 8 and 10 Read मृत्यो and मृतै
- 832 line 18 Read वयं
- 832 n. 693a 1 3 Read स्नानं

SECTION I

PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA AND KARMAVIPĀKA

(Sins, expiations and the residual consequences of sins),

CHAPTER I

The Article on sin in Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (vol 11) will clearly show how the idea of sin varies from religion to religion, from age to age and from country to country. We are concerned here with the growth and development of the doctrine of sin in India from Vedic times to the medieval digests and commentaries on Dharmaśāstra

Sin (*pātaka*) is a word that belongs to the terminology of religion rather than to that of Ethics ¹ It is very difficult to define sin. In a general way it may be said that it is an act which is regarded as a wilful rebellion against or disobedience of some law supposed to be laid down by God or Revelation; it is opposition to the will of God manifested in an authoritative work or at least failure to abide by the regulations contained therein.

¹ In these days many people, both in the East and the West, question the very existence of sin. As Barbour puts it in his 'Sin and the new Psychology' (p 19) "The feeling is gaining wide acceptance that there is no such thing as sin in the Christian sense. Evil may encompass a man's life and bring disaster to his personality, but it is not sin. It is psychic evil that can be explained by psychic causes and perhaps cured by psychological therapy. Many say 'nothing is right and nothing is wrong. Every thing is the result of complexes'. It has resulted in an easy tolerance of sin". Sir Oliver Lodge in his article on 'Christian Doctrine' in the Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p 466 says 'The highest man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishments. His mission, if he is good for anything, is to be up and doing and in so far as he acts wrongly or unwisely he expects to suffer'. The followers of Cārvāka who was the prince of Atheists in ancient India used to say 'man should live among pleasures as long as life lasts, he should feed himself sumptuously (lit. should drink *ghṛa*) even by borrowing money from others. There is no coming again into the world after the body is reduced to ashes by cremation'.

The R̥gveda is full of fervent and heart-felt expressions of the sense of sin and betrays intense desire on the part of the sages of old to be free from it. The idea of sin in the R̥gveda is bound up with the conception of *rta*. The conception of *rta* cannot be discussed here in detail. But a brief statement is absolutely necessary in order to be able to convey what the Vedic doctrine of sin was.²

Rta had a threefold aspect. It means 'the course of nature' or 'the regular and general order in the cosmos'; with reference to sacrifice it means 'the correct and ordered way of the cult of the Gods', and thirdly, it also means the 'moral conduct of man'. A few passages to illustrate these three aspects of *rta* may be cited here. R̥g. IV 23 8-10 are³ three verses in which the word *rta* occurs no less than twelve times and which breathe the all-pervading influence of *rta* throughout the universe. 'Plentiful waters (or riches or gifts) belong to *rta*, the thought (or laudation) of *rta* destroys crooked acts (sins), the brilliant and rousing hymn of praise to *rta* pierces the benumbed ears of man. The props of *rta* are firm, its (physical) manifestations are many and lovely for the sake of the body (i.e. man). Through *rta* they (people) desire food. The cows (sun's rays) entered *rta* by *rta*. He who wins over *rta* acquires it. For the sake of *rta* (heaven) and earth are wide and deep, the two highest cows (i.e. Heaven and Earth) yield milk (desires or rewards) for the sake of *rta*.' Some other passages are. 'The Sindhus (rivers) follow the *rta* of Varuna' (*rtam sindhavo Varunasya yanti*, R̥g. II 28 4), similarly R̥g. I. 105 12 (*rtamarsanti sindhavah*), The wheel of *rta* (i.e. the year) revolves round the

2. For the conception of *rta* and the idea of sin in the R̥gveda the following works may be consulted. 'The religion of the Veda' by M. Bloomfield (pp. 12, 125 ff.), 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by Prof. A. B. Keith (pp. 35, 83-85 &c.), 'The Vedic idea of sin' by Dr. Henry Leffer (1935). One regrets to observe that Bloomfield's work is marred here and there by a certain levity of thought and expression out of keeping with the seriousness of the subject.

3. ऋतस्य हि शुभं सन्ति पूर्वर्क्षितस्य धीतिर्द्विजानानि हन्ति । ऋतस्य श्रेष्ठो बधिरा ततर्द कर्णो बुधान शुचिमान आयोः ॥ ऋतस्य दृक्छा धरुणानि सन्ति पुरुषाणि चन्द्रा वपुये वशुभिः । ऋतेन दीप्यमाणन्त पृक्ष ऋतेन गाव ऋतमाविशे ॥ कर्तं येमान ऋतमिद्वनोत्पुत्रस्य शुष्मस्तरपा ज गन्धु । ऋताय पृथ्वी बहुले गभीरे ऋताय धेनु परमे दुहति ॥ ऋ IV 23 8-10. These are rather obscure verses. The Nirukta X 41 understands *rta* to mean 'water' and explains X 23-8 as 'ऋतस्य प्रज्ञा वर्जनीयानि हन्ति ऋतस्य श्रेष्ठो बधिरस्यापि कर्णो आवृणोति । यधिर बध्नेनात्र । कर्णो बोधयन् दीप्यमानश्च आयो अयनस्य मनुष्यस्य ज्योतिषो वा उदकरय वा ।'

sky with twelve spokes (dvādaśāram . . . varvartī cakram pari dyām-ṛtasya, Rg. I 164 11), 'the dawn, the daughter of heaven, correctly follows the path of *ṛta* ...' ('*ṛtasya panthānam-anvetī sādhu*', Rg. I 124 3); the young woman (Usas) does not destroy (or come in the way of) the light of *ṛta* (Rg. I 123 9); the sun is the bright and lovely face of *ṛta* (Rg. VI. 51. 1. '*ṛtasya śuci darsatam-anikam*'); 'the path of *ṛta* became united with the rays' (Rg. I 136 2); 'when exhilarated by drinking this (Soma) Indra released for the sake of *ṛta* the concealed host of cows' (Rg. I 121 4, probably a reference to drought and subsequent rainfall).

Many of the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon are described as the guardians, promoters or charioteers of *ṛta*. Mitra and Varuna rule over all the world by *ṛta* (Rg. V. 63 7, *ṛtena viśvam bhuvanam vi rājatah*); Mitra and Varuna, the protectors of *ṛta*, occupy a chariot (Rg. V. 63 1), Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman are said to be charioteers of *ṛta* (*yūyamṛtasya rathyah*, VII 66 12); they and Aditi and Bhaga are protectors of *ṛta* (Rg. VI 51 3). Agni is called 'the charioteer of *ṛta*' (*rathī ṛtasya*, Rg. III. 2 8), the protector of *ṛta*, in Rg. I. 1 8, III 10.2, X. 8.5, X 118.7 and *ṛtāvān* (in Rg. IV. 2.1). Soma is styled the protector of *ṛta* (in Rg. IX. 48 4, IX 73 8) and is said to support *ṛta* (IX. 97.24 *ṛtam bharat subhṛtam cārinduh*). In Rg. VII. 66.13 the *Adityas*⁴ are said to be *ṛtān* (acting according to the fixed order of nature), *ṛtāṇā* (sprung from *ṛta*) and *ṛtāvrdh* (augmenting or rejoicing in *ṛta*) and further they are said to be fierce haters of *anyṛta* (what is opposed to *ṛta*).

Rta is distinguished from sacrifice (*yajña*). It is not any particular sacrificial rite itself nor the institution of sacrifice. It stands for the ordered course of sacrifice in general. In Rg. IV. 3.4, Agni is styled *ṛtaci* (conversant with or observing *ṛta*) and is invoked to know the *ṛta* (of the sacrifice); in several verses we meet with the words '*ṛtena ṛtam*' (e. g. in Rg. IV. 3.9 *ṛtena ṛtam niyatam-ila ā goḥ*, V. 15.2 '*ṛtena ṛtam dharunam dhārayanta yajñasya sake*, V. 68.4 *ṛtam-ṛtena sapantā* 'conforming to or joining *ṛta* with *ṛta*', where '*ṛtena*' appears to mean the correct course of sacrificial rites and '*ṛtam*' the settled order in the universe. Soma is said to be the thread of *ṛta* spread on the *daśāpāntra* (Rg. IX. 73.9 '*ṛtasya tantur-vitataḥ pavitra ā*). In

4. ऋतवानो ऋतजिता ऋताधी धीरासो अद्वतद्विषः । तेषां नः सुम्ने सच्चर्द्विदमे नरः
स्याम ये च सूरयः ॥ ऋ. VII, 66.13

Rg. I 84.4 it is said 'O Indra, drink this (soma) that is extracted ..the streams of the bright (soma) flow towards thee in the seat of rta' (i e. in the soma sacrifice) Vide also Rg IV 113—(asmākam-atra pitaro manusyā abhi pra sedur-rtam-ā susānāh) 'in this world former men, our ancestors, approached rta etc', Rg I 71 3 (dadhanrta dhanayannasya dhītim-ādīdaryo) Rg. X 67 2 (rtam śamsanta rju didhyānā yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta) 'the Angirasas,, declaring the rta and reflecting straightforwardly first thought of the abode of Yajña', Rg. X 37 1 (maho devāya tad-rtam saparyata, 'offer this rta to the great God')

The conception of rta as a moral imperative occurs in several passages Rg I. 90 6 (madhu vātā rtāyate madhu ksarantī sindhavah) 'the winds carry sweets, the rivers do the same to him who keeps rta', Rg V 12 2 'O Agni, that knowest rta, know rta alone (in me) I shall not resort to magic either by force or by duplicity, I shall conform to rta of the reddish bull (i e of Agni)⁵; Rg. X 87 11 'O Agni! may the evil spirit who injures rta by anrta be thrice bound in thy fetters' Yama in rejecting Yami's advances says (Rg X. 10 4) 'What indeed we never did before (shall we do it now?); shall we who have spoken rta (so far) now speak anrta?' (rtā vadanto anrtam rapema)

In two or three instances rta appears to be almost personified and invoked as a divinity. 'O Agni! for us offer sacrifice to Mitra and Varuna, to the gods and to the great (brhat) rta' (Rg I 75 5). Similarly, in Rg X. 66 4 the great (*mahat*) rta is mentioned alongside of Aditi, Heaven and Earth, Indra, Visnu, the Maruts &c.

Rta and *satya* were distinguished in several passages of the Rgveda For example, Rg. V. 51 2 speaks of the Vīśve Devas as 'rtadhītayah' (whose thoughts were fixed on rta) and 'satyadharmānah' (whose characteristic is truth or whose dharma are true). In Rg. IX 113.4 rta and satya both occur and appear to mean almost the same thing In Rg X. 190 1 rta and satya are distinguished as having sprung from '*tapas*'. Rta involves a wider conception and satya had originally a restricted meaning (viz truth or static order). The word anrta, however, is the

5. ऋतं त्विकित्त्वं ऋतमिच्छिकित्त्वं चतस्रं धारा अहं त्वामिह पूर्वी । नाहं पादु सहसा न ह्रयेन ऋतं सपान्यस्वस्य वृण्य. । ऋ V 12.2.

opposite of both *ṛta* and *satya* as may be seen from Rg. X. 10.4, Rg. VII. 49.3 (Varuna who marks the *satya* and *anṛta* of people), Rg. X. 124.5 (Varuna who separates *anṛta* by means of *ṛta*). Gradually, however, the word *ṛta* receded into the back-ground and *satya* took its place even in Vedic literature, though here and there (as in Tai. Up. II 1 and I.9.1) both *ṛta* and *satya* are found in juxtaposition.

The sages of the Rgveda were acutely conscious of sin or guilt and pray to the gods, particularly to Varuna and the Ādityas, for forgiveness and for being freed from the consequences of sin. In this connection they employ numerous words such as *āgas*, *enas*, *agha*, *dhṛta*, *dushṛta*, *drugdha*, *anuhas*. A few examples of the employment of these words may be cited here. The most frequent words are *āgas* and *enas*, both of which appear to import sin in its deepest and most ethical sense. Rg. VII. 86 is a hymn to Varuna in which there are several verses that breathe a deep and heart-felt consciousness of guilt. The sage begins in verse 3 by saying that all wise men of whom he inquired told him the same thing viz. 'Varuna is angry with you'. Then the sage proceeds 'O Varuna! what is that great guilt (*āgas*) (of mine) whereby you desire to injure your worshipper and a friend? Declare that to me, then I shall quickly approach thee with an obeisance and be free from sin (*enas*). Cast away from us the transgressions (*drugdha*) of our father and those that we committed in our own person;...free Vasistha (from guilt) like a calf from the rope (that binds it)'. In Rg. VII. 89.5 (almost equal to Atharva-veda VI. 51.3) the sage says 'whatever transgressions (*abhidroha*) we who are mere men have practised as against the divine hosts and whatever *dharma*s laid down by you we may have confounded through our ignorance (or heedlessness) do not destroy us on account of that guilt (*enas*). It will be noticed that in these verses the words *āgas*, *abhidroha* and *enas* are employed in the same verses and therefore practically mean the same thing. In Rg. II. 27.14 the sage prays 'O Aditi! O Mitra! O Varuna! take pity on us though we may have committed some sin against you'. In Rg. II. 28.5 Varuna is implored to loosen sin (*āgas*) from the devotee just like a girdle. Rg. VIII. 45.34 states: 'O Indra! do not kill us for one sin, for two sins or three sins or for many (*āgas*).' In Rg. II. 29.1 the Ādityas are implored 'cast away from me sin (*āgas*) as a woman who gives birth to a child in secret'. For some other passages

6. भूतत्रया आदित्या इषिरा अरे मत्कर्तृ रद्विवागः । ऋ. II. 29.1.

in which *āgas* or its opposite *anūgas* occur, vide Rg I. 162.22, I. 185.8, II.29.5, IV. 12.4, IV. 54.3, VII. 51.1, VII. 57.4, V. 85.7, VII. 87.7, VII. 93.7, X. 36.12, X. 37.7 and 9. *Āgas* and *enas* are employed in the same verse, Rg. IV.12.4 'O Agni! Whatever sin (*āgas*) we may have committed through heedlessness make us free from it before Aditi and loosen from us our sins (*enas*) from all sides'.

Some more passages about *enas* are Rg VI 51.7 'May we not have to enjoy (i.e. suffer for) the *enas* committed by another and Rg VI 51.8 'Whatever sin be committed by me I shall remove it by obeisance', Rg VI 74.3 'O Soma and Rudra! Loosen from us and cast away from us whatever sin attaches to our person'; Rg VII 20.1 'Indra is our saviour even from a great sin'; vide also Rg I 189.1, II. 28.7, VII. 52.2 The word '*agha*', also seems to mean sin '*Apa nah śośucad-aghā*' (may our sins perish) is the refrain of Rg. I.97.1-8. 'O gods! May your fetters and may sins (*aghā*) be far away from us' (II. 29.5, in which verse in the first half '*āgah*' occurs), X. 117.6 (kevalāgho bhavati kevalādi) 'one who simply eats food alone (without offering to others) reaps only sin'.

Another word is *amhas*. The following passages may be cited. In Rg II. 28.6 Varuna is implored 'remove *amhas* (sin) as one removes the rope from the (neck) of the calf; one has not the power even to wink without you (your favour)' ⁷ It should be noted that in the preceding verse (II. 28.5) already quoted the simile of the girdle is employed with regard to *āgas*. 'May Indra take us away from *amhas* as persons on both sides (of a river) call one who is going in a boat' (Rg III. 32.14), 'No evil caused by the gods or by men reaches him from any side who worships Agni with fuel, oblation or sacrifice' ⁸ Rg VIII. 19.6, 'May Aditi, the mother of the affluent Mitra and Varuna, save us from all sin' (Rg. X. 36.3).⁹ Rg. X. 36.2 also prays Heaven and Earth, the upholders of *ṛta*, to protect the sages from '*amhas*'. Vide also Rg X. 126.2.

Another important word is *vrjina* which is often placed in opposition to *sādhu* or *ṛju*. The *Ādityas* are said to 'see inside

7 दामेव वत्सादिशुश्रूष्यं हो नहि त्वदारे निमिषश्चेनेहो । अ. II. 28.6, compare II. 28.5 'वि मच्छ्रुथाय रक्षानामिवाग ऋष्याम ते वरुण स्वाश्रुतस्य ॥'

8 न तमंहो देवकृत कुतश्च न मर्त्यकृत नशत् । अ. VIII. 19.6

9 विश्वस्माको अदितिः पालेहसो माता मित्रस्य वरुणस्य रेवतः । अ. X. 36.3

(the hearts of men) sins as well as good (thoughts and actions)¹⁰ and it is added that everything though far-off is near to them who are kings. In Rg. II. 27. 2 the Ādityas are called 'avrjināh' (free from *vrjina*). The Sun is said to mark among men their right and sinful deeds (Rg. IV 1 17). The same words (*rju martesu vrjinā ca paśyan*) occur in Rg VI. 51. 2 and VII. 60.2 about the Sun.

The word '*anrta*' is often used in the Rgveda. It has already been shown how Varuna is said to mark the *saṁya* and *anrta* of men. In Rg. VII 60 5 it is said 'these gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuna mark (or know) many sins; they flourish in the abode of *rta*'. Rg. VII 66 13 calling Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman haters of *anrta* has already been quoted (in n. 4).

The word '*durita*' is sometimes used in the sense of sin. In Rg I 23 22 the waters are invoked as follows:¹¹ 'O waters! carry away from me whatever sin may exist in me, whatever transgressions I may have been guilty of as regards my sensual appetite or whatever falsehood I may have uttered'. Here all three words '*durita*, *droha* and *anrta*' are brought together and convey almost the same idea, viz. sin or guilt against the law of the Gods. In Rg I. 185 10 Heaven and Earth are called father and mother and are invoked to save the worshipper from *durita* (sin) which involves blame (*pātām-avadyād-duritād*) '*Avadya*' means 'garhya' acc. to Pān. III. 1. 101. Rg. VII. 82. 7 states 'Him neither *amhas* (sin) nor *durita* nor worry reaches from anywhere to whose sacrifice you go, O Mitra and Varuna'. In Rg. X. 126. 1 '*amhas*' and '*durita*' are brought together (*na tam-amho na duritam devāso asta martyam*) In Rg VIII 67 21 the words *amhati* and *rapas*¹² seem to be employed in the sense of sin. '*Duskrta*' (evil deed) is used in the sense of sin in Rg. VIII. 47. 13 and in Rg X 164. 3 Agni is implored to keep far away from the worshipper all sins¹³. The word '*pāpa*' generally¹⁴

10 अन्तः पश्यन्ति वृजिनोत् साधु सर्वे राजभ्यः परमा चिदन्ति । ऋ II 273 ; आ सूर्यो बृहत्स्तिष्ठदर्शो ऋजु मर्तेषु वृजिना च पश्यन् ॥ ऋ IV. 1 17.

11 इदमापः प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरिति मयि । यद्वाहमभिदुद्रोह यद्वा शेप उताहृतम् ॥ ऋ I 23-22 शेप (or-फ) means मेह

12 वि दु हेयो व्यंहतिमादित्यासो वि संहतिम् । विष्मन्वि बृहता एपः ॥ ऋ. VIII 67 21, 'एप' रिपमिति पापनामनी भवतः' निरुक्त IV. 21

13. यदाग्निर्देवीर्ष्य देवासो अस्ति दुष्कृतम् । त्रिते तद्विश्वमाव्य अरि अस्मदधातन ॥ ऋ VIII 47 13, अग्निर्विश्वान्यप दुष्कृतान्यष्टुष्टान्यारे अस्मदधातु ॥ ऋ. X. 164.3

14 पापमाहुर्षः स्वसारं निगच्छात् । ऋ X. 10 12, पापासः सन्तो अद्भुता असत्य इदं पदमजनता गभीरम् ॥ ऋ. IV 5-5,

occurs in the Rg. in the sense of 'sinner' (Rg. VIII. 61. 11, X. 10 12, IV. 5. 5) or 'sinful' or 'evil' (Rg X 108 6, X. 164 5, I. 129. 11) In Rg VII. 32. 18, VII. 94 3, VIII. 19 26 'pāpātva' occurs and appears to mean 'sinfulness' In the Brāhmanas 'pāpam' (neuter) occurs in the sense of 'sin' as in Śat Br. XI. 2 7. 19; vide also¹⁵ Ait Br 33. 5 In the Upanisads 'pāpam' means 'sin' (e g in Tai Up II 9, Chāndogya IV 14. 3). Certain important modifications of the doctrine about sin and *Karma* were introduced in the Upanisads and the Bhagavadgītā, which will be discussed later on.

In spite of the voluminous references to the consciousness of guilt and sin in the Rgveda and to the transgression of divine laws briefly indicated above, European scholars were not wanting who boldly affirmed that the idea of sin was altogether unknown to the Rgvedic sages. Vide S B E vol I p XXII where Max-Müller replies 'the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can teach us'

How sin arises in the individual mind has been a difficult problem at all times¹⁶. Men are conscious of the sins they commit, though they may have no definite conclusions or theories about the origin of sin In the Rg VII. 86 6 a sage¹⁷ pleads with Varuna that sin is not due to a man's own power, but it is rather due to fate, to *surā* (intoxicants), to anger, dice or heedlessness and even dream state leads one to commit what is not right In the Kausītaki-brāhmanopaniṣad (III 9) it is stated 'the Lord of all makes that man perform good works whom He desires to raise to higher worlds

15 सहोवाचाजीगर्तः सौयवसिस्तद्धै मा जात तपति पापं कर्म मया कृतम् । दे आ 33 5 (=VII 17.)

16. Christianity seems to have solved it by stating that the source of actual sin is the Devil (Matthew 13 39) and by the legend of Adam's Fall (vide Romans 5. 12 'as by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin') it affirmed that there was a dose of original sin in all men In modern times many people don't accept the idea of 'original sin', for example, Sir Oliver Lodge says (in his article on 'Christian Doctrine') in Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p. 466 "As for 'original sin' or 'birth sin' or other notion of that kind that sits absolutely lightly on him (the man of to-day) As a matter of fact it is non-existent, and none but a monk could have invented it'

17. न सो दक्षो वरुण धृतिः सा सुरा मनुर्विभीदको आचिचिः । अस्ति ज्यापात्कमीयस उपारे स्वमश्नेददृतस्य प्रयोत्वा ॥ क. VII 86 6

than these and He makes that man commit bad deeds whom He wishes to drag down'.¹⁸ Here it appears to be suggested that some men are chosen by God for being saved and some are chosen for being damned. This sounds like the Calvinistic doctrine of pre-destination. In the Bhagavadgītā (III, 36) Arjuna questions Śrīkrṣṇa as follows: 'impelled by whom does a man commit sin as if constrained thereto by force, even though he does not desire to do so?' The answer given is (III, 37) 'it is lust and anger springing from the element (*guna*) of *rajas* (passion) that are the enemies of man in this world. In another place the Bhagavadgītā (XVI, 21) says 'this¹⁹ is the three-fold door or entrance to Hell that is ruinous to the self viz. lust, anger and greed; therefore a man must shun these three.' But it must be said that this does not go to the real root of the matter. The question is why should carnal lust, anger or greed themselves arise in the mind of man. The only answer that is indicated is in accordance with the tenets of the Sāṃkhya philosophy viz. that there are three *gunas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* which combine in various proportions in different men and that it is *rajo-guna* that is the cause of man's sinfulness. In the Śānti-parva, chap. 163, it is stated that there are thirteen very powerful enemies of men beginning with anger (*krodha*) and *lāma* (lust) and it is said that *krodha* springs from *lobha* (covetousness), which latter arises from ignorance (verses 7 and 11). But there is no satisfactory discussion of the origin of ignorance in that chapter. Gautama 19.2 observes²⁰ that 'man in this world is polluted by a vile action such as sacrificing for a man unworthy to offer a sacrifice, eating forbidden food, speaking what ought not to be spoken, *neglecting what is prescribed and practising what is forbidden*'. Yājñavalkya III, 219 prescribes: 'by

18. एष ह्येव साधु कर्म कारयति त यमेभ्यो लोकेभ्यो उन्निनीयते एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति जं यमयो निनीयते। कौषीतकिब्रा उप. III. 9. This is the basis of Brahmasūtra II, 1.34 and II, 3.41.

19. त्रिविधं नरकस्येवं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः। कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत्॥ भगवद्गीता XVI. 21 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33.6.

20. विहितस्यानद्युष्टानास्त्रिन्दितस्य च सेवनात्। अनियहाञ्चेन्द्रियाणां नरः पतन-सृष्टति॥ या III 219, अकुर्वन् विहितं कर्म प्रतिषिद्धानि चाचरत्॥ प्रायश्चित्तीयते होत्रं नरो मिथ्या तु वर्तयन्॥ शान्तिपर्व 34.2 गौतम appears to mention the two causes of the rise of sin stated by Yāj in the first half of III 219 'अथ खल्वयं पुरुषो याप्येन कर्मणा लिप्यते यथैतद्व्याज्ययाजनमभक्ष्यभक्षणमवयवद्वयं शिष्टस्याक्रिया प्रतिषिद्धसेवनमिति। गौ. 19.2 शबर on जे. XII. 3.16 echoes the very words of गौ. viz शिष्टस्याक्रिया प्रतिषिद्धसेवनमिति'.

omitting to do what is ordained, by resorting to what is condemned (prohibited) and by not controlling the senses, man incurs fall (i.e. sin)' Manu XI 44 and Śāntiparva 34.2 are similar verses. The *Mitākṣarā* explains that matters ordained are such as performing *Sandhyā* (morning and evening adorations) and Agnihotra and what are condemned are such actions as drinking liquor. Viśvarūpa explains that *patana* (fall or sinfulness) in Yāj. III, 219 is not used in the technical sense attached to that word by Gautama 21.4 viz. 'to be a *patita* means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men,' but it is used only in the sense that the man so acting (as mentioned in Yāj. III, 219) becomes liable to undergo *prāyascitta* and that the words of Gautama (21.4) are restricted only to what are called *mahāpātakas*. The word *pātaka* is derived from the causal of the root 'pat'. Vide *Medhātithi* on Manu XI 54 'pātakasabdah pātayatīti vyutpattyā sarva-vyatikramesu vaitate' and *Madanapārijāta* p. 786. In ancient works the word *patanīya* (meaning the cause of *patana*) has been employed as in Āp. Dh. S. I, 7.21.7. The Pr. V (p. 35) paraphrases *patanīyāni* by 'patakāni' and derives it from the root 'pat' (*patanīyanena itī patanīyam*) with the addition of the termination 'anīya' according to Pān. III, 3.1.13. The word occurs also in Yāj. II, 210, III, 297, Śākhya quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III, 237 (in prose) and other *śmṛtis*.

The enumeration of sinful acts and the classifications of sins into several degrees or grades has gone on from very ancient times. In the Rg. X, 5.6 it is said²¹ 'the wise made (i.e. chiselled) seven limits, the man who goes against even one of them becomes sinful'. The *Nirukta* (VI, 27) explains that the seven sins indicated in this verse are 'theft, violating the bed (of the *guru*), murder of a brāhmana, murder of a *bhrūna*, drinking of liquor, continual performance of the same sinful act, telling a lie as to a sinful matter'. Rg. VII, 86.6 quoted above (in n. 17) makes it clear that drinking *surā* and playing with dice were regarded as sinful. From the Tai. S. II, 5.1.2, V, 3.12.1-2, Śat. Br. XIII, 3.1.1 and other Brāhmana texts it appears that the murder of a brāhmana was generally regarded in early vedic times as the gravest of all sins, though in the *Kāthaka samhita* (31.7) it is stated that there is no sin as

21. सप्त मर्यादा कवयस्तत्तुस्तसामेकमिदमर्षहरो गात् । ऋ. X, 5.6; सप्त एव मर्यादा कवयश्चक्रुः । तसामेकामपि अधिगच्छेत्तद्वत्त्वात् भवति । स्तेयं तत्प्राप्तौ हर्षं ब्रह्महत्या भ्रजहत्या मृगपानं दुष्टदत्तस्य कर्मण पुन पुन सेवा पातके अद्वयोच्यमिति । निरुक्तं VI, 27.

heinous as killing a bhrūna which is even worse than brāhmana murder)²². The Tai. Br. in detailing the story of Ekata, Dvita and Trita who was made a scapegoat for keeping off sins, enumerates the following sinners, viz. sūryābhyūḍita (one who sleeps on when the sun rises), sūryābhinimrukta (one who slept when the sun set), one who has black nails or teeth, *agradidhusu* (one who married a younger sister while the elder sister was yet unmarried), the elder brother remaining unmarried even though a younger brother has married, one who allows his sacred sacrificial fires to be extinguished, the killer of a brāhmana.²³ It may be noticed that most of these occur almost in the same order in Āp. Dh. 8. II. 5. 12. 22 where it is²⁴ said that though

22. Bhrūnaban is either a killer of a learned brāhmana or the killer of a foetus when its sex is not known. Vide H of Dh vol II, p. 148n and vol. III p 612n for quotations and explanations. It may be noted that the four main prohibitions contained in the Decalogue (Exodus, chap 20 13-16 and Deut. 5, 17-20) against killing human beings, theft, adultery and bearing false witness are to be found in all well-known religious or moral codes.

23. ते देवा आप्येष्वजत। आप्या अश्वजत। सूर्याभ्युदिते। सूर्याभ्युदित. सूर्याभिनिम्नुक्ते। सूर्याभिनिम्नुक्तः कुनाखिनि। कुनाखी इयावदति। इयावदक्षयादिधिषौ। अश्वदिधिषुः परिते। परिते चोदहाणि। चोदहा ब्रह्महाणि। तद् ब्रह्महणं नात्यन्वयत्। तै. ब्रा III 2. 8.11. In the corresponding story in the काठकसंहिता (31.7) we read इयावदक्षपरिते परितेः परितेविदाने परितेविदानोऽग्रेदिधिषा अग्रेदिधिषुदिधिषूतौ दिधिषूतिर्विरहाणि... ब्रह्महाणि ब्रह्महा भ्रूणहानि भ्रूणहननेनो नात्येति। The story of Trita is briefly referred to in the Atharvaveda (VI. 113). The germ of it is found in Rg VIII 47.13 quoted above in n. 13.

24. अभिनिम्नुक्तः कुनाखि इयावदाग्रेदिधिषु—दिधिषूतिर्यथाहितपरीष्ट—परिते चोदहाणि—परितेविदाने चोदहाणि स्मिन्नाचिकराजिर्वैशो गरीयाच गरीयाच। आप II 5. 12 22. It may be noted that both brothers (elder and younger) and sisters (elder and younger) were held guilty of sin in case of supercession in marriage. परिते चोदहाणि and परिते चोदहाणि often mean the same thing (viz. an elder brother before whom a younger brother marries or consecrates sacrificial fires) Vide Manu III. 171-172. Acc. to Manu III. 173 a dīdhiṣūpati is one who feels love for his brother's widow and has intercourse with her under the system of *nyoga*. परितेविदाने is the same as परिते चोदहाणि or—दू is explained by Devala and by Aparārka p. 451, by Haradatta on Gaut. 15.15 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 26 as 'a younger sister who marries before her elder sister' and दिधिषु or दिधिषू is the elder sister who is thus superceded by a younger one. In Āp the word पति is to be connected with both अग्रेदिधिषू and दिधिषू. The Amarakośa explains दिधिषू differently. शङ्करस्मृति (17. 43-44) makes even the father or other guardian for marriage getting a younger son or daughter married before an elder one and the priest officiating at such a marriage equally guilty 'परिते चोदहाणि परिते चोदहाणि'। तत् संवत्सरं कुर्तुं दत्तुं याजकपञ्चमाः॥.

these actions are not to be styled *patanīyas* according to Āp. yet they cause impurity which being greater and greater in each succeeding one requires higher and higher penances. Āp adds a few more sinners to those in the Tai. Br viz *didhṣupati* (husband of an elder sister whose younger sister was married before her), *paryāhuta* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother kindled fires), *parivudāna* (a younger brother who takes his share of the ancestral property before his elder brother), *parivṛṇa* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother takes away his share of the ancestral property). The Chāndogya Upanisad²⁵ (V. 10. 9.) quotes a verse that declares that the five great sinners are the thief of gold, the drinker of *surā*, the violator of the *guru's* bed, the murderer of a brahmana, and one who associates with any of the preceding four. The Br. Up. (IV. 3. 22) mentions as great sinners the thief and the murderer of a *bhrūna*.

Coming to the sūtras there is great divergence as to the classification of sins and the enumeration of sins in each class. The Āp. Dh. S. divides sins into two classes viz. *patanīya* (those that cause loss of caste), *asucakara* (those that cause impurity, though no loss of caste is caused). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.7-11) states that *patanīya* sins are theft (of gold), crimes whereby one becomes an *abhiṣasta*, complete loss (by neglect) of the Vedic learning that one secured by study, destruction of a foetus, incestuous connection with relations born of the same womb as one's father or mother and with the children of such persons, drinking of *surā*, intercourse with persons with whom intercourse is forbidden, intercourse with the female friend of one's female guru (mother &c) or with the female friend of one's guru (father &c,) and with the wife of any stranger, constant commission of immoral acts (*adharma*) other than those already mentioned. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7.21.10 notes that, according to some, intercourse with a woman who is not the wife of a *guru* is not a *patanīya* sin. Among acts which render a man impure are (Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 12-18) the cohabitation of an Ārya woman with sūdras, eating the flesh of forbidden animals such as that of a dog or a human being or village cock or pig or other carnivorous animals, eating the excrement of human beings, partaking of food left by a sūdra, and cohabitation by Ārya men with *apapātra*

25. तदेव श्लोकः । स्तेनो हिरण्यस्य सुरा पिबश्च गुरोस्तल्पमावसन्न ब्रह्महा ष्वेते पतन्ति क्षत्रार. पञ्चमश्राचरन्ते. ॥ इति । छा उप. V. 10.9.

women.²⁶ According to some, those acts that are declared to be *aśucakara* are also *patanīyas*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.19) states that acts other than those enumerated are also *aśucikara*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24.6-9) enumerates those who are *abluṣasta*, viz. one who slays a person belonging to the first two varṇas (viz. brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya) who had studied the Veda or who had been initiated for the performance of a soma sacrifice, one who kills a mare brāhmaṇa (though he may not have studied the Veda or be not initiated for a soma sacrifice), also one who destroys the embryo of a brāhmaṇa even though its sex be undistinguishable, or slays a woman who is an *ātreṣī* (in her monthly course). The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra divides²⁷ sinners into three classes, viz. those who are *enasvins*, those guilty of *mahāpātakas* and those guilty of *upapātakas* (I. 19-23). Among those who are styled *enasvinaḥ* are those mentioned in Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.12.22, with this difference that the 'brahmojña', who is included among 'patanīyas' by Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 9 is put among 'enasvins' by Vasiṣṭha. In Vas. 20. 4-12 special *prāyaścittas* for each of these 'enasvinah' (ordinary sinners) are prescribed. The *Mahāpātakas* (mortal sins) according to Vasiṣṭha are five, viz (violating) a *guru's* bed, drinking of spirituous liquor, murder of a *bhrūpa* (a learned brāhmaṇa), stealing gold from a brāhmaṇa and associating with a *patita*. Those guilty of *upapātakas* (minor sins) are: He who forsakes sacred Vedic fires, he who offends a *guru*, an atheist, he who earns his livelihood from atheists, and he who sells the soma plant. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra²⁸ (II. 1) divides sins into *patanīya*, *upapātaka* and *aśucakara*. Among the first it cites making voyages by sea, stealing the property of a brāhmaṇa or misappropriating a deposit, giving false evidence

26. For the meaning of *apapātra* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 309n and 785n. For the meaning of *ātreṣī*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 527 note 970.

27. सूर्याशुदितः सूर्याभिनिष्कृतः कुनखी द्वावदन्तः परिवेतिः परिवेत्तश्रेदिधिद्विधि-
दूपतिरिहा ब्रह्मोज्ञ इत्येनस्त्विनः । पञ्च महार्पातकान्याचक्षते । गुरुतर्पं सुरापानं धनहत्या
ब्राह्मणं गुरुणादहरणं पतितसंयोगश्च ब्रह्मणे वा योनेन वा । ... योगीनयविष्येद्वरं च यः प्रति-
दधुपात्रास्तिको नास्ति कद्वितः सोमं च विक्रीणीयादित्युपपातकानि । वसिष्ठ I. 19-23,

28. अथ पतनीयानि । सखदसंयानम् । ब्रह्मस्वस्यासपहरणम् । भ्रूम्यवृतम् । सर्व-
पण्यैर्व्यवहरणम् । शूद्रसेवनम् । शूद्राभिजननम् । तदपत्यत्वं च । ... अथोपपातकानि ।
अगम्यागमनं शर्वास्तखी गुरुसखीमपपात्रां पतितां गत्वा भेषजकरणं आमयाजनं रङ्गोपजीवनं
मात्र्याचार्यता गोमहिषीरणं यज्ज्ञान्यदप्येवं युक्तं कन्यादूषणमिति । ... अथाष्टाचिकराणि ।
यतनमिचारीऽनादिताग्नेरुच्छवृत्तिर्गो समावृत्तस्य भैक्षचर्या तस्य चैव गुरुकुले वास अर्ध-
चतुर्था मासिग्यस्तस्य चाध्यापनं नक्षत्रनिर्वेशश्चेति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 1.50-56, 60-61, 63-64,

regarding land (dispute), trading with merchandise of all descriptions, serving śūdras, begetting a son on a female of the śūdra caste and begetting a child (either male or female) from her²⁹. The upapitakas, acc. to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1. 60-61), are: intercourse with females who must not be approached, cohabitation with the female friend of a female *guru* or with the female friend of a male *guru* or with an apapātra woman or with a female outcast, following the profession of medicine, officiating as a priest for a village, living by dramatic performances, following the profession of a teacher of dancing or singing or acting, tending cows and buffaloes³⁰ and similar (low occupations) and fornication. Among asueikara (causing impurity), Baud. Dh. S mentions gambling, black magic, subsisting by gleanings of corn fallen in the field by one who has not consecrated sacred fires, subsisting by begging on the part of one who has returned to his home after finishing Vedic study, staying for more than four months at his teacher's seminary on the part of him who has finished his studies, teaching one who has finished his studies, gaining livelihood by astrology. Gautama (21. 1-2) appears to include among patanīyas the usual five mortal sins and also some of those that are mentioned by Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7. 21. 9-11) and Vasistha I. 23 (such as *nūstika*) and adds a few more (such as not casting off persons guilty of patanīyas, forsaking blameless relatives and instigating others to commit acts causing loss³¹ of caste).

29. That this is the correct translation of Baud. and not the one in S. B. E. vol. XIV p. 215 'becoming thereby her son' is clear from Manu III. 16 'शौनकरस्य पुत्रोत्पत्त्या तदपत्यस्या भृगो' Saunaka condemned the begetting of a son from a śūdra female (and not the begetting of a daughter), while Bhṛgu condemned the begetting of a child (whether male or female did not matter).

30. It must be supposed that these lists relate to brāhmanas and ksatriyas alone. Trading with merchandise or tending cows could not have been regarded as patanīya for Vaiśyas since trade and tending cows have been always prescribed as their special avocations. Vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 7, Gaut. X. 50, Manu X. 79, Yāj. I. 119. Following the profession of medicine or living by teaching dancing or by going on the stage made brāhmanas unfit to be invited at a śrāddha. Vide Gaut. 15. 15-16 for long lists of those brāhmanas who were not to be invited at Śrāddha dinners &c.

31. ब्रह्महृत्प्राप्यचतुर्लप्यमात्रुषिद्वयोनिसम्बन्धागस्तेननास्तिकानिन्दितकर्माभ्यासि-पतिता-
। द्यायपतितस्याग्निः पतिताः । पातकसंयोजकाश्च । तैश्चाब्दं समाचरन् ।... कौदसाश्च राज्यानि
पैक्षुन शरीरवृत्ताभिहसन महापातकसमानि । अपकृत्यानां प्रायश्चित्ताद् गोहन्तु ब्रह्महन्-
तस्मन्ब्रह्मद्वयकीर्णपतितसानित्रीकैर्यूपपातकम् । गौतम 21.1-3, 10-11.

The above statement about the classification of sins and their inclusion among the several classes or 'grades of sins' will show that among the early sūtra works there was no general agreement about the nature and number of mahāpātakas, upapātakas and other classes of sins, even though as early as the Chāndogya Upanisad the mortal sins had been declared to be five. It must be supposed that that Upanisad³² represented only one school of thought in the times of Āp., Baud. and Gaut., who did not entirely accept the tradition of that Upanisad, but followed other divergent ideas. It is impossible to suppose that the verse quoted in that Upanisad is later than the Dharma-sūtras of Āp., Gaut., Baud., and Vas

It appears that Kātyāyana³² divided sinful acts into five classes viz. *mahāpāpa* (mortal sins), *atipāpa* (the highest sins than which there is nothing worse), *pāṭaka* (sins similar to mahāpātakas), *prasaṅga* (due to association or contact) and *upapāṭaka* (minor sins). The Bhavisiya-purāṇa also says that those sins that are declared to be equal to mahāpātakas (by Manu and others) are called pātakas. Vṛddha-Hārīta also (IX. 215-216) speaks of five kinds viz. *mahāpāpa*, *pāṭaka*, *anupāṭaka*, *upapāpa* and *prakīrnaka* (miscellaneous) and states (IX. 216-218) that those sins which are said to be like mahāpāṭaka are pātakas, that anupātakas are sins lesser than pātakas, that upapātakas are lesser than pātakas and *prakīrnaka* sins are the least sinful of all. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (33 3-5) speaks of nine kinds of lapses viz. *atipāṭaka*, *mahāpāṭaka*, *anupāṭaka*, *upapāṭaka*, *jāmbhramśakara* (effecting loss of caste), *saṅkarīkarana*, (rendering one as degraded as a man of a mixed caste), *apātri-karana* (rendering the perpetrator unworthy of receiving a gift), *malāvaha* (causing defilement) and *prakīrnaka* (miscellaneous). Atipātakas, acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S 34.1, are sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law and the only expiation for them is entering fire. Manu omits the separate mention of atipāṭaka and anupāṭaka and includes most of them under those that he designates as equal to one of the four well-known mahāpātakas. Kātyāyana quoted in the Prāyaścittamuktāvalī of Divākara (folio 3 a) adds sexual intercourse with one's sister as atipāṭaka to the three mentioned by Viṣṇu

32. कात्यायनेन तु महापातकसमानां विष्णुमहापातकेष्वेतेनोक्तानां पातकसंज्ञा दर्शिता ।
मिता. on या. III. 242 ; महापातकतुल्यानि पापान्युक्तानि यानि तु । तानि पातकसंज्ञानि
क्रमेण चोपपातकम् । भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मण 190 9)

Hārta Dh. S (it appears) quoted by the Mit knew³³ of a variety of pātakas called anupātaka, but from the way in which the several pātakas are arranged it looks as if *atipātaka* in Hārta was a lesser sin than mahāpātaka. Manu (in chap XI) refers to all the kinds of pātakas found in the Visnu-dharmasūtra except atipātakas. Usually five mahāpātakas have been enumerated from the days of the Chāndogya Up (quoted on p. 12) viz brāhmana murder, drinking spirituous liquor, theft (generally understood as theft of brāhmana's gold), sexual intercourse with the wife of a *guru* and association with the perpetrators of any of these four (for a year³⁴). Vide Vas I 19-20, Manu XI 55, 180, Yāj. III. 227, 261, Visnudharmasūtra 35 1-5, Vṛddha-Hārta IX 174. Manu mentions certain sins as equal to Mahāpātakas which are styled anupātakas by the Visnudharmasūtra chap. 36. The most elaborate treatment of all kinds of sins in the smṛtis is found in Manu, Yāj. and Visnu. There is difference of opinion even among these three on certain points. For example, Manu³⁵ XI. 56 says that forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidences, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food and food that is unfit for eating or should not be eaten, are lapses similar to drinking *sura*; while Yāj. III. 228 states that three out of these (viz reviling the Vedas, slaying a friend and forgetting the Veda studied by a person) along with the reviling of a *guru* by attributing false faults are similar to the murder of a brāhmana. The result is that there is an option as to the expiation to be prescribed for these sins.

33. यत्तु हारितेनोक्त—महापातकातिपातकाहपातकोपपातकानामेकतमेव सन्निपाते चाऽ-
धर्मणमेव विज्ञेयम्—इति तन्निमित्तकर्तुंविषयम् । निता on या III 301, in प्र मकाश
(folio 69a) हारित is quoted as follows 'पञ्चविधमद्युभ भवति मासाङ्गिकोपपातकपातक-
महापातकात्यन्तपातकानि' and it is remarked (folio 69 b) 'मासाङ्गिकपदेन जमिभ्रश-
कराणि परिकेषाद् गृह्यन्ते'.

34. In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali mentions at least three of these five :
'यो हि अजानन्वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सुरा वा पिवेत्सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् । महाभाष्य vol. I
p 2, भवसते शुक्ततल्पगः । महाभाष्य vol. II p 103, दृषलरूपोयस् । अप्यय पलाण्डुना
सुरा पिवेत् । महाभाष्य vol II p 419 on चार्तिक 4 on या V 3 66. In the Khol
copperplate of the Gupta year 214 (533-34 A. D.) it was stated that
whoever interfered with the gift would incur the five mahāpātakas and the
upapātakas (Gupta Inscriptions p 135).

35. ब्रह्मोज्झता वेदानिन्वा कौटसाद्य सुहृद्वधः । गार्हितानाथयोजर्जग्धिः सुरापानसमानि
पद॥ मनु XI 56, शुक्रानामध्याधिकेपो वेदानिन्वा सुहृद्वधः । ब्रह्महत्यासमं ज्ञेयमपीतरस्य च
नाशनम् । या III 228 मेधातिथि explains 'गार्हितं शास्त्रप्रतिषिद्धं लघुनादि । अनाद्यन-
मनस्तुष्टिकरं न मोक्ष्य इति कल्प्य (सङ्कल्प्य ?) यद्गुण्यते' ।, compare गौतम 21 10 कौटसाद्य
राजगामि पैशुन शरीरद्वताभिर्ज्ञेयसमिति महापातकसमानि ।

It would be desirable to give some details as regards each of the mahāpātakas and then to describe the other varieties of sins and then to set out the expiations prescribed for all of them. It should be noted that both the secular law of penalties and the ecclesiastical rules about expiations made a difference between a sinful act intentionally committed (*kāmatah*) and one committed through ignorance or heedlessness and between an act done only once (*sakṛt*) or done repeatedly (*asakṛt*)

Brahmahatyā *Hatyā* or *vadha* (killing) is applied to an act which immediately or after some time results in causing loss of life directly without the intervention of any other cause.³⁶ The *Agnipurāṇa* (173 1), the *Mit*, the *Prāyaścittaviveka* (p 47) and other works define what is meant by *vadha*. A man may be the cause of the death of a brāhmaṇa in five ways, viz. he may himself kill (i e. he becomes the *karīṇā*), he may incite another to kill (*prayojaka*) by ordering that other to do so (as a king or noble by ordering his servant) or by imploring another to kill and giving advice about the killing, he may encourage another to kill by his own approval (*anumantā*), or by helping the killer when he wavers or by offering protection to the killer against others (*anugrahaka*) and by becoming a *munthā*.³⁷

The *Mit* on *Yaj. III. 227* and *243* (quoting verses from *Paithinasi*) explains all these at length. For the definition of *anugrahaka* it relies on a verse of Manu 'Where many persons are armed and have a common purpose in view, if even one of them kills a person, all of them are guilty of murder', which is very much like sec. 34 of the Indian Penal Code. This distinction into several degrees of killers is an ancient one and is based on *Āp Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 1-2* 'He who³⁸ instigates, he who approves, and he who commits an act—these share its results in heaven and hell; but he amongst these who contributes most to

36. हन्तिर्यं प्राणवियोगकरणे व्यपारे कृद्धः। यद्व्यापारसमन्तरं कालान्तरे वा कारणा-
न्तरनिषेधः। प्राणवियोगो भवति स ब्राह्मणं हतवानिति ब्रह्महत्या। मित्ता on या III. 227;
स्यात्प्राणवियोगफलो व्यपारो हननं स्मृतम्। अग्निपु. 173 1, quoted by प्रायःतत्त्व p. 519.

37. वधित्वं पञ्चविधं कर्ता प्रयोजकोऽनुमन्ताऽनुग्राहको निमित्ती चेति। प्रायःति. p. 47,
अनुग्राहकश्च यः पलायमानमभिप्रेतमुपसन्धत् परम्यश्च हन्तारं परिरक्ष्य हन्तुर्द्विमानमुपजनयस्व-
पकरोति स उच्यते। अत एव मनुना ग्राहकस्य हिंसाफलसम्बन्धो दृष्टितः। बहूनामेककार्याणां
सर्वेषां शस्त्रधारिणाम्। यद्येको घातयेत्तत्र सर्वे ते घातकाः स्मृताः॥ इति। मित्ता on या III. 227.
The verse बहूनामेका occurs in अग्निपु. 173 3.

38. प्रयोजयिता मन्ता कर्तेति स्वर्गनिरकफलेषु कर्मसु भागिनः। यो ध्रुव आरभते तस्मिन्
फलविशेषः॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 11.29, 1-2.

milk of a kapilā (dark-brown) cow in the case of śūdras. If a brāhmana or any other human being or a cow died while a competent doctor was administering treatment to them by means of drugs, oils or food, or cauterization by cutting or by opening a vein the medical man incurred no sin⁴³ But if a quack pretending to know medicine administered such treatment and death followed, Yāj. II 242 prescribed various punishments. If a brāhmana administers moderate corporal punishment to his son, pupil or wife for some fault and the son or pupil or wife suddenly dies he incurs no sin, according to the Bhavisiyapurāṇa and the Agnipurāṇa.⁴⁴ Gautama (II 48-50), Āp. Dh S I 2 8, 29-30, Manu VIII 299-300 (= Matsyapurāṇa 227. 152-154), Viṣṇu Dh. S 71 81-82, Nārada (abhyupetyāśusrūṣa 13-14) lay down that the punishment should be administered with a rope or bamboo slip on the back (but never on the head or chest) and Manu (VIII 300) provides that if these restrictions were violated the punisher would incur the same guilt or punishment as a thief. Vide H. of Dh. vol II, pp 362-363 for this topic

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Dharmaśāstra writers is whether a man can kill a brāhmana ātātāyin in self-defence without incurring any sin or punishment by the king. There is great divergence of views on this point, which has been dealt with at some length in H of Dh vol II pp. 148-151 and vol. III pp. 517-518. The conclusion of the Mitākṣarā appears to voice the views of most writers that, if a brāhmana comes as an ātātāyin (as an incendiary, as a poisoner, as a kidnapper of women or with the intention of killing or wresting a field), then in self-defence one may oppose him without incurring any sin, but that if the brāhmana offender meets death though the defender did not desire to kill him (but only to stop him by causing injury short of death), the

43 क्रियमाणोपकारे तु मृते विमे न पातकम् । वा III 284, औषधं स्नेहमाहारं ददद्भो-
ब्राह्मणादिषु । दीयमाने विपत्तिः स्यात् स पापेन लिप्यते ॥ संवर्त 138 (The Ānan ed. reads
last pāda as पुण्यमेव न पातकम्) q by विश्वरूप on वा III. 262, by the मित्ता on वा.
III 227 (with two more verses), by प्राय वि. p 56 (reads second half as प्राणिनां
प्राणदुर्यर्थं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते) The same verse occurs in चम 50, लघुशङ्ख 61, लघु
हारीत 28. The मित्ता and प्राय वि. quote another verse as संवर्त's which is 'दाहच्छेद-
गिराभेदप्रयत्नैरुपकुर्वताम् । प्राणसंज्ञाणसिद्धयर्थं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते' ॥ The अग्निपुराण
173.5 has 'औषधाद्युपकारे तु न पाप स्यात् कृते मृते । पुत्रं क्षिप्यं तथा भार्यां शासतो न मृते
क्षयम् ॥'.

44. एव शिष्यस्तथा भार्या शासितश्चेद्भिन्नइयति । न शास्ता तत्र दोषेण लिप्यते देव-
सत्तम ॥ भविष्यपु. q. b5 प्राय. वि. p. 58; आश्वपु. 173.5 is similar.

defender is not liable to be punished by the king and he has to undergo a light expiation (i. e. he is not guilty of brāhmana's murder).⁴⁵

Surāpāna (drinking of *surā*) has been held to be a mahāpātaka. The word *surā* occurs several times in the Rgveda (e. g. Rg I 116 7, I 191.10, VII. 86 6, VIII. 2 12, X 107 9). Rg. VII. 86 6 quoted above (in note 17) clearly indicates that *surā* was looked upon by the Rgvedic singers as a cause of sin just as much as gambling. Rg. I 116 7 (*satam kumbhān asificatam surāyāh*) read with Rg I 117.6 (*śatam madhūnām*) implies that *madhu* (honey or some sweet substance) might have been used in preparing *surā*. Soma was a beverage to be offered to the gods and to be drunk by the brāhmana priests and was sharply distinguished from *surā* (e. g. in Tai S II 5 11, Vāj S. 197, Śat Br. V. 1 5 28). The last furnishes the striking antithesis 'soma is truth, prosperity, light, and *surā* is untruth, misery, darkness'. It appears that long before the Kathaka Samhitā brāhmanas had come to regard the drinking of *surā* as very sinful [XII 12 'therefore the brāhmana does not drink *surā* (with the idea) that (by drinking it) he may become affected by sin']⁴⁶. The Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.9) speaks of the drinker of *surā* as a *patita*, while in V. 11 5 king⁴⁷ Aśvapati Kaikeya makes the boast before the five learned brāhmanas that had come to him for the knowledge of *Ātman Vaiśvānara* that in his kingdom there was no thief and no drinker of *madya*. Though Manu XI 54 enumerates the drinking of *surā* among the five mahāpātakas, Yāj. III. 227 speaks of the *madyapa* (drinker of *madya*) as one of the five great sinners. Therefore we must explain what is meant by *surā* and when *surāpāna* becomes a mahāpātaka. By Manu XI 93 *surā* is said to be the refuse of food and Manu XI. 94 states that *surā* is of three kinds, viz that prepared from molasses, that from flour and that from *madhūka* flowers (or from honey). There is a great deal of discussion about *surā* in many of the digests and the propositions

45 अतश्च ब्राह्मणादय आततायिनश्च आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसानभिसान्धेना निवार्यमाण प्रमादाद्यदि विपद्येस्तत्र लघुप्रापश्चित्त राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चयः । मिता on II. 21.

46 तस्माद् ब्राह्मण सुरा न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्समुज्या इति । काठक XII 12 q by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on ऊँ I 3 7 p 210 and by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III 4 31.

47 स इ प्रत सजिहान उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न रुद्धो न मय्यपो नानादिपान्निर्नविद्वास् स्वेरी स्वेतिणी कुत ... । छा. उ. V. 11.5.

established by most of them are⁴⁸: (1) that all the three higher varnas are forbidden to drink the *surā* prepared from flour and drinking it is a grave sin (*mahāpātaka*) in the case of anyone belonging to the three first varnas, (2) All intoxicants (*madya*) are forbidden to *brāhmanas* at all stages of life (Gaut. II. 25 'madyam nityam *brāhmanah*' and Āp. Dh. S. I 5. 17-21); but a *brāhmana* drinking *surā* of the *gaudi* or *mādhvi* kind would not be guilty of *mahāpātaka* but of *anupātaka* (acc to Visnu); (3) that intoxicants other than *surā* prepared from flour are not condemned for *ksatriyas* and *vaiśyas*; (4) the *śūdra* was not forbidden to drink any kind of intoxicant (including *surā* made from flour); (5) *brahmacārins* of all varnas studying the Veda had to abstain from intoxicants of all kinds. The Visnu Dh. S. (22 83-84) specifies ten kinds of *madya* (intoxicants) prepared from dates, jack fruit, cocoanuts, sugarcane &c and *Pulastya* quoted by the Mit on Yaj. III. 253, by the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* of Bhavadeva (p 40), the *Prāyaścittaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi (p. 90), Pr. Prakāsa (folio 69 b) refers to eleven kinds of *madyas* apart from *surā* (*dvādaśam* to *surāmadyam sarvesām adhamam smṛtam*). Vide H of Dh. vol. III pp 964-966 for further discussion on intoxicating drinks,

The Mit points out (on Yaj III. 253) that the prohibition against drinking *surā* applies to boys who have not yet been invested with the sacred thread and also to unmarried girls, since Manu XI 93 makes no distinction of sex but only forbids to the three first castes the drinking of *surā* and since the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*⁴⁹ expressly forbids to a *brāhmana* female the drinking of *surā*. The *Kalpataru* appears to have held otherwise. But a woman and a minor had to undergo lesser *prāyaścitta* as will be shown below. Vas 21 11 and Yaj III 256 state that the wife of a *brāhmana*, *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* who drinks *surā* (made from flour) would not reach the worlds of her husband and she

48 अयमत्राय । त्रैवर्णिकानामुत्पत्तिप्रभृति पैटीप्रतिषेधः । ब्राह्मणस्य तु मद्यमात्र-
निषेधोऽस्त्युत्पत्तिप्रभृतेव । राजन्यवैश्ययोस्तु न कदाचिदपि गौड्यादिमद्यप्रतिषेधः । शूद्रस्य न
सुराप्रतिषेधो नापि मद्यप्रतिषेधः ॥ मिता. con या III. 253 ; पैटीशब्दप्रतिषेधब्रीह्यादिकारो
मुख्यसुराशब्दार्थः । तत्पानमेव त्रैवर्णिकस्य सह.पातकम् । गौडीमाध्वीसुरापाने तु ब्राह्मणस्य
पैटीपानवदेव प्रापश्चित् । क्षत्रियवैश्येस्तु तत्पाने न दोष इति । प्राय. प्रक P 42

49. तथा भविष्ये । तस्मान्न पेयं विरेण सुरामद्यं कथञ्चन । एतेनालुपेतविषस्य कुमारिका-
याश्च दोषाभावो द्विजग्रहणादिति वदन् कल्पतरुः परास्त । प्रा मकाश folio 70 b The
word द्विज occurs in मनु ५.1 90. ब्राह्मण्यापि न पेया वै सुरा पापभयावहा ॥ प्राय वि. p. 92.

would become in this world a bitch or a sow⁵⁰ The Mit. remarks⁵¹ on this verse that though a śūdra is not forbidden to drink surā even the śūdra wife of a brāhmana should not drink surā

Drinking *surā* means taking it down the throat Therefore if a man's lips only touch surā or if surā enters his mouth but he spits it out, then there is no *drinking* of surā (i. e. no mahāpātaka) and he would have had to undergo in such a case a light expiation for the touch of surā⁵².

Steya (theft). In order to constitute theft as a grave sin according to the commentaries the theft must be of a brāhmana's gold of a certain quantity *Steya* is defined by Āp Dh S I, 10 28 1 as⁵³ 'a man becomes a thief by coveting another's property (and taking it) in whatever situation he may be (without the owner's consent)' Kātyāyana (810) defines⁵⁴ it as 'depriving a man of his property, whether clandestinely or openly and, whether by night or by day, is known to be theft'. Vyāsa defines it similarly. Vācaspati in his bhāṣya on Yogasūtra II, 30 defines *steya* as taking property from another in a manner that is not allowed by the śāstras (*steyam-asāstra-pūrvakam dravyānām parataḥ śvikaranam*). Though Manu (XI 54) and Yaj (III 227) simply employ the word 'steya' (theft) or 'stena' (thief) yet in speaking of the *prāyaścitta*

50 या ब्राह्मणी च सुरापी न ता देश पतिलोकं नयन्तीहैव सा चरति क्षीणदुष्प्राप्त्युत्तरमवति श्रुतिका वा । वसिष्ठ 21 11. This is cited as श्रुति in माय वि. p 92 and these very words occur in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 1-2 on पाणिनि III 2 8 'या ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनां देश पतिलोकं नयन्ति' vol II p 99 (the वार्तिक are सुरा-जीवोः पिबते । बहुलं तानि ।)

51. ब्राह्मणीग्रहणं चात्र 'तिलो वर्णादुपसर्गः' इति न्यायेन यस्य द्विजातिर्भावो भार्यास्नानाद्युपलक्षणम् । अत एव मनु । पतत्यर्धं शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या सुरा पिबेत् । पतितार्ध-शरीरस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते ॥ इति । द्विजातिभार्याया. छद्वाया अपि सुरामतिवैधमाद्वयवम् । मित्त on या III 256 The verse पतत्यर्धं is not found in मनु, but is वसिष्ठ 21 15 and पराशर X 27.

52 पानं च श्रुतीवृत्त्याभ्यवहारः स च कण्ठदेशादधीनयनं न तु वक्त्रमात्रमेव । निष्ठिविनाशार्थं कपोलधारणे पानगव्हाप्रयोगात् । अत एवौष्ठमात्रे लेपे न पाननिष्पत्तिः ॥ अतरत-त्रोत्तमाद्वर्णप्रत्ययश्चित् ॥ माय वि p 93.

53 यथा कथा च परपरिग्रहमभिमन्यते स्तेनो ह भवतीति कौत्सहारीतौ तथा काण्व-मुक्तरसादौ ॥ . सर्वत्राद्यमतिपूर्वमिति हारीत ॥ आप. च सू I, 10 28 1 and 5

54 प्रच्छन्नं वा प्रकाशं वा निग्रायामथवा दिवा । यत्परिग्रहणं स्तेयं तत्परिकीर्तितम् ॥ कात्या 810, q by द्वायभाग p 224 and माय. वि p 112, समक्षं वा परोक्षं वा बलाजो-र्येण वा पुन ॥ परस्वानाद्युपपादानं स्तेयमित्युच्यते इयं ॥ व्यास q by रसुतिष्ठ (प्रा) p 883, स्तेनो विस्त्रासमिकपोदगमापपरिमितस्य हेमन्मण्डलबलचौर्यान्पतरेपर्यर्ता ॥ प्रा प्रकाश folio 70 b

for steja Manu (XI, 99 'suvarṇasteyakṛt') and Yaj. III, 257 (brāhmanasvarṇahārī) add the qualification that he should be a thief guilty of stealing gold (from a brāhmana, acc. to Yaj.). Vas. 20, 41 and Cyavana (q by Pr V. p. 117) mention 'brāhmanasvarṇa-harāna' as a mahāpātaka and the Samavidhāna Br. (I, 6, 1) also employs the words 'brāhmanasvam hrtvā'. Vide Samvarta 122 and Viśvāmitra (q. by Pr. V. p. 108). A further qualification was added by Viśvarūpa (on Yaj III, 252 'anākhyāya &c'), the Mit. (on Yaj. III, 257), the Madanapārijāta (pp 827-28), Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa (p. 72), the Prāyaścittaviveka (p 111) and other commentators that the gold stolen must be at least sixteen māśas in weight, otherwise there is no mahāpātaka⁵⁵. So, if a man steals gold belonging to a brāhmana which is less than 16 māśas or steals gold of any weight (even more than 16 māśas) from a non-brāhmana (i. e. from a ksatriya or the like) he would be guilty only of a minor sin (*upapātaka*). The Mit. relies on the verses of Yaj. I 362-363 for the technical meaning of suvarṇa (as 16 māśas). There was no guilt of theft acc. to Vātsyāyana if (Āp. Dh. S. I 10, 28, 2) a person took only a small quantity of cereals ripening in pods (such as *mudga*, *māṣa* and gram) or took grass for his oxen while he was going (in a cart.⁵⁶) According to Gautama 12, 25 a man may take (without permission and without incurring the guilt of theft) for the sake of cows and for the sake of *śrauta* or *smārta* fires grass, fuel and flowers of trees and plants as if they were his own property and the fruits (of trees and plants) that are not fenced around. Manu VIII, 339 (= Matsya 227, 112-113) is almost like Gaut 12, 25 and Manu VIII, 341 adds that a traveller of the three higher castes may, if his provisions have run short, take (without fear of punishment) from another's field two sugarcane stalks and two mūlakas (esculent roots).

Gurvaṅganūgamah (sexual intercourse with the wife of the guru). Manu (XI, 54) employs this word, while Yaj. III, 227 and Vas. 20, 13 speak of the offender as *gurutalpaga* (who violates the bed of the guru) and Vas. I, 20 mentions the sin as '*gurutalpam*'

55. अत्र च सुवर्णशब्दः परिमाणविकिरहेमद्रव्यवचनो न जातिमात्रवचनः ॥ 'जालसूर्य .. कृष्णल, पञ्च ते मापस्ते सुवर्णस्तु षोडशः' (पा. I 362-363) इति षोडशमापपरिमिते हेमनि सुवर्णशब्दस्य परिभाषितत्वात् । ... अतः षोडशमापात्मकसुवर्णपरिमितहेमहरण एव महापातकित्वं तन्निमित्तं मरणात्मिकादिमापश्चित्तविधानं च ॥ हिजादिमापात्मकहेमहरणं तु क्षत्रियादिहेमहरणं बहुपपातकमेवेति युक्तम् ॥ मिता, on III, 257

56. सन्त्यपवादाः परपरिग्रहेष्विति वाच्यार्थाणि । शम्पोषा शुग्धवाशो न स्वामिनः प्रतिषेधयन्ति । अतिव्यवहारो द्यूजो भवति । आप. ध सू. I, 10, 28 2-4

(the bed i. e. wife of the *guru*) *Guru* primarily means acc to Manu II.142 and Yaj. I 34 (=Śāṅkha III 2) the father. Acc to Gautama II.56 'the teacher (of the Veda) is the foremost amongst *gurus* while some say that the mother is so'. Samvarta⁵⁷ 160 and Parāśara X, 13 (employing the words 'pitrdārān samāruhya') convey that the primary meaning of *guru* here is 'father' as stated by the Mit. on Yaj III, 259. Acc to many digests such as the Mit. and the Madanapārijāta p 835 *gurvanganā* means one's own mother Bhavadeva in his Pr. Prakarana (p. 80) takes *gurvanganā*⁵⁸ as a *karmadhāraya* compound, following what is called the *nsādasthapati-nyāya* (Jai. VI.1 51) After quoting Devala's dictum⁵⁹ that there are eleven persons among males who are to be looked upon as *gurus*, and adverting to the way in which the word '*gurvanganā*' is explained by the Pr. Prakarana, the Prāyāścitta-vivēka expresses its dissent from the views of the Pr. Prakarana and holds that '*gurvanganā*' or '*gurupatni*' means not only one's mother but also one's step-mother of the same varna as the father. The Madanapārijāta (p. 835) holds the same view as the Pr. V. The Pr. M., p. 73 finds fault with Bhavadeva (author of Prāyāścitta-prakarana) and also with the Pr. V. that held the view that sexual intercourse with one's Vedic teacher's wife was also a

57. पितृभार्या समाकृष्ट मातृवर्जं नराधम । भगिनी मातुराता च स्वसारं चान्यमातृजायम्
पतास्तिन्नः क्षिप्रो गत्वा तसकृच्छ्र समाचरेत् । सर्वे 159-160; 'शुक्रशब्दश्चात्र मुख्यया वृत्त्या
पितरि वर्तते । .. अतः पितृपत्नीगमनमेव महापातकम् । गमनं च चरमधातुविसर्गपर्यन्तं कथ्यते ।
अतस्ततोऽर्थाच्च निवृत्तौ न महापातकित्वम् । मिता on या III 259

58. तेन सुर्वी (शुक्र ?) स्वासी अङ्गना चेति कर्मधारयसमासात् स्वमातृवचनं एवायं
शुर्वङ्गनाज्ञास्व । न तु शुरोरङ्गना शुर्वङ्गना इति षष्ठीसमासात् सपत्नीमातृवचनोऽपि । तेन निषाद-
स्थपतिं याजयेत्-इतिवत् कर्मधारयसमासे स्वमातृवचनं एवायं शुर्वङ्गनाज्ञास्व । प्रायः प्रकरण p. 80,
ज्ञावर on जै VI. 1 51 says 'समानाधिकरणसमासस्तु षष्ठीयान् । . तस्मात् निषाद एव
स्थपतिः स्यात् । (and not निषादानां स्थपतिः) . Vide H. of Dh vol II p 46 for
निषादस्थपतिभ्याम्.

59. तथा देवलः । आचार्यश्च पिता ज्येष्ठो भ्राता चैव महीपतिः । मातुलः स्वशुरक्राता
मातामहापितामही ॥ वर्णज्येष्ठः पितृव्यश्च शुरयेते शुरवो मताः । भ्राता माणरक्षकः । वर्णज्येष्ठः
क्षत्रियादीनां ब्राह्मण । माय वि p 129, यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव एकादश शुरवो दक्षिता-
स्तथाप्यत्र पितैव शुरव्याहो नाचार्यादि । . मातृगमनस्यातिपातकत्वात् सपत्नीमातृगमनस्य
शुर्वङ्गनागमनत्वेन महापातकत्वाद् अर्थाद्व्यपातके लङ्गुनि हीनवर्णायाः पितृपत्न्याः व्रह्मणः ।
माय वि pp 134-135 ... तस्माद् मातृव्यतिरिक्तैकादशशुर्वङ्गनागमनमेव महापातकमिति
शुज्यते देवलवचनमिति । अत्र भवदेवेनेति नाम शुरोरङ्गना शुर्वङ्गनेति षष्ठीसमासः तत्पुरुष-
समासाश्रयणे निषादस्थपतिवत्त्वर्थलक्षणापत्तेः । अतो शुक्रशब्दाशङ्कना चेति कर्मधारयः ।
शुर्वत् च मातृवे न मातु सपत्न्या । ... तदसमत् मातृगमनं दुहितृगमनं स्तृपागमनमि-
त्यतिपातकानीति विष्णुहारीताभ्यां मातृगमनस्यातिपातकत्वाभिधानात् । यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव
एकादशशुरवो दक्षितास्तथाप्यत्र पितैव शुरव्याहो नाचार्यादिस्तपस्वीगमनस्य शुरतत्पगमनस्य
स्वाद्यपपत्तेरतिपातकत्वगतेश्च । माय. वि. pp 129-134.

mahāpātaka. The Pr. M. relies on Yāj. (III, 233) where there is an express extension of the sin of *gurutalpagamana* to intercourse with one's teacher's wife, or one's daughter and other nearly related women. This would have been unnecessary if *gurutalpa* was primarily meant to include the teacher's wife; while the Pr. V. relies upon Gaut. II. 56 ('the ācārya is the most eminent among gurus, some say that the mother is so'), Visnu Dh. S. 31.1-2 'three persons are *atigurus* (exceed even guru in their greatness) viz. the mother, the father and the ācārya and Devala who mentions eleven persons as gurus. The Pr. M. does not seem to be quite correct since the Pr. V. ultimately (pp. 134-135) states its final view that guru here means only the father and not the ācārya and others and that Visnu Dh. S. 36.4-8 holds that sexual intercourse with the wife of the teacher and several other women relatives is an *anupātaka*.

Mahāpātakasamsarga—Association with those who are guilty of the four mahāpātakas has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 614, 944. Gaut. 21.3, Vas. I. 21-22, Manu XI. 180 (=Śāntiparva 165. 37), Yāj. III. 261, Visnu Dh. S. 35.3, Agnipurāṇa 170. 1-2 prescribe briefly that one who closely associates or dwells with any one of the four grave sinners for one year himself incurs mahāpātaka⁶⁰ and they add that this applies when a man occupies the same conveyance or same seat (as the sinner) or dines in the same row (with the sinner), but that if a person enters into spiritual relationship (such as that of teaching the Veda to the sinner or learning it from him or of officiating as a priest for him or allowing him to officiate as a priest for himself) or into a sexual or matrimonial alliance with him (i. e. a man who cohabits with a woman that is a grave sinner or if a woman cohabits with a male that is a great sinner or if a man marries the daughter of a *patita* or if a woman marries a bridegroom that is *patita*) that person becomes guilty of mahāpātaka at once. Brhaspati speaks⁶¹

60. तैश्चाहं समाचरम् ॥ गौ. 21.3; संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरम् । याजनाश्यापनाद्यौनाशं तु यानासनाशनम् ॥ सङ्ख. XI. 180, वसिष्ठ I. 22, बौ. ध. सू. II. 1.88, विष्णु 35.3 (only the first half of Manu), अग्निपु. 170. 1-2.

61. एकशय्यासनं पङ्क्तिर्भाण्डपक्वाक्षमिश्रणम् ॥ याजनाश्यापने योनिस्तथा च सह-भोजनम् ॥ नवधा सङ्करः श्रोक्ता न कर्तव्योऽधर्मे सह ॥ बृहस्पति १ by अपरार्क p. 1086, एह र 587, प्राय. प्रकरण p. 101, प्राय. वि. p. 143, the *nitā* on III 261 ascribes it to बृहस्पति । The प्राय. स. p. 91 explains the divergence of views as to योनिः, 'योनिः पातकिने कस्यादानं तत्कस्यापरिणयनं वेति विज्ञानिभिरकल्पतत्कारादयः । पातकिनीगमनमित्यपराकृत्युलपाणी । योगपरित्यागात्विदमेव युक्तम् ।' The प्रा. प्रकाश folio 74a also says the same.

of nine kinds of *samsarga* (contact or association) out of which the first five were treated as light sins, but the other four were serious viz. occupying the same bed or seat, taking food in the same row with the sinner, cooking food in the sinner's cooking pots or partaking of food prepared by him, being his sacrificial priest or employing him as one's sacrificial priest, being the sinner's teacher of the Veda or employing him as one's teacher of the Veda, sexual intercourse, taking food with him in the same pot. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 74a) holds that *samsarga* is of three kinds, the highest, middling and lowest. The first includes four viz. *yonisambandha* (marriage), *srauvā* (i.e. that due to sacrificing for a sinner or making him a priest), *maukha* (about learning or teaching Veda) and eating of food from the same vessel (*ekāmātrabhojana*), the middling is of five kinds viz. using the same vehicle, seat, bed or coverlet, eating in the same row and learning the Veda together (*sahādhyayana*). The lowest is of various other kinds such as intimate talks, touching, cooking food in the same vessel, eating food at his house, receiving a gift from him &c. *Adhyāpāna* in order to be a great sin must relate to the Veda, and so also *yājana* must relate to such Vedic sacrifices as *Darśapūrnāmāsa*, *Cāturmāsya*, *Agnistoma*. Helping a *mahāpātaka* to perform the five daily *yajñas* or teaching him the *aṅgas* (metrics, grammar etc.) and the *śāstras* is only a minor sin. Parāśara⁶² (XII. 79) states that sins are transferred (or spread) from man to man like a drop of oil on water by sitting or sleeping together or by using the same conveyance or by speaking with or dining in the same row. Devala and Chāgaleya q. by the Mī. on Yaj. III. 261, the Pr. Prakarāṇa (p. 101), the Pr. V. (p. 145), the Par. M. (II, part 1. p. 28) and others contain similar verses. Acc. to Pr. Prakāśa (folio 75a), in order to become *pātita* one must simultaneously practise these four together, if practised separately, there is no *pāṭitya* but only *doṣa*. Parāśara (I. 25-26) states that in the *Kṛta* age a man became *pātita* by speaking with a *pātita*, in *Tretā* by touching him, in *Dvāpara* by partaking of food prepared in his house and in *Kālī* by actually committing a sinful act and that in the *Kṛta* age a district was abandoned (if any one therein became *pātita*), in *Tretā* the village, in *Dvāpara* the family (of the *pātita* was abandoned) and in *Kālī* only the actual perpetrator himself (is

62 आसन्नान्छयनाद्यानात्सम्भावात् सद्विभोजनात्। संक्रान्तिं हि पापानि तैलविन्दु-
रिवाम्भसि॥ पराशर XII 79, which is the same as a verse of कृष्ण पृ. by परा. मा.
II. 1 p. 28.

abandoned as *patita*). It is clear from this that such contacts with a *patita* as speaking with him,⁶³ touching him or eating food (in the house of a *patita*) were not regarded as involving a man in the same sin as that of the actual perpetrator. Speaking, touching and eating are also actions (*karman*) and Parāśara did not include them in the word 'karmanā' which refers only to the actual perpetration of a murder, surāpāna etc. Therefore when some writers include such contacts as eating or touching under 'karmanā' they put two meanings on the word *karman* in Parāśara viz. perpetration of a murder or the like and also doing some of the acts (touching, eating) which are forbidden to be done in reference to a perpetrator by some *smṛtis*. This is a procedure which is against the maxim of the Mīmāṃsā that the same word conveys only⁶⁴ one sense in the same context. The reasonable inference from the words of Parāśara is that merely touching a *mahāpātaka* or eating food in his house did not involve the toucher and eater in *pāṭitya*. In spite of this medieval writers gradually extended the scope of *samsarga* in a spirit of exclusiveness and of over-emphasis on ideas of ceremonial purity. For example, the *Smṛtyarthasāra*⁶⁵ (p. 112) remarks that he who associates with the person that associates with a *mahāpātaka* has to undergo half the expiation that the first associator has to undergo. But that work does not go beyond this. The *Mit.* (on Yaj III, 261) appears to hold that the associator even though he does not become *patita* is liable to undergo expiation and that even the 4th and 5th associators in a series are liable to undergo expiation

63. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहान्वरत् । एकयानभोजनासनशयनैः ॥ यौनस्त्रीवमैरव-
सम्बन्धात् सद्य एव ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 35. 3-5 यौन (derived from योनि) refers to marital
connection, स्त्री (derived from स्त्रुद a sacrificial ladle) means 'employing as
a sacrificial priest or becoming such a priest for another), मौख (from मुख)
means 'teaching the Veda or learning it by word of mouth). So Viṣṇu pre-
scribes that *pāṭitya* results at once from the first kind of *samsarga* referred
to above तत्र पञ्चमहायज्ञादिविषय याजनं लभ्यते । अङ्गशस्त्राध्ययनं लभ्यते । इन्द्रि-
यभोगिनीव्यति-
रिक्तो परिणयो लभ्यते ॥ पतितेन सहैकपात्रे अन्नव्यातिरिक्तसक्त्यादिभक्षणं लभ्यते ॥ भा. प्रकाश
folio 75a.

64. सङ्गच्छतः शब्दस्तमेवार्थं गमयति ।, which maxim is relied upon in 6 Cal.
119, 126, (FB), that is quoted with approval in L R. 41 I A 290, pp 303-4, 54
All 698, 722 (FB) अन्वयश्चाल्लेखार्थत्वम् ॥ शबर on जै VI, 1 22, मद्. पा. p. 369.

65. महापातकिसंसर्गिसंसर्गे तु तत्संसर्गिव्रतस्यार्थं कुर्यात् ॥ स्वत्यर्थसार p. 112.

though it is lesser and lesser⁶⁶. The Pr. Prakarana (p 109), Pr V. (pp 169-170) and the Pr T. (p 547) quote certain verses of Āpastamba and Vyāsa which very much widen the circle of *samsarga*. Āpastamba-smṛti⁶⁷ (III, 1-3) states. 'if a cāṇḍāla stays in the house of any one of the four castes without being known, the latter on coming to know of the fact should undergo expiation, which is Cāndrāyana or Parāka for a member of the first three varṇas and Prājāpatya for a śūdra. Those who partook of cooked food in that man's house should undergo Kṛochra; one should prescribe one half of Kṛochra for those who took cooked food in the house of the 2nd associator and for those who partook of cooked food in the house of these last one-fourth of Kṛochra is prescribed'. So besides the original associator three more in succession were held to be liable for prāyaścitta. Mercifully they stopped at the 4th from the original associator. A few writers took a more reasonable view. The Par M (II part 2, p 90) remarks⁶⁸ that Parāśara did not prescribe any expiation for *samsarga* (with those guilty of grave sins) with the idea that in the Kali age

66 अतः संसर्गिसंसर्गिणा हिजातिकर्मण्यो हानिर्न भवति प्रायश्चित्तं तु भवत्येव ॥ . तत्र पादहीनम् ॥ .. एवं चतुर्थपञ्चमयोरपि कामतः संसर्गिणोरथहीनं त्रिपादीनं च ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥ मिता on या III 261 या प्रकाश (folio 110a) finds fault with this and holds on the strength of a verse of Vyāsa 'यो येन संसृज्यते स तदीयमेव प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् तेन द्वितीयसंसर्गि नवाह्वानि कुर्यात् तृतीयस्तु पादोर्न तसाह्वानि कुर्यात् । एव चतुर्थपञ्चमादयः पूर्वपादोर्न न्यासवाक्याविशेषात् ॥'.

67. अन्यजातिरविज्ञातो निवसेद्यस्य वेदमनि ॥ स वै ज्ञात्वा तु कालेन कुर्यात्तत्र विशेषो धनम् ॥ चान्द्रायणं पराको वा हिजातीनां विशेषधनम् ॥ राजापत्यं तु क्षुद्राणां तथा संसर्गद्वये ॥ यैस्तत्र युक्तं पक्षात् कृच्छ्रं तेषां विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ तेषामपि च यैरुक्तं कृच्छ्रपादो विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by प्राय. वि pp 170 and 492, प्राय. तत्र p. 547 The verses occur with slight variations in the versified आपस्तम्बसृति (Ānan. edition) III 1-3. The प्राय. वि p 169 remarks 'न्यासादिवचने तृतीयसंसर्गिपर्यन्तं प्रायश्चित्तदर्शनात् । तथा चान्दालादिसङ्केरे न्यासः ॥ ये तदज्ञाशिरो विमाः कृच्छ्रं तेषां विधीयते ॥ तद्गोत्रिणोऽप्येकच्छ्रेण तदज्ञादाश्च पादत् ॥'.

68. आचार्यस्तु कालिदुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य संसर्गप्रायश्चित्तं वाग्यधात् । अत एव स्तुत्यन्तरे कलौ वज्र्यानामनुक्रमणे-संसर्गदोष पापेषु-इत्युक्तम् । परा. मा II part 2 p 90 For a severe onslaught against Mādhava, vide धर्मवैतानिर्णय (p 132) The प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 77a) explains away Mādhava's emphatic remarks as follows: 'कृते सम्भाषणमात्रात्पतति कलौ तु कृत्स्नेन निषिद्धकर्मणा याजनादिभिरित्यर्थः । अन्यथा पूर्ववाक्ये कर्तारं तु कलौ न्यसोदित्यनेन साक्षात् कर्त्रादि. संसर्गो निषिद्धः । द्वितीयवाक्ये तु कलौ पतति कर्मणेत्यनेन साक्षात्कर्तृवै दोषोऽन संसर्गकहुरिति परस्परविरोधः स्यात् । एवं च माधवस्य कलौ संसर्गदोषाभावोक्तैरेव तात्पर्यम् । तथा च कालिनिषिद्धेषु संसर्गदोष इत्युक्तिः पातकिना सह पूर्वोक्तयाजनाद्यनेकविधसंगमावपि यो देशादिमात्रसंसर्गं कृत्युगादौ दोषजनकत्वेनोक्तः पाराशरपूर्वश्लोके यश्चात्रश्लोके कृत्युगादौ सम्भाषणमात्रादौ उक्तस्तद्विषयः ।'.

there is no blenish of samsarga and that it is on account of this that in the enumeration of things to be avoided or not allowed in the Kali age (*Kali-varjya*) another smṛti includes 'pollution through contact with a sinner' (as a *Kalivarjya*). The *Smṛtimuktāphala* (*Prāyaścitta* pp. 897-98) echoes the very words of Mādhava and quotes further authorities on the point⁶⁹. The *Nirṇayasindhu*⁷⁰ holds that though there is blame in association with a *patita* the associator does not himself become *patita*. As Yāj. III. 261 employs the word 'vatsaram' and as the accusative of time is, acc. to Pāṇini, to be used only when there is '*atyantasamyoga*' of time and space (distances) it follows that the associator who is to undergo penance for contact must have been day and night in contact for a year. Devala employs the word '*sārvakālikam*' in this connection.

Though many crimes do not in so many words come within the words of the definitions of the mahāpātakas the smṛtis extend by analogy the same condemnation as the mahāpātakas in three ways. For example, Yāj. III. 251 expressly states that one who kills a ksatriya or vaiśya engaged in (soma) sacrifice or a foetus or an ātreya woman has to undergo the same expiation as for brāhmaṇa murder (therefore this is *vācamkāndeśa*). Yāj. III. 232-233 extends the sin of *gunātapa-gamana* to intercourse with several near female relatives (such as mother's or father's sister). This is extension by *tādṛūpya*. The smṛtis declare many actions as equal to (*sama*) mahāpātakas in general or as equal to one of the mahāpātakas. This is *atideśa* by *sāmya*. A few words must be said on this topic. The general rule is that the expiation for those lapses that are declared to be equal to a mahāpātaka is less than (i. e. half of) what would be prescribed

69. अत एव कलियुगधर्माभिधाने प्रवृत्तः पराशरः ब्रह्महत्यादिमहापातकचतुष्टयस्य मायवित्तक्षुक्तवान् कलियुगे संसर्गदोष(भावमभिप्रेत्य संसर्गमयिष्वित्तं नाम्युधाद् । कर्मण एव पातित्यहेतुत्वम् । तथा कर्मणा पातित्यं कण्ठरक्षेणाह पराशरः (125) 'कृते संभाषणादेव ... कलौ पतति कर्मणा ॥ इति । .. स्मृतिकामधेनौ । संसर्गदोषो नैव स्यान्महापातकिक्रिः कलौ । संसर्गदोष स्तेनाद्येन महापापनिष्कृतिः । तथा स्मृत्यन्तरे । संसर्गदोषः...पापेष्विति पठितम् ॥ कलौ संसर्गस्य पापमात्रहेतुत्वम् । संसर्गदोषस्य पातित्यापादकत्वाभावेऽपि पापमात्रापादकत्वमस्तीत्याह पराशरः । स्मृतिह्रि (या) pp 897-898.

70 कलौ कर्तव्यं लिप्यते इति व्यासोक्तेः पतितसंसर्गे दोषसत्त्वेऽपि पातित्यं नेत्यर्थः । निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 368, तत्रापि (याज्ञवल्कीये) वत्सरमिति द्वितीया श्रूयते सा च कालाव्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोग इत्यत्यन्तसंयोगे स्मृता । अत्यन्तसंयोगश्च यावद्दोराव्रतस्थन्धः । .. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । भोजनासनशय्यादि कुर्वाणः । सार्वकालिकमिति देवबलाक्ये सार्वकालिकशब्देन द्वितीयाथ एवोक्त । या, प्रकाश (folio 76 b),

for the mahāpātaka itself⁷¹. And the penance for those that come under *atideśa* of the *vācanika* or *tādrūpya* kind is three fourths of that for the mahāpātaka itself. But it has to be noted that there is divergence of views about these in the *sūtras* and the *smrtis* Acc. to Gaut 21.10 giving⁷² false evidence, backbiting about another's guilt that will reach the king, falsely accusing one's *guru* with a grave sin or crime are equal to mahāpātaka. In Manu XI 55 (=Agnipurāna 168. 25) the last two of these three and false statement about one's caste or learning or family (1 e. saying that one is a brāhmana when one is not) for securing prosperity or eminence are stated to be equal to brāhmana's murder. Acc to Yāj. III 228 falsely charging one's *guru* is equal to *brahmahatyā* and false statement about one's caste or learning is equal to drinking surā (Yāj. III 229), while acc. to Visnu Dh. S 37. 1-3 the three sins mentioned in Manu XI. 55 are to be included among minor sins (*upapātakas*), while giving false evidence is declared by Visnu to be equal to drinking surā (36. 2). No useful purpose would be served by dilating at great length on the divergences of *smrtis* on what lapses are equal to one of the Mahāpātakas. The digests explain that where the same lapse is described as equal to surāpāna by one *smṛti* and as equal to brāhmana-murder by another the idea is that there is an option as to the penance prescribed for that lapse. Therefore only the remarks of Manu and Yāj. will be set out here. Manu XI. 56 (=Agnipurāna 168. 26) prescribes that forgetting the Veda (already studied), reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, killing a friend, eating forbidden food or food that should not be eaten, these six are equal to surāpāna. Vide Yāj III 228 already referred to above. Manu XI. 57 holds that stealing a deposit or a man or horse or silver or land or diamonds and other gems is equal to the theft of brāhmana's gold. Yāj. III. 230, Visnu Dh S. 5 383, Agnipurāna 168. 27 are to the same effect. Acc to Manu XI. 58 (=Agnipurāna 168 28) carnal intercourse with a sister by the same mother, with maidens, with females of the lowest castes (like Cāṇḍālas), with the wife of a friend or son is declared to

71. अत्र साम्यातिदेशेऽर्थे तादृष्यवाचनिकयोस्तु पादोनम्॥ प्राय स p. 8, vide प्राय प्रकरण pp. 85-87. एतेनातिदेशे पूर्णमायाश्चित्तं वदन्ती शूलपाणिभवंदेवावपास्ती । प्राय स p 9, अत्र समत्वाभिधानात् सिद्धाचारवलेन पादोनं कल्प्यम्॥ ऋषिसमो ब्राह्मणो राजसमो मन्त्रीत्यादिषु समशब्दस्य किञ्चिन्न्यूने प्रयोगदर्शनात्॥ मद. पा p. 808, vide नित्त. on या. III, 231 for similar words

72 कौटसादर्थं राजगामि पैशुनें युरोरुहताभिर्ज्ञंसने महापातकसमानि॥ गौ. 21.10

be equal to the violation of a guru's bed. Yaj. III. 231 is practically the same (but he adds intercourse with a *sagotra* woman to the list). Gaut. 23.12 and Manu XI 170 are very similar. Yaj. III. 232-233 declare that a man who has sexual intercourse with a sister of his father or mother, with his maternal uncle's wife, with his daughter-in-law, with a co-wife of his mother, with his sister, with the daughter or wife of his Vedic teacher or his own daughter, is guilty of being a violator of the guru's bed and should have his penis cut off and be killed (by the king) and the woman concerned, if she was a willing party, should also be killed. Nārada (*śrīpumsayoga*, verses 73-75)⁷³ states: "If a man has sexual intercourse with any of these women viz. mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, a wife of the paternal uncle or of a friend or of a pupil, a sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one's Vedic teacher, a woman of the same gotra, one who has come for protection, a queen, an ascetic woman, one's wet-nurse, a woman performing a *vratā* and a *brāhmana* woman, he becomes guilty of the sin of the violator of the guru's bed (i. e. incest). For that crime no other punishment is laid down except that of the cutting of the penis." These two, Yaj. and Nārada, show that excision of the organ and death are both the expiation and the punishment for this crime. The Mit. (on Yaj III. 233) adds that this punishment applies only to the offenders other than a *brāhmana*, since Manu (VIII, 380) prescribes that a *brāhmana* offender should not be punished with death whatever sin or crime he may have committed and that he is to be banished from the country unhurt and is to retain all his wealth. The Visnudharma-sūtra (36.4-7) adds a few more women to the list of Yaj and Nārada (such as a woman in her monthly illness, the wife of a learned *brāhmana* or of one's sacrificial priest or of one's *Upādhyāya*).

These lapses described above from false accusation against the guru⁷⁴ (Yaj. III. 228 or Manu XI 55 to Yaj. III 233 or Manu

73. सखीयोनिसगोत्राक्षिण्यभार्यासु स्त्रियाणां गवि च श्रुतल्पसप्तः ॥ गौ 23 12; माता मातृवत्सा श्वश्रुर्मातुलानी पितृवत्सा । पितृव्यसखीक्षिण्यस्त्री भगिनी तत्सखी स्त्रिया ॥ दुहिताचार्यभार्या च सगोत्रा शरणायता ॥ राज्ञी प्रव्रजिता धात्री साखी वर्णोत्तिमा च या ॥ आसामन्यतनां गत्वा श्रुतल्पग उच्यते ॥ क्षिप्रस्योत्कर्तनं तस्य नान्यो दण्डो विधीयते ॥ नारद (स्त्रीयुसंयोग 73-75), compare आप. घ. सू. I 9 25 (श्रुतल्पगामी सन्नुषणं क्षिप्रं परिवास्याञ्जलावाधाय दक्षिणं दिशमनाहुतिं ब्रजेत्) and गौ. 23.10

74. एतानि शुक्रधिक्षेपादितनयागमनपर्यन्तानि महापातकातिदेशविधयाणि सद्यःपतन-
हेतुत्वात्पातकान्युच्यन्ते ॥ मिता.-on यज. III. 233,

XI 58) and said to be equal to some mahāpātaka or other are designated as pātakas by Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 216-17) and by the Mit. (on Yāj. III 233) and as *anupātakas* by the Visnudharma-sūtra (36.8). Gautama⁷⁵ (21.1-2) adds a few more to the list of pātakas or *pāṭitas* viz. he who has connection with the female relatives of his mother or father or with sisters and their offspring, a thief of gold, an atheist, one who constantly repeats censured acts, one who does not cast away a *pṛiṭa* or who abandons blameless relatives or those who instigate others to commit pātakas. These pātakas are less than mahāpātakas in their culpability and greater than upapātakas.

Upapātakas (minor sins). The number of these has greatly varied from time to time and from smṛti to smṛti. Vas I 23 speaks⁷⁶ of only five upapātakas viz. forsaking the sacred fires (after beginning Agnihotra), offending the guru, being an atheist, taking one's livelihood from an atheist, selling the soma plant. Śātātapa as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236 mentions only eight. Baud. Dh. S. (II 1 60-61) mentions a small number as upapātakas. Gaut. 21.11 states⁷⁷ that the guilt of upapātaka attaches to those who have been declared to defile the company at a Śrāddha dinner and have been named above before the bald man (in Gaut. XV. 18), killers of kine, those who forget the Veda, those who pronounce Vedic texts for these last, Vedic students who break the vow of chastity and those who allow the time for upanayana to pass without performing it. Śaṅkha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj III 229-236 mentions only 18 upapātakas and styles them *upapātāniyas*. The longest lists are contained in Manu XI 59-66, Yāj III 234-242, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 208-210, Visnudharmasūtra 37 and Agnipurāṇa (168 29-37). According to the Pr. V. (p 195)⁷⁸ the upapātakas mentioned by Manu

75. ब्रह्महत्यापशुवधकर्ममातृपितृयोनिस्सम्बन्धगस्तेननास्तिकानिन्दितकर्मवासिपतितत्याग्यपतितत्यागिनः पतितः ॥ पातकसंयोजकाश्च ॥ गौतम 21 1-2 गौतम 20.1 mentions the persons whom one should abandon 'त्यजेत्येतरं राजपातकं शूद्रयाजकं शूद्रार्थयाजकं वेदविहावकं भ्रूणहन् यश्चान्यावसायिभिः सह सवसेदन्त्यावसायिभ्यः वा ।'

76. योऽग्नीनपविध्येद् शूद्र च य प्रतिद्वष्टयान् नास्तिकी नास्तिकवृत्तिः सोम च विक्रीणीयादिषुपपातकानि ॥ वसिष्ठ I 23.

77. अपर्कस्याना माग्दुर्बालाद्गोदन्तुब्रह्महतमन्त्रकृद्वकीर्णितसोवित्रीकृपपातकम् । गो. 21.11. The word दुर्बाल occurs in गो 15 18.

78. एवं च गोवधादिनास्तिकयान्तानि ऊनपञ्चाशदुपपातकानि । प्राय. वि. p. 195.

come to 49. Those enumerated by Yāj. are set out below⁷⁹ (they are 51 according to Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236, who omits one verse commented on by the Mit. viz 'śūdrapreṣyam' &c. which contains five): slaying kine, being a *vṛātya* (i. e. one whose *upanayana* was not performed at the prescribed age), theft (other than that of brāhmana's gold or other than what is described as equal to theft of the mahāpātaka type), non-payment of debts borrowed (and not satisfying the three debts due to gods, sages and *pitṛs*), not establishing the *śrāuta* fires (even though one has the capacity to do so); selling what ought not to be sold (such as salt); parivedana (a younger brother's marrying before an elder brother or establishing sacred fires before him); learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher; teaching the Veda for payment; adultery (with women other than those referred to in *gunātapa* or those lapses equal to it); an elder brother's remaining unmarried when a younger brother has married; usury (i. e. taking more interest than is allowed by the smṛtis); manufacture of salt; killing a woman (of any caste, except an *atreyī*); killing a śūdra; killing a ksatriya or vaiśya (who is not initiated for a *śrāuta* sacrifice); maintaining oneself on wealth which is condemned; atheism (denial of the soul and a world after death); giving up the observances peculiar to one's status (e. g. a vedic student having sexual intercourse or one guilty of brāhmana murder or the like giving up the performance of the expiation already begun); sale of one's children; theft⁸⁰ of corn, inferior metals (like lead and copper) or cattle; officiating as a priest at a sacrifice for those who are not entitled to sacrifices (such as śūdras or *vṛātyas* &c); driving out of the house one's father, mother or son (without a proper cause such as that

79. गोवधो ब्राह्मणस्तपश्चुणानां चानपाक्रिया। अनाहिताग्निता पण्यविक्रयः पारिविदन् । भृत्यद्वयनादानं भृत्यकाध्यापनं तथा ॥ पारदार्यं पारिवित्त्यं बाहुष्यं लवणक्रिया ॥ स्त्रीशूद्र-विद्वज्जवधो निम्बितार्थोपजीवनम् ॥ नास्तिक्यं व्रतलोपश्च सुतानां चैव विक्रयः ॥ धान्यकुण्ड-पशुस्तेयमयाज्यानां च याजनम् ॥ पितृमातृसुतत्यागस्तदागारागविक्रयः ॥ कन्यासन्धूपणं चैव परिविद्वत्क्रयाजनम् ॥ कन्याप्रदानं तस्यैव कोदित्यं व्रतलोपम् ॥ आत्मनोऽर्थे क्रियारम्भो मद्य-स्त्रीनिषेवणम् ॥ स्वाध्यायाग्निमुत्त्यागो बान्धवत्याग एव च ॥ हन्धनार्थं द्रुमच्छेदः स्त्रीहिंसो-पधिजीवनम् ॥ हिंस्रपञ्चविधानं च व्यसनाभ्यासविक्रयः ॥ शूद्रप्रेष्यं ह्योनसख्यं ह्योनयोनिनिषेवणम् । तथैवान्ध्रमे वासः पराजपरिपुष्टता ॥ असञ्छास्त्राधिगमनमाकरेण्यधिकारिता ॥ भार्याया विक्रय-श्वेपामैकैकशुपपातकम् ॥ या III. 234-242.

80 'Steal' has already been mentioned as the third upapātaka. The mention of the theft of corn &c. here either serves the purpose of showing that the theft of corn &c. will always be expiated as an upapātaka while other kinds of thefts may be dealt with more leniently. The same remark applies to *पितृमातृसुतत्याग* and *बान्धवत्याग* separately mentioned below.

mentioned by Gautama 20.1); the sale of a tank or of a park intended for a charitable object (though not actually dedicated to the public), ascribing demerits to an unmarried girl (or interfering with her private parts by means of a finger or the like); officiating as a priest (at the marriage) of one who though a younger brother marries before an elder brother, giving one's daughter in marriage to one who marries before his elder brother; cheating or following crooked ways (except against one's guru, which is equal to *surāpāna*), giving up an observance voluntarily undertaken⁸¹, cooking for the sake of oneself only (and not for deities, guests &c, which attitude is condemned by Rg X 117 6 and Manus III 118), sexual intercourse with a woman (even one's own wife) who is given to drinking wine, giving up the Veda already learnt so as to forget it by the study of other subjects); not tending one's *śrāta* or *smṛta* fire, abandoning one's son⁸², not maintaining one's relatives (such as the maternal or paternal uncle, when one has the means), cutting down a big tree for fuel (to be used only in cooking one's food⁸³), maintaining one's self on one's wife (i.e. on her immoral earnings or by means of her *stridhana*) or by killing animals or by herbs (used as charms), setting up of machines that cause death or injury to beings (such as for pressing oil from sesame or for crushing sugarcane stalks); addiction to the vices (declared to be eighteen by Manus VII. 45-48); selling one's self (as a slave for money), being the servant of a *śūdra*, friendship with low persons, intercourse with a woman of a lower caste (either as a wife or as a concubine); living outside of the four *āśramas*⁸⁴, fattening oneself on food charitably supplied by others, studying the works of false *sāstras* (such as those of atheists like *Ārvāka*); holding the office of the superintendent of mines (of gold and the like); sale of one's wife

81. *Vratatopa* has already been mentioned above in verse 236 as an *upapātaka*. Therefore the repetition of 'vratatopana' (in verse 238) must be differently explained as done by the *mitakṣara*.

82. In च III 237 we have *पितृनातुसुतत्याग*, and then in 239 again *स्वाध्यायाग्निमुतत्याग*. Therefore अपराक p 1051 explains: 'सुतस्यारक्षणमत्र त्याग स्वाध्यायाग्नित्यागसाहचर्यात् । पितृनातुसुतत्याग इत्यत्र तु जातकर्मादितस्काराकरण सुतस्य त्याग ।'

83. पाकादिप्रयोजनान्निसन्निधनार्थमशुष्कवृक्षभोजनं कुमच्छेदः । अपराक p 1051

84. अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेच्च क्षणमेकमपि द्विजः । आश्रमेण विना तिष्ठन् प्रापश्चित्तियते हि सः ॥ दक्ष I 10, one must belong to one of the four *āśramas*, ब्रह्मचर्य, गार्हस्थ्य, वानप्रस्थ and संन्यास and act as would befit that *āśrama*.

The above list, though long, is not thoroughly exhaustive. Vas I 18 quoted above mentions several persons as *enasunoḥ* (who acc. to Viśvarūpa on Yāj III, 229-236 are *upapātakinah*), some of whom (such as one who is asleep when the sun rises or sets) are not included by Yāj. in his list of upapātakas. Though almost all of the upapātakas listed by Yāj occur in Manu (XI 59-66), yet some of them such as 'abhicāra' (performing a sacrifice like Śyenayāga for the destruction of an enemy), 'mūlakarma' (employment of herbs for bringing under one's control a person) are not noted by Yāj. The Mit on Yāj. III, 242 observes that some upapātakas if repeatedly indulged in make a man *patita* (as provided by Gaut 21. 1) Viśvarūpa, therefore, derives upapātaka as one 'that may become a pātaka by constant addition (*upacaya*) or by constant practice' (*upetya*⁸⁵).

Manu XI, 67 (=Agnipurāṇa 168⁸⁶. 37-38) and Visnu Dh. S. 38 1-6 mention certain lapses as 'jātibhramśakara' (that cause the loss of caste) viz giving pain to a brāhmana (by means of a stick or by the hand), smelling things which ought not to be smelt at (such as garlic, ordure &c.) and smelling spirituous liquor, cheating (saying one thing and doing another), an unnatural offence with a man (or beast also, acc to Visnu). According to Manu XI 68 (=Agnipurāṇa 168 38-39), killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, sheep, fish, a snake or a buffalo must be known to be *sankarikarana* (reducing one to a mixed caste). Visnu 29, 1 says that *sankarikarana* is the killing of village or forest animals. Manu XI, 69 holds that accepting presents from condemned men (such as those mentioned in Manu IV, 84), trading, serving śūdras and speaking a falsehood make a man unworthy to receive gifts (*apatrikarana*). The Visnu, Dh. S. 40, 1 adds 'maintaining one's self by usury' to these. Manu XI, 70 prescribes that killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating any thing kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruits, fuel and flowers and unsteadiness of mind are *malāraha* (which make a man impure). Visnu Dh. S. 41, 1-4 are similar. Visnu Dh. S. 42, 1 says all other lapses not specifically mentioned in

85. उपपातकसंज्ञाप्येवमर्थैव । उपपद्येन उपेत्य वा सेव्यमानं पातकमेव स्यादिति । अर्हं यत्र गौतमेन पातकमध्ये निन्दितकर्मणिासौ दर्शिताः । तिस्रस्तु on या. III 229-236. The reference is to गौतम 21.1, quoted above in note 75.

86. The printed अग्निपुराण reads भैक्ष्यं for जैह्वं in मनु XI.67 and अग्निः 168.39 reads मनुज for महिष.

the several kinds are styled miscellaneous (*prakirnaka*) *Vṛddha-Hārīta* (IX. 210-215) specifies several lapses as *prakirnaka* viz. cutting big trees for fuel (used for cooking one's food), killing insects, big and small, eating of food that has become uneatable owing to *bhāva* ⁸⁷ (i.e. its resemblance in colour or flavour to some forbidden food or because it is offered with disrespect) or *kāla* (food on *ekādasi* or in an eclipse, or in a mourner's house &c. or that is stale) or *kriyā* (action, such as food served with the bare hand or seen by a *patita*, *cāṇḍāla* or a dog &c.); theft of clay, skin, grass, wood, over-eating, falsehood, restlessness about pleasures, sleep by day, spreading false rumours; making others hear false rumours, eating at another's house, sexual intercourse by day, seeing women in their monthly illness or just after delivery, looking at others' wives; sexual intercourse on a fast, on a *śrāddha* day, on a *parvan* day; service of a *sūdra*; friendship with the low, touching the leavings of food; broad laughs with women, talking at random (or love prattle), looking at women that have untied their hair. It will be noticed that some of these like the cutting of big trees for fuel, service of a *sūdra*, friendship with low persons have been already included by Yāj under *upapātakas*.

Having dealt at length with several classes or grades of sins, we have now to address ourselves to the question of the consequences of sins and the means recommended or adopted for removing sin and its consequences.

It has already been shown above how the sages of the *Rgveda* prayed to the gods, particularly to *Aditi*, *Mitra*, *Varuna*, the *Adityas* and *Agni* to free them from *ūgas* or *enas* etc. They often say that they violated the *dharma*s or the *valas* (ordinances) of the gods and implore forgiveness. They were afraid of the consequences of their guilt, viz. the god's anger. They thought that when God was angered by their transgressions he smote them with adversity, destruction, disease and death. For example, they pray 'whatever ordinance (*vṛata*) of yours we may violate every day like subjects (in the case of a king's ordinances) do not subject us to your death-dealing blow' (*Rg* I. 25 2), 'O *Varuna*! whatever transgression we men have committed towards the divine host and whatever rules of yours we may have confounded through heedlessness, do not, on

87. For भावदृष्ट, कालदृष्ट and क्रियादृष्ट food mentioned in वृद्धहरित IX 211 vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 771-772.

account of that sin (*enas*), 'strike us down' (Rg. VII, 89.5)⁸⁸. In Rg. X, 89.8-9 it is said that Indra hurls his sharp and deadly weapon at those who break the settled order (*dharma*) of Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman. The gods are implored to save the worshipper from the deadly attacks of the wolf and from sinking into a pit (in adversity) in Rg. II, 29.6. In Rg. IX, 73.8 it is said that the wise God has his eye on all worlds and he pierces in pits those who do not observe his ordinances and who are therefore not liked by him⁸⁹. On the other hand, when God is pleased with the worshipper, he is implored to lead the latter by the path of virtue (Rg. I, 189.1), to confer happiness on the worshipper's offspring (Rg. I, 189.2, IV, 12.5) and to bestow wealth on him (Rg. VIII, 45.40).

In the Rgveda the first means of removing the consequences of sin appear to be prayers for mercy and for the remission of sin as in Rg. VII, 86.4-5, VII, 88.6-7, VII, 89.1-4 (where 'mṛṣa suksatra mṛlaya' is the refrain of all four verses). Even in the Rgveda water was supposed to remove sin, e. g. I, 23. 22 says 'O water! carry away whatever sin (*durita*) may exist in me'. This shows that sin was supposed to have physical effects like a disease, which were removed by water. Sacrifices were offered to the gods in order to win their favour and in order that the sacrificer may be freed⁹⁰ from the consequences of even grave sins. The Tai S. V. 3.12.1-2 and the Śat. Br. XIII, 3.1.1 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) state that the gods redeemed themselves from all sin by means of this (Aśvamedha sacrifice), they even redeemed themselves from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder. That a confession of sin was deemed to remove sin is illustrated in a striking way by what happened in the Varunapraghāsa (one of the *cāturmāsya* sacrifices). In that⁹¹ sacrifice the wife of the sacrificer had to confess whether she had any lovers and if she felt ashamed to

88. यत्किंचिद् द्वैत्ये जनेऽभिद्रोहं मनुष्याश्चरामसि ॥ अचिन्तय चत्तव धर्मा शुचोऽपि न ना नस्तस्मादेनसो देव धीरियः ॥ ऋ. VII 89.5

89. बिदांस्त्विश्वं धुवनामिपश्यत्यनाश्रुष्टात् विध्यति कर्ते अत्रात् ॥ ऋ. IX, 73.8.

90. सर्वं वा एतेन पाप्मानमतरन्त्यपि वा एतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरन्सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति तरति ब्रह्महत्या योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । ते सं. V. 3.12.1-2.

91. यज्जारं सन्तं न मन्त्रयात्थिं ज्ञातिं वन्द्यात् । असौ मे जार इति निर्दिशेत् । निर्दिश्येनैव वरुणपाशेन ग्राहयति । ते वा. I.6.5. Vide Kātyāyana Śr. V, 5. 6-10 'समारजनाय धेयितेऽस्त्युद्ये प्रतिप्रस्थाता पत्नीमानेऽप्यज्ञाह वेन चरसीति । संस्तुतानाचष्टे । वृणानि बोद्धुमाति यथास्त्युद्ये । अनाख्यातमहितं ज्ञातिभ्य इति श्रुतेः । आख्याति प्रवासिन इत्येना वाचयति नयत् ।', 'प्रवासिनो हवामहे' is वाज. सं III, 44

reply in so many words she had only to raise up in her hand small pieces of grass blades to indicate the number of lovers, if any. If she confessed she had to recite the verse, Vāj. S III 44 and was allowed to take further part in the sacrifice. If she concealed the truth, it was stated in the Tai. Br. that evil would befall her near and dear relatives (her son or husband). It is said by many European scholars who have written on the religion of the Veda that sacrifice became a sort of magic rite to wrest from gods or independently of them what the worshipper desired (e.g. see Keith's *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* pp. 260-268)⁹² But this is an over-statement. When initiated for a sacrifice the sacrificer and his wife had to observe a fast or live on a low diet, both were called upon to observe many strict rules such as telling the truth, they had to make large preparations and spend wealth on the materials and the fees to the priests. These things were deemed to cleanse the mind and soul of the taint of sin. There is no reason to suppose that it was only the ritual that was thought to bring about the desired result (and not all the other matters referred to above).

We shall now discuss the prescriptions of the sūtras and smṛtis about the consequences of sins.

In this connection the doctrines of *Karma* and *Punarjanma* must be well remembered. The details of the origin and development of those doctrines will be discussed in a later section. Here it is enough to state the few main propositions of the doctrine of Karma. The fundamental proposition is that cause and effect are as inseparably linked in the moral sphere as assumed in the physical sphere by science. A good action has its reward and a bad act leads to retribution. If the bad actions do not yield their consequences at once or in this life, the soul begins another existence and in the new environment undergoes suffering for its past bad deeds. The theory of karma and

92. Christ gave a model prayer to his disciples in Luke 11 2-4 and Matthew 6, 9-13, where after invoking the heavenly Father the first thing asked for is the daily bread, then the forgiveness of sin and deliverance from evil. Pious Christians have an easy and complacent self-assurance of getting the things prayed for, since Christ himself has said that they have only to ask and it shall be given to them (Luke 11 9). This also is a sort of magic but it is simple as compared with elaborate Indian sacrifices. It seems rather perverse for a Christian who believes in Luke 11 9 to say that if an Indian believes that a sacrifice will yield some reward it is all magic and nothing more.

the theory of transmigration of souls (of pre-existence and post-existence) are inextricably mixed up in Indian thought from at least the ancient times of the Upanisads. The general rule is that *Karma*, whether good or evil, cannot be got rid of, except by enjoying or undergoing its consequences. This is said by Gaut. 19. 5, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and many other works. 'Because the deed does not perish' Gaut. 9³; 'whatever human action it may be, whether good or evil, it cannot be got rid of except by enjoying its consequences; know from me that a man gets rid of good and evil deeds by enjoying (their consequences)'. This doctrine is based on the Śat. Br. V. 2.2.27, Br. Up. IV. 4 and VI. 2, Chān. Up. III. 14, and V. 3-10, Kāṭha 5. 6-7 and other Upanisad texts.

Therefore they say, 'a man is born again in that world for which he has worked.' 'According as a man acts and according as he believes so will he be; a man of meritorious acts will be meritorious, a man of evil deeds sinful. He becomes pure by pure deeds and evil by evil deeds. And here they say that a person consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will; and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will reap' (Br. Up. IV. 4. 5); 'a man is made up of will; whatever he wills in this world the same he becomes after departing from this world' (Chān. Up. III. 14. 1); 'some human beings enter the womb in order to have an embodied existence; others go into inorganic matter (the stump of a tree and the like) according to their deeds and according to their knowledge' (Kāṭha Up. 5. 7).⁹⁴

'Actions done by a man do not perish unless they (i. e. their consequences) are enjoyed even after crores of years, (the fruits of) actions whether good or evil must of necessity be enjoyed'⁹⁵.

93. न हि कर्म क्षीयते । गौ ष १९५ ५. by साङ्ख्यार्च्य in his भाष्य on वेदान्त-सूत्र IV 1 13, न तु भोगाद्वैतं पुण्यं पापं वा कर्म मानवम् । परित्यजति भोगाच्च पुण्यापुण्ये निबोध मे ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 14 17, तस्मात्कृतस्य पापस्य मायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् ॥ नास्तु कस्याप्यथा नाशः कल्पकोदितैरपि ॥ भविष्यपुराण I 19.27

94. यथाकारी यथाचारी तथा भवति साधुकारी साधुर्भवति पापकारी पापो भवति पुण्यः पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन । अधो खल्वाहुः काममय एवायं पुरुष इति स यथाकामो भवति तत्कृतुर्भवति यत्कृतुर्भवति तत्कर्म कुरुते यत्कर्म तदभितपयते ॥ बृह उ. IV. 4 5, अथ खलु क्रतुमयः पुरुषो यथाक्रतुस्मिहोके पुरुषो भवति तथैव । प्रेत्य भवति ॥ छा III 14 1, योनिमन्ये प्रयच्छन्ते शरीरत्वाय देहिनः । यथाशुभमन्येऽशुभं यन्ति यथाकर्म यथाश्रितम् ॥ क उप. 5 7.

95. नाशकं क्षीयते कर्म कल्पकोदितैरपि ॥ अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म शुभाशुभम् ॥ स्मृति quoted by गोविन्दानन्द on भाष्य वि p. 17 and by सायण in his भाष्य on ते. अ 8 2 In परा. मा II part 1 p 11 the verse is read as अवश्यमनुभोक्तव्यम्.

Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 2-7 and Visnu Dh. S. XX. 47 'just as a calf finds out its own mother from among thousands of cows, so actions done in a former life unerringly reach the perpetrator thereof.'

But this general principle was modified in various ways by the smṛtis and later writings. Gautama 19.11⁹⁶ (= Vasistha 22.8) states 'Reciting the Veda inaudibly (japa), austerities, a sacrifice, fasting and giving gifts are the means of expiating that (i. e. a blamable act)' Vas. 20. 47 and 25. 3 lay down 'A sinner is freed from sin by tormenting his body, by austerities, by reciting the Veda and also by making gifts' and 'those who are constantly engaged in *prāṇāyāma*s (suppression and regulation of breath), reciting purificatory texts, giving gifts, offering sacrifices, muttering sacred texts will undoubtedly be freed from sins'. Manu III. 227 observes, 'by confession, by repentance, by austerity, by reciting Vedic texts (sacred Gāyatri or other texts), a sinner is freed from guilt and in case of difficulty (i. e. if he is unable to perform austerities or to recite Vedic texts) by liberality'. Similar provisions occur in Parāśara X. 40, Śatātapa I. 4, Samvarta 203, Hārita (q. in Pr. T. p. 467), Yama, (q. in Pr. V. pp. 30, 31), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Pr. V. p. 31)

Before proceeding with the subject of *prāyaścittas* we shall speak briefly about the other means of reducing the consequences of sin. And first comes confession. With reference to the confession of paramours by the wife in the Varunapraghāsa, the Tai. Br. (I. 6. 5. 2)⁹⁷ says 'He makes the wife confess, thereby he renders her pure and then he leads her to penance'. The Śat. Br. (II. 5. 2. 20) puts it in this form 'for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth'. This was a confession before God (Fire) and men (the priests) to restore one to divine forgiveness and favour. As regards several lapses, confession was part of the procedure prescribed for atoning for the sin.

96. तस्य निष्कयणानि जपस्तपो होम उपवासी दानम् । गौ 19.11=वासिष्ठ 22.8= बौ ध. सू. III. 10.9 The word निष्कय occurs in Jai VI. 4.33 (niskraya-vāddacca) which refers to a vedic passage about विश्वजित् 'सर्वोभ्य एष देवताभ्य आत्मानं निष्क्रीणीति' quoted by Śabara on जै. VI. 4.32.

97. पत्नी वाचयति मेध्यामैत्रिणां करोति । अथो तप एवैनामुपनयति । यज्जार...माहयति । यवास्यान एवामहे इति पत्नीमुदानयति । ते जा I 6.5, vide note 91 above for the passage यज्जार...माहयति.

CHAPTER II

MEANS OF REDUCING CONSEQUENCES OF SINS

Confession—In Āp. Dh S. I. 9, 24, 15, I. 10, 28, 19, I. 10, 29, I it is prescribed that the person undergoing a penance for being an *abhisasta* or for unjustly forsaking his wife or for the murder of a learned brāhmana has to declare his misdeed while begging for alms to support himself. The Vedic student who was guilty of sexual intercourse had also to proclaim his lapse while begging at seven houses (Gaut, 23.18, Manu XI 122) ⁹⁸

Repentance (anutāpa)—Manu⁹⁹ XI 229-230 (= Visnudharmottara II. 73 231-32) provide: "The more a man's mind loathes his own evil deed the more does his body become freed from the unrighteousness (committed by him). If after committing a sin a man feels repentance for having done it he becomes free from that sin. He becomes purified only by the resolution of ceasing to sin and thinking 'I shall not do so again'".¹⁰⁰ The Visnupurāṇa II. 6.40 lays emphasis on repentance and humble devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Pr. V. (p. 30) quotes a verse of Angirasa 'A man after committing sins, if he is consumed by repentance and is sorry day and night (for his misdeed), is purified by prāṇāyāma'. The view of digests like the Pr. Prakāśa is that

98 Confession of sins has played a prominent part in early and medieval Christianity. For example, (First epistle of) John I. 9 says 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness'.

99. Manu XI. 229 also occurs in ब्रह्मसूत्र 218. 5.

100. Compare Christ's call to repentance in Matthew 4. 17 and Mark I 15 and his last words (in Luke 24 47) that 'repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations'. शोचते मनसा नित्यं दुष्कृतान्यनुचिन्तयन् । तपस्वी चापमत्तश्च पापेभ्यः स ममुच्यते ॥ इति कल्पतरुवृद्धत-
चाभ्येन तपस्विपदोपादानात् ।... पुनरङ्गिराः । विकर्मणा तप्यमान पापाद्धि परिमुच्यते । इति ।
अत्राहुतापनाशस्य पापनाशकत्वाद्युपपत्तेः पापनाशकमायश्चित्ते अधिकारिविशेषणत्वेन पापनाश-
मयोजकत्वमुक्तम् । विष्णुरपि । मनःसंतापनात्तीव्रमुद्बुद्धेच्छोकमन्ततः ।... अत्र सर्वत्राहुतापस्य
निहितत्वेन नखानि निकृन्वति इत्यादिवद् दीक्षितत्ववैराग्यवज्राधिकातिविशेषणत्वमेव । प्र-
मकाश folio 11, यम । पश्चात्तापो निवृत्तिश्च स्नानं चाङ्गतयोदितम् । नैमित्तिकानां स्वातन्त्र्ये
तद्विधिः स्यादनर्थकः ॥ महाक्लेशसाध्यं हि प्रायश्चित्तम् । अल्पक्लेशा हि पश्चात्तापादयः । ते.
प्रायश्चित्तफले कृते प्रायश्चित्तविधिरफल इति स्पष्टम् । अपराक p 1231.

repentance by itself is not enough to destroy sins, but that repentance renders the sinners fit to receive penance, just as paring the nails and the like make the person intending to perform a Vedic sacrifice fit to be a *dīkṣiṭa*. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p 1231) states that repentance and stopping from repeating the sin are merely the *aṅgas* (subsidiary elements) of *prāyaścittas* and cannot independently take the place of penances.

Prāṇāyāma (restraint of the breath) Vide H of Dh. vol II p 317 for a description of this. Manus. XI 248 (which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. IV 131, Vas. 264, Atri II 5, Sankhasmṛti XII 18-19) lays down 'sixteen *prāṇāyāmas* attended by the *Vyāhrtis* and the *Pranava* (*omkāra*), if performed every day, would purify after a month even the murderer of a *bhrūna* (a learned *brāhmana*)'. Visnu Dh. S. 55.2 (in prose) is to the same effect. Vas. 261-3 provide that on the proper performance of three *prāṇāyāmas* all the sins committed by day or in the night are at once destroyed. Yāj. III 305 states that for the removal of all sins, of *upapātakas* and of sins for which no special expiation is provided by the texts one hundred *prāṇāyāmas* should be performed. This refers to sins not known to others for which expiation is to be performed secretly. Baud. Dh. S. (IV 15-11) provides for varying numbers (3, 7, 12) of *prāṇāyāmas* to be spread over one day to a year for different kinds of sins ranging from the eating of the food of a *śūdra* to *brāhmana* murder. This whole passage is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III 305 which points out the kinds of sins it deals with. The *Agnipurāṇa* 173.21 has the same half verse as Yāj. III 305 (first half).

Tapas (austerity) Even Rg. X 154.2 speaks of *tapas* as leading to heaven and as unassailable. The Chān. Up. V 10 1-2, Mundaka Up. I 2 10-11 place *tapas* over *yajña*. Gaut. 19 15 says that celibacy,¹⁰¹ truthfulness, bathing thrice daily (in the morning, at noon and in the evening), wearing wet clothes (till they are dried on the body), sleeping on the ground (on a raised part or altar) and fasting constitute austerities. Baud. Dh. S. III 10 13 adds to these '*ahimsā*' (non-injury to any being), *asthanya* (not depriving any one of his property) and *guru-sukṛt-ūsa* (attendance upon a teacher). Gaut. 19 17 states that

101. ब्रह्मचर्यं सत्यवचनं सवनेष्वकोपस्पर्शनमाद्र्वैकल्लाघ. श्राविताऽनाशक इति तपसि । गौ. 19.15.

the periods for which *tapas* is to be observed are a year, six months, four months, three months, two months, one (month), 24 days, 12 days, 6 days, 3 days, a day and a night, (according to the nature of the sin). Manu XI. 239-241 declare that those guilty of mahāpātakas and others guilty of evil deeds are freed from sins by well-practised *tapas* and that whatever sins are committed by people in thought, word and bodily actions are all quickly burnt by *tapas*. This doctrine is shared by the Jains as stated in the Uttarādhyayana XXIX 27 'by austerities he cuts off karman' (S. B. E. vol 45 p. 166).

Homa (sacrifice into fire). The Tai. Ā. (II 7-8) describes¹⁰² the kūsmaṇḍa homa and dīksā and II. 8 prescribes that the man who regards himself as impure should offer a sacrifice with the kūsmaṇḍa mantras (mentioned in Tai. Ā. II. 3-6, viz. 'yad devā deva-hedanam' (Vaj. S. 20 14-16 = Tai. Ā. II. 3.1) The Mahārnavakarmavipāka (folio 8 a) prescribes the procedure of Kūsmaṇḍa homa taken from Jamadagni which is brief. It is as follows.—After shaving the hair on the head and the moustache and taking a bath in holy water one should offer the āyabdhāgas and then offer oblations of clarified butter with the three *Amuvākas* beginning with 'yad devā devahedanam,' and then he worships fire with the verses beginning with 'Vaiśvānarāya pratipādayāmi' He then offers *samudh* with the mantra 'yadadivayam' and then he repeats the Jayā mantras. He has to observe the rules for a dīksita viz not eating flesh, avoiding sexual intercourse, not telling a falsehood and not sleeping on a cot. He has to subsist on milk (if he is a brāhmana), on barley gruel if a ksatriya and on amīksā if he is a vaiśya. The Kūsmaṇḍa-homa as prescribed by Baudhāyana is a longer one. The Baud. Dh. S. III. 7 1 prescribes that he who considers himself impure should offer burnt oblations reciting the kūsmaṇḍa mantras, that he who has had forbidden intercourse becomes even like a thief or even like a slayer of a learned brāhmana

102 अथ कूष्माण्डैर्हृत्पाद्योऽपृत इव मन्येत यथा स्तेनो यथा भ्रूणहैवमेव भवति योऽप्यनैरेतः सिञ्चति । यद्वर्जनीयमेनो भ्रूणहत्यायास्तस्मान्मुच्यत इति । ते आ II 8, which is repeated in बौ ध सू. III. 7 1, that is q. by the मिता. on वा. III 303, 'यत्र कर्मणि यदेवा देवदेवनमित्यादयो मन्त्रास्तैस्तिरीयारण्यके समाम्नाताः स कूष्माण्डहोमः । परमिन् अग्रे नय सुपथेति च तथा अग्रे मन्त्रे प्रथमस्य प्रचेतस इत्याद्या कचस्तैस्तिरीयज्ञासायां समाम्नाताः स गणहोमः । महार्णवकर्मविपाक folio 7 b For अग्रे नय vide Rg I 189 1, Tai S I. 1, 14 3, Tai. Ā I. 8 8.

and that (by performing homa with kūsmandas) he becomes free from any sin that is less than the murder of a learned brāhmana Yāj III. 309 provides that whenever a twice-born man feels himself mixed up in heavy sins he should perform a *homa* with sesame with the sacred Gāyatrī *mantra*. The Mit following a verse of Yama says that one lakh of offerings of sesame must be made. Both Manu XI 34 and Vas 26 16 say that a brāhmana becomes free from all distresses by Vedic recitations (*japa*) and sacrifices (*homa*). When the wife confessed to the existence of a paramour, the Śat. Br. II 5 2. 20 states that she made an offering into the *Dakṣināgni* with the *mantra* (Vaj S. III 45) 'whatever¹⁰³ sin we have committed, whether in the village, in the forest, in society or by the organs of sense, we cast that away by this sacrifice, *avāha*.' Both Manu (VIII 105) and Yāj (II, 83) prescribe that when a witness tells a falsehood in order to prevent an accused person from being sentenced to death, he should offer for expiating his perjury an oblation of boiled rice to Sarasvatī. There are other homas also prescribed such as the *Ganahoma*, in which such verses as '*agne naya supathā*' from the Taittirīya *sakhā* are recited (Mahārnavā).

The old idea of sacrifice seems to have been that it was propitiatory in character. Sacrifice was not demanded or required by God. Sacrifice was probably regarded as a gift which pleased God, induced Him to forgive a man for his transgressions and enabled erring man to regain God's favour which had been lost by some shortcoming or some sinful act. Sacrifices therefore had an expiatory or cleansing function or character. Sacrifices may be performed by offerings either an animal (meant as substitute for the sinner himself who had forfeited his life for his sins and transgressions) or a burnt offering or any other thing offered to God and then distributed to others.

Japa (muttering of Vedic passages as prayers) *Japa* is of three kinds, *vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāṃśu* (inaudibly uttered) and *mānasa* (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior, acc to Laghu Hārīta IV. p 186,

103 यद् याने यद्वरण्ये यत्समायां यदिन्द्रिये । यदेनश्चकुना वयमिदं तदवयजामहे
स्वाहा ॥ वाज सं III. 45, vide also तै. स. I. 8 3 for a similar passage.

(Jīvananda I.)¹⁰⁴ Śābara (on Jai. XII 4. 1) distinguishes *japa* from *stuti*, the former being simply an utterance or recitation of a *mantra* or *mantras*¹⁰⁵. Inaudible *japa* is praised¹⁰⁶ in Śāṅkhāyana Br. 14. 1. The Āśv. Śr I 1 20 provides that *japa*, anumantṛana, āpyāyana and upasthāna are uttered *upāmsu*. The Āp. Śr (24 1. 8-10) provides that mantras from the Rgveda and the Sāmaveda are uttered in sacrifices loudly and that passages of the Yajurveda are muttered *upāmsu* and the Tai. Prātiśākhya 23. 6 states that *upāmsu* recitation is made by means of the effort of speech organs but without sound (i. e. in a very low voice) and without the mind being directed (to utterance with udātta and other accents) i. e. 'Karanavad-asābdam-amanah-prayogam-upāmsu'. Gaut. 19. 12 (= Baud. Dh. S. III. 10 10= Vas 22 9) prescribes the following Vedic texts as purifiers: Upaniśads, Vedānta texts, the Samhitā texts of all the Vedas (and not the *padapūtha* or *kramapūtha*), the *Yajus* texts in which the word 'madhu' occurs, the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. X. 190 1-3), the Atharvaśiras, (the *anuvākas* called) Rudras, the Purusa hymn (Rg. X. 90), the two *sāmans* called Rājata and Rauhineya, the Brhat-sāma and the Rathantara, the Purusaḡati sāman, the Mahānāmni verses, the Mahāvairāja (*sāman*), the Mahādivākīṛtya (*sāman*), any of the Jyestha sāmans, the Bahispavamāna (*sāman*), the Kūsmānda, the Pāvamāni (Rg. IX) and the Sāvitrī (Rg. III. 62 10).¹⁰⁷ The

104. अत्र जपयज्ञं प्रकृत्य नरसिंहपुराणम् । त्रिविधो जपयज्ञः स्यात्तस्य भेदं निबोधत । वाचिकाख्य उपांगुश्च मानसश्चिविधः स्मृतः । त्रयाणां जपयज्ञानां श्रेयान् स्यादुत्तरेतरम् । इति । अत्र हारीत । उच्चस्विकाख्यं मोक्षो ध्यानाद्विशुद्धः स्मृतः । उपांगुः स्याच्छतख्यः सहस्रो मानसः स्मृतः । स्मृतिश्च I p. 149. The verses त्रिविधो . उत्तरेतरम् occur in वृत्तिहपुराण 58. 78-79 and also in लघुहारीत IV. p. 186 (Jiv I). Both these also define वाचिक and उपांगुजप as follows. 'मन्त्रस्तुच्चारयन् वाचा जपयज्ञस्तु वाचिकः । शनैश्चचारयन्मन्त्रं किञ्चिदीदृशं प्रचलयेत् । किञ्चिच्छ्रवणयोग्यं स्यात्त उपांगुजपः स्मृतः ॥'

105. वचनं जपनमिति समानार्थं, यस्मात् जप इत्युक्तायां वाचीति स्मर्यते । तेन यत्र वचनमार्थं मन्त्रस्य क्रियते न स्तुयते नाश्रास्यते स जप । शबर on जै. XII. 4. 1.

106. अथर्था आज्यमाज्येन वै देवा. सर्वान्कामानाजयन्त सर्वममृतत्वं ..तद्वा इदं पदं विधमाज्यं तूष्णीं जपस्तूष्णीं शंस. पुरोयजूस्तुतुयवीर्यं याज्येति । ... अथ यस्तुरस्तात् तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वर्गो वै लोको यज्ञस्तथस्तुरस्तात्तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वस्त्ययनमेव तत्कुर्वते स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य समष्टौ । शांखायनब्रा. 14. 1.

107. 'Madhūni' are explained by Haradattā as 'मधुशब्दयुक्तानि यजूंषि ब्रह्मेते मानित्यादीनि'. These occur in तै. आ X 38. It is better to hold as done by the मद्र. पा p 761, by Maskarin in his bhāṣya on Gaut. and by Pr Prakāśa (folio 86a) that the word मधुनि refers to the three verses beginning with the words 'Madhu vāitā' that are Rg. I. 90. 6-8 and occur in Tai. S. IV 2. 9 and

(Continued on the next page)

original idea of japa was highly spiritual. Deep knowledge of the Upanisads and other texts would have made the soul pure and enabled it to realize the supreme reality and induced in the mind love of all human beings as sparks of the one Divine Essence. Japa at the highest level was contemplation of God and endeavour to attain unity with God. The habit of repeating the sacred texts should lead to maintaining the soul in the presence and thought of God. Japa demands three things, purity of heart, detachment and placing oneself in the hands of God.

Manu XI. 46 provides that a sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts as prayers, but that which men in their folly commit intentionally is expiated by *prāyaścitta*.

(Continued from the last page)

Vā. s XIII. 27-29 also, since they are styled मनुमयी by आश्व. सु. पार. सु. I 3, भाष्य. I. 9 14. Atharvashra is an उपनिषद् which begins with देवा ह वै स्वर्गं लोक-मापस्ये इदमप्युच्यते की भवामिति. Vide the Nir. edition of 108 Upanisads (printed in 1925) for the अथर्वशिरम्. The अथर्वशिरम् is highly eulogized as a destroyer of sins like *Aśvamedha* in Manu XI 259-60, Visnu Dh S 55.7, Vas 26 B, Baud. Dh S. IV 2 20. Rudras are the eleven *amṛtāṅkas* of Tai S IV 5. 1-11 beginning with तमस्ते इदं मन्यते. Acc. to Haradatta the two *Sāmāns* Rājata and Raubhina are sung on the Rk verse 'Indram naro nemadhitā havante' (Rg. VII 27 1, *Sāmaveda*, *Pūrvārcaika* 318). The बृहत्साम is sung on the verse स्वामिदि हवामहे (अ. VI 46 1, *Sāmaveda* *Pūrvārcaika* No. 234), the Rathantara on the verse अभि स्वा ह्युर (अ. VII 32 22, *Sāmaveda* *Pūrvārcaika* 233). In the भगवद्गीता X 35 SriKṛṣṇa puts the *Bṛhatsāma* as the foremost among *Sāmāns* (बृहत्साम तथा साम्नां). *Purusagati Sāman* is sung on the verse 'Aham-asmi prathamajā rtasya,' (*Sāmaveda*, *Aranyakānda* VI 1 594) महानाग्नी verses are those beginning with विद्वा मयदन् विद्वा which occur in the ऐ. अ. IV, in the जैमिनीयसंहिता of the सामवेद (ed. by Dr Raghuvira) and in other संहिता. The महाविराज (सामन्) is sung on the verse विवा सोममिन्द्र मन्दतु स्वा (अ. VII 22 1, सामवेद पूर्वाचिक 398, उत्तराचिक 927), the महादेवाकीर्त्य is sung on विभादुब्रह्मविष्णु सोम्य (अ. X 170 1, सामवेद अरण्यकाण्ड 628, उत्तराचिक 1453). about the ज्येष्ठसामानि हरदत्त mentions two interpretations (of the तलवकार शास्त्रा and छन्दोग), one holding that they are sung on उद्गु त्य (Rg I 50 1, सामवेद पूर्वाचिक 31) and चित्रं देवाना (Rg I 115 1), the other that they are three *Sāmāns* sung on सूर्यान् दिवो (Rg VI 7.1, सामवेद पूर्वाचिक 67, उत्तराचिक 1140). Maskarin holds that ज्येष्ठसामानि are those sung on the verses सो नो देवी (Rg X. 4) and चित्रं देवाना (Rg I 115 1). The बहिष्पवमान is sung on उपासमे मापता नर. (Rg IX 11 1, सामवेद उत्तराचिक 651, 763). Vide H. of Dh vol II pp 1169-1170 for further details of the बहिष्पवमान. For the कुशमाण्डमन्त्र, vide तै. आ. II, 3-5 पादमन्त्र are the verses about *soma* in the 9th Mandala of the Rgveda. *Sāvitri* is the famous *Gāyatri* mantra (Rg. III 62 10).

Manu II 85-87 (which are the same as Vās. 26 9-11 and Visnu Dh S 55. 10-21) lay¹⁰⁸ down: 'the performance of *japa* is ten times more efficacious than the sacrifices (like Darsapūrnamāsa) prescribed by the rules (of the Veda), *japa* when carried on inaudibly is a hundred times superior (to sacrifices) and mental revolution of mantras is a thousand times superior. The four pākayajñas¹⁰⁹ (Vaiśvadeva, *bali*, daily *śūddha*, and honoring guests) together with the Vedic sacrifices do not come up to even the 16th part of *japa*. A brāhmana attains perfection (the highest goal) by *japa*; he may or may not engage in other duties (such as Vedic sacrifices), a brāhmana befriends all creatures'. Great eulogy is bestowed on the inaudible *japa* of the Gāyatrī *mantra* (Rg III. 62 10) for which pp. 303-305 of H of Dh. vol. II may be consulted. Where no particular number is specially mentioned the recitation of a mantra is to be performed a hundred times.¹¹⁰

Manu^{110a} XI. 261-262, Vas 27 1-3, Angiras 101 and other works go so far as to assert that the fire of Veda study consumes guilt caused by evil deeds just as a fire burning strongly consumes even green trees or that a brāhmana who remembers Rgveda (studied by him) is not tainted by any guilt, though he may have destroyed the three worlds and have eaten the food of any person whatever. But these are simply laudatory (*atthavūdas*) and are not to be taken literally, as Vas. 27. 4¹¹¹ (= Angiras 102) gives the warning 'one should not become addicted to (or take pleasure in committing) evil deeds relying on the power of the Veda (stated in some smṛti passages). (The effects of) actions done through ignorance and negligence are alone consumed (by Veda study) and not those of other actions (intentionally done).'

Many smṛtis such as Manu XI 249-257 (which are almost the same as Visnudharmottara II. 74. 4-13), Vas 26. 5-7 and 28 10-15 (the former of which are the same as Manu XI 249-251), Visnu

108. Manu II. 87 occurs in Śaṅkhasmṛti also (XII. 28).

109. The five pākayajñas are enumerated in Manu III 70 and the four meant are all of them except brahmayajña (teaching and studying Veda).

110. 'जपस्तु शतसंख्याक, अनादेशे शतमिति सूत्रादिति शूलपाणि. । प्रा प्रकाश. folio 143a.

110a. Manu XI. 262 and Vas. 27 3 are identical.

111. न वैद्वलमाभित्य पापकर्मरतिर्भवेत् । अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च दृष्टते कर्म नेतरम् ॥ बसिष्ठ 27.4, अङ्गिरस् 102

Dh. S 56 3-27, Atri VI 1-5 (which are almost the same as Vas ¹¹² 28 10-15), Śankha, chap. 11 (= Vas 28 10-15), Samvarta 227-228, Baud Dh. S IV 2 4-5, IV. 3 8, IV 4. 2-5, Yāj III 302-305, prescribe several Vedic hymns or single Vedic verses or prose passages as specially efficacious for removing all sins. It is not possible nor necessary to set down all of them, but by way of sample the verses of Manu (XI 249-257) are translated here. 'Even a drinker of *surā* becomes pure if he mutters the hymn (seen) by Kutsa ¹¹³, the three verses beginning with 'pati' (Rg VII 80 1-3) seen by Vasistha, the Mahitra hymn (Rg X 185), the verses called Śuddhavatī (Rg VIII 95 7-9 where the word 'śuddha' occurs 13 times in different connections). Even he who has stolen gold (of a brāhmana) instantly becomes free from guilt if he once mutters (the hymn) beginning with 'asya vāmasya' i e. Rg I 164 1-52), and the Śivasankalpa (Vāj S XXXIV. 1-6). The violator of a guru's bed is freed from sin if he repeatedly recites the hymn beginning with 'havis-pāntam' (Rg. X 88 1-19) and the hymn beginning with 'na tam-amho' (i e. Rg X 126 1-8), the hymn beginning with 'iti' (i e. Rg X 119) and the hymn addressed to *Puruṣa* (Rg X 90). He who desires to do away with sins, great and small, should mutter during a year the verse beginning with 'ava' (i e. 'ava te helo varuna namobhih' Rg I 24. 14, Tai S I 5 11 3), or the verse 'yat kim ca' (Rg VII 89 5) or the verse 'iti vā' (Rg X 119 1). That man who, having accepted a gift that ought not to be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the hymn beginning with 'tarat sa mandī' (Rg IX 58 1-4)¹¹⁴ becomes pure after three days. He who has committed many sins becomes pure if he recites for a month the hymn beginning with 'Somā rudrā' (Rg VI 74 1-4) and the three verses beginning with 'Aryamanam' (Rg. IV 2 4-6) while he bathes in a river (and not in a pond or other reservoir of water). One guilty of a grievous offence should mutter the seven verses beginning with 'Indram' (Rg I 106 1-7). A twice-born man removes even very great guilt by offering clarified butter for a year (in fire) with the mantras for the Śakalahomas (Vāj S VIII 13) or by muttering the

¹¹² Vas 28 10-15 are quoted in स्मृतिच I p 187. Atri VI. 1-5 are quoted as Atri's in Gr R p 245.

¹¹³ The Kautsa hymn is Rg. I, 97 1-8, all of which have as their refrain अप न. कोऽनुचक्षम्, 'may he burn away our sin'.

¹¹⁴ नरत्स मन्दी धावति is the refrain of all four verses of Rg IX 58. It means 'He who presses (soma) gets over (all sins), he runs (to higher worlds),' Yide Nir. XIII 6.

mantra 'nama id-ugram' (Rg. VI. 51. 8) One who is stained by mortal sin becomes pure if with a concentrated mind he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pāvamāni hymns (the whole of Rg. IX) and subsisting on alms ^{114a}

So much importance and such occult powers came to be attached to the words of the Rgveda that the Rgvidhāna of Śaunaka (which is later than Manu) concerns itself with prescribing numerous hymns of the Rgveda for the removal of various diseases, of sins, for the conquest of enemies

The Sāma Br I. 5. 2 says ¹¹⁵ generally that when no particular hymns are prescribed for the removal of sins Vedic mantras are powerful and become purifiers if accompanied by *tapas* and the Sāmans may be repeated for the same purpose from ten times as the minimum to 100 times as *prāyaścitta*. Gautama 19. 13 prescribes the kind of food on which one should subsist when one is engaged in *japa* viz. one was to live on milk alone, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruits only, to live on barley gruel prepared from a handful of grain, to eat gold¹¹⁶, to eat clarified butter, and to drink *soma* and so forth. Gautama 19. 14 further lays down that all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (*ṛṣis*), cowpens and temples of the gods are places (which help to destroy sin).

As the Veda could be studied in and after the sūtra period only by the male members of the first three classes, the *japa* of Vedic texts for the removal of sins was not possible for śūdras; therefore, the Mit. (on Yāj III. 262) says that although the śūdra (and women and those born of pratiloma marriages also) has no *adhikāra* (power or capacity or authority) for the recitation of Gāyatrī and other Vedic mantras, still the śūdra and women after revolving in the mind the name of the deity put in the dative case can engage in *japa* with the word *namaḥ* (i.e. he can only utter the words 'namo namaḥ' and not *om* &c)

114a. In Rg. I. 106. 1-7 the first six verses have the refrain विश्वस्माकं अहसो निष्पितेन ('May you take us beyond all sin').

115. अनादेशो मन्त्रा बलवन्तस्तपोन्विताः पात्रना भवन्ति। आपन्नं मायश्चित्तं चरेत्। अभ्यासं साम्नां शतं दशवारम्। सामविधानम् I. 5. 2-4.

116. 'To eat gold' is explained by हरदत्त as 'सर्पिरादौ हिरण्यं निवृण्व्य प्राशनं हिरण्यप्राशनम्'.

as stated by Gaut Dh S. X. 66-67 and Yāj. I. 121¹¹⁷. When Manu IV. 80 says 'let him not explain to a śūdra the sacred law (*dharma*) nor impose upon him a *vrata*' all that is meant is, according to the Mit on Yāj III. 262, that it applies only to a śūdra who does not wait upon or serve higher varnas. Similarly, when Gaut IV. 20 says that those born in the inverse order are outside the pale of the sacred law, the meaning is that *samskāras* like upanayana are not to be performed on them. The mystic syllable 'om' is said by Āp Dh S (I. 4. 13. 6) to be the door to heaven and was to be employed before the recitation of any Vedic passage. The Yogasūtra (I. 27) avers that *om* (called *pranava*) is expressive of the idea of God and that the repetition of *om* and revolving the meaning of it in the mind lead to concentration.¹¹⁸

Not only were certain Vedic hymns and passages recommended for recitation with the object of removing sins some works, particularly the Purāṇas, proposed an easy way for all viz. that the remembrance of God Nārāyaṇa (or Hari or Kṛṣṇa) removed all sins. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 176) contains a stotra (hymn of praise) of Viṣṇu, which when recited is said to free a man from all sins (mental, vocal or bodily). The Pr. V. p. 31 quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa^{118a} and three verses from the Viṣṇu-purāṇa as follows.—'even a great sin is removed by (the resolve of) not doing it again, by gifts, by confessing it to others, and by meditation (on Viṣṇu) and not only by *prāyaścittas*' (Bhaviṣya); 'of all the expiations (for sins declared by the sages) such as *tapas* (Cāndrāyana and others) and other actions (*japa*, *homa*, *gifts*) the meditation on

117 अहुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः । पातयज्ञी स्वयं यजेतेत्येके । गी. X. 66-67, on which हरदत्त comments 'अस्य ह्यद्रस्य वैश्वदेवादिषु तत्तद् देवतापदं चतुर्थ्यन्त मनसा ध्यात्वा नमो नम इत्येव रूपो मन्त्रोऽहुज्ञातो धर्मज्ञः । नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्चयज्ञात् प्रापयेत् ॥' यी. I. 121 Vide H of Dh. vol II p. 158 note 371 for further details मन्त्र X. 41 says that all pratilomas are like śūdras

118. ओङ्कार स्वर्गद्वारं तस्माद् ब्रह्माख्येयमाण एतदादि प्रतिपद्यते । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 6, 'तस्य वाचकं प्रणवः । तज्जपस्तदर्थं भावयन् ।' योगसूत्र I. 27-28, वाचस्पति comments: प्रणवस्य जपः प्रणवामिधेयस्य चेश्वरस्य भावयन् । तदस्य योगिनः प्रणवं जपतः प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकाग्रं सम्यचति ।

118a भविष्यपुराणम् । अयुः करणाख्यागात्ररुपापनादहुचित्तनात् । व्यपेति महद्व्येनः प्रायश्चित्तैर्न केवलम् ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् । प्रायश्चित्तान्यशेषाणि तपः कर्मात्मकानि वै । यानि तेषाम-
शेषाणां कृष्णाहस्मरणं परम् ॥ प्रातर्निशि तथा सन्ध्यामध्याह्नादिषु संस्मरन् । नारायणमवाप्नोति
सद्यः पापहाय नरः ॥ प्रायश्चित्तं p. 31 The verse प्रायश्चित्तं . परम् is विष्णुपुराण II. 6. 39.
The verse प्रातर्निशि is q. by अपरार्क p. 1232 and by प्रायश्चित्तं also (p. 524).
The two verses are also respectively ब्रह्मपुराण 22. 37 and 39.

Kṛṣṇa is the highest. If a man remembers Nārāyaṇa in the morning, at night, at twilight, at midday and the like, he at once secures the removal of sin' (Viṣṇupurāṇa). The Brahma-purāṇa¹¹⁹ (216. 87-88) gives expression to a popular belief as follows:—"Men, even after committing sins many times through folly, do not go to Hell if they prostrate themselves before Hari who destroys all sins. Those men also who always remember Janārdana even by roguery go to the world of Viṣṇu after death." The Viṣṇupurāṇa affirms that those who contemplate upon the mantra of twelve letters (viz. 'om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya') do not return to the cycle of births and deaths. The great power of mantras is mentioned in the Ādiparva (161. 14) by Kuntī. The Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa in chap. 18 eulogises the mantra of eight letters (om namo Nārāyaṇāya) and chap. 63.6, states "what is the use of many mantras and the performance of many *vratas*, when the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' is capable of securing all desired objects". The mantra of five letters 'namah Śivāya' is dealt with in Lingapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, chap. 85) and Saurapurāṇa 65. Brahma-purāṇa speaks of *vaidika* mantras and *āgamokta* mantras (41. 63). The Nityācāra-paddhati (p. 67) says that it is necessary to understand the meaning of vedic mantras in śrauta rites but in smārta rites it is not so.

Dāna (gifts). Gaut. XIX. 16 provides¹²⁰ that gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter and food are the gifts (that destroy sin) and may be optionally undergone as penance if no express mention is made thereof. Vas. quotes several verses on gifts one of which (29. 16) states: "whatever sin a man distressed for livelihood commits he is purified from that by giving land even if it be as small in extent as 'gocarma'"¹²¹. Viṣṇu Dh S. 92.4 is to the same effect. Samvarta¹²² (204) prescribes that the gifts of gold, cow and land

119. कृत्वापि बहुश पाप नरा मोहसमन्विताः ॥ न यान्ति नरकं नत्वा सर्वपापहर हरिम् ॥ शास्त्रेणापि नरा नित्यं ये स्मरन्ति जनार्दनम् । तेषां यान्ति तद्धं त्यक्त्वा विष्णुलोकमनामयम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुरा 216.87-88: अद्यापि न निवर्तन्ते द्वादशाक्षरचिन्तका । विष्णुपुराण I. 6. 39.

120. हिरण्यं गौर्वातोऽथो भूमिस्तिला वृतमजामिति देवानि । एतान्येवानादेशे विकल्पेन क्रियेत् । गौ 19 16 and 18

121. अथाष्टुदाहरन्ति । याक्त्वित्कुर्वते पापं पुरुषो वृत्तिकर्षितः । अपि गोचर्ममात्रेण भूमिदानेन शुध्यति ॥ वसिष्ठ 29 16. For the meaning of गोचर्म, vide H. of Dh vol. III. p. 432, n. 718.

122. सुवर्णदानं गोदानं भूमिदानं तथैव च । नाशयन्त्याहु पापानि अन्यजन्मकृतान्यपि ॥ सेवते 204 q by प्राय. तत्र p. 483 (which reads 'महापातकजान्यपि at the end'). हिंसायां दानमेव मुख्यमित्युक्तं भविष्ये । हिंसात्मकानां सर्वेषां कीर्तितानां मनीषिभिः । प्रायः श्रितकदम्बानां दानं प्रथममुच्यते ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 86a).

quickly destroy sins even if committed in former lives. Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 139) remarks that the verse implies that as to sins arising from injury to living beings gifts are the principal expiations. The subject of *dāna* has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh vol II pp. 837-888. A few further remarks may be made here. In many inscriptions and copperplate grants of lands or villages the donor usually states that the grant is made for the increase of the merit of himself and of his parents (e g. E. I vol. XI p. 219 at p 221). Brhaspati¹²³ as quoted in the Madanaratna (vyavahāra p 66) expressly provides that in land-grants the king should state that he made the gift for securing merit to his parents and to himself¹²⁴. The Rājatarangini (I 143)¹²⁵ refers to the founding of *śālinas* (monasteries).

Upavāsa (fasting). Fasting strictly means total abstinence from food and drink, but generally it means light diet restricted in quantity and also as regards the nature of the articles taken. Even the Tai S. (I 6. 7 3-4) refers¹²⁶ to three ways of observing *vratā* on the days of the *Daśapūṛṇamāsā-śi* either by subsisting only on food available in the village or on forest food or partaking of no food at all. Gaut 19 11 includes *upavāsa* among the several means of removing sins. Tapas is also one of such means acc. to him. But in Gaut. 19 15 as stated above, Gaut includes fasting (*anūśaka*) among 'tapāmsi'.

123. इत्या धर्म्यादिकं राजा ताम्रपट्टे पट्टेऽथवा । शासनं कारयेद्धर्म्यं स्थानवन्त्यादि-
संयुतम् । मातृपित्रोरामनस्य पुण्यायास्तु कर्त्तव्यम् । इत्त न्यायायास्तु दानं सप्तम्यकारिणे ॥
बृह. in मदनरत्न p. 66 on व्यवहार

124. In Europe the same practice prevailed in the middle ages, 'The founder (of monasteries) constantly tells us that this sacrifice is made for the atonement of his own sins and those of his progenitors and kinsfolk' G. G. Coulton in 'Five centuries of Religion' (1936) vol III p. 27. Redemption of sin by monetary payments or by leaving property to the churches and monasteries was a very firm belief in the Middle Ages in Christian countries, so much so that men who had earned properties made large gifts to the church when the prospect of death was near and vast estates accumulated in the hands of churchmen, which led to the passing of the Statute of Mortmain in England.

125. तस्मिन् कृते न जायेत निहारच्छेदवैशसम् । तस्य तत्प्रेरकाणां च मायाश्चित कृतं भवेत् ॥ राजतरङ्गिणी I. 143.

126. यद्वाश्यास्तुपवसति तेन श्राम्यानवरुन्धे यद्वाश्यास्तुपवसति तेनारण्यान् यद्वाश्या-
स्तुपवसेत् पितृदेवस्य स्यात् । तै. स. I. 6. 7. 3.

Haradatta explains *upavāsa*¹⁸⁷ as giving up the eating of boiled rice (*bhaktatyāga*) and adds that *upavāsa* is again included under *tapāmsi* to show the great importance attached to it. Haradatta notes that a predecessor of his relying on a Purāṇa passage explained *upavāsa* in Gaut. 19.11 as 'restraint of senses'. In many of the Grhya sūtras *upavāsa* means only eating light food prepared from corn usable in sacrifices (such as rice) once in the day excluding vegetables, māsa (pulse), salt and flesh (compare Gobhila gr. I. 5.26, Khādīra gr II 1.4 and 6, Kausika-sūtra I. 31-32, Kāthakagrhya 46.2¹²⁸). The Br. Up IV. 4. 22 closely associates 'anāsaka' (fasting) with *tapas* as a means to the mystic realisation of the Supreme Soul¹²⁹. Jaimini (III. 8. 9-11) appears to regard fasting as *tapas*¹³⁰. Manu XI 203 (= Visnu Dh. S. 54.29) provides that fasting (for a day) is the penance for omitting the rites ordained by the Veda (such as the Darśapūrnāmāsa sacrifice and the performance of *sandhyā* adoration) and for neglecting the special duties of a *snātaka* (laid down in Manu IV. 34 ff). When a person was observing a fast he had to avoid doing certain other actions. Acc to Devala a fast becomes bereft of its good results by drinking water often, by chewing *tāmbūla* by sleep in the day-time and by sexual intercourse¹³¹; but the Garudapurāṇa I. 128.6 and Bhavisya-purāṇa (I. 184.27) allow even when one is fasting the use of flowers, ornaments, rich clothes, garlands, unguents, applying collyrium to the eye and the cleansing of teeth. Dakṣa quoted by the Par M states that if a man observes a fast for the day and night on the day on which the sun first turns towards the

127. उपवासो भक्त्याग । स एव तप स्वपि युज पठते आदररूपानार्थम् । अपर आह । निष्कपणेषु पठित उपवास इन्द्रियनिग्रह । स्वाहुत्तत्वेव दोषेभ्यो यस्तु वासो युजै सह । उपवासं तमाहुस्तु न शरीरस्य शोषणात् ॥ इति पुराणे दर्शनादिति । हरदत्त on गौ 19. 11. The स्मृतिच= II p 355 attributes the verse to व्यास and it and अपरार्क p. 199 read it as उपाहुत्तस्य पापेभ्यो .. सर्वभोगविवर्जित . मा. मकाश. (folio 44a) reads as अपरार्क does and says it is taken from अग्नियुराण.

128 काठकयुद्ध 46 2 is औपवर्षं भुक्त्वा and the com of देवपाल says उपवस्तु-रशनमौपवर्षं तस्युपवर्षं हविष्माक शकमावलवणमांसवर्जम् । व्रीहियवपयोधृतमभूतिभिर्भुक्त्वा ।

129. स वा यप महानज आत्मा... तमेतं वेदाह्वयचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविद्विपन्ति यजेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । बृह. उ. IV. 4. 22. Vide शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III 4.26 and 33 for the explanation of this Up passage.

130 तपश्च फलसिद्धिर्वाहोक्तवत् । जै. III. 8. 9. शबर 'तपः श्रूयते द्व्यहं नाशनाति द्यह नाशति इति । तत्र सन्वेह किमास्ति तप याजमानमिति । याजमानं तप इति ।'

131 असक्तजल्पानाञ्च तान्मूलस्य च भक्षणात् । उपवास मनुष्येभ्यः दिवा स्वापाञ्च मैथुनात् ॥ देवल 9. by अपरार्क p. 199. स्मृतिच= II. p. 355. The गरुडपुराण (I. 128. 7-8) has almost the same verse.

north or south, or on the Visuva day (day of equinox), and on an eclipse of the sun or the moon and bathes he is freed from all sins¹³². Manu XI 166 (= Agnipurāṇa 169.31) prescribes a fast for three days as a penance for theft of grass, firewood, tree, dry food (i e. grains of rice), jaggery, clothes, hide and flesh. The Anuśāsanaparva (106 1) remarks¹³³ that men of all varṇas and even Mlecchas thought highly of fasts and that chapter contains an exaggerated eulogy of fasting. Almost all religions (except Zoroastrianism) such as the Hebrew, Christian (in Lent) and Moslem (in Ramjan) emphasize the necessity of fasting as a discipline or as a preparation for penitence. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I, chap 16, 12-14) states that those who have not kindled sacred fires can please the gods by *vratas*, restraints, gifts and particularly by *upavāsas* and points out (verses 18-22) what substances (eatables) should be given up from the first to the 15th *tithi* in each fortnight. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Śrauta and grhya sūtras the word upavasatha is used in the sense of 'upavāsa' and is derived from 'vas' (to dwell) with 'upa'. Vide H of Dh. vol II, p 1010 and n 2276 for the Śat Br. The Khādīra gr II 1 4, Gobhila gr I 6 2, Kauśika-sūtra I 31 employ the word upavasatha. Āp Dh S. II 1 1 4-5 prescribe an upavāsa for husband and wife on *parvan* days and if they cannot totally abstain from food they should eat only once by day food proper for upavāsa. Aparārka p. 199, Smr C (śrāddha p 355) and Kṛtya-ratnākara quote a verse from Vyāsa deriving the word upavāsa^{133a}. The Āp Dh S. II 5 9-13, Baud. Dh II 7 32, Vas 6 21 and Śān gr. II 16 5 have the same verse viz. 'an āhitāgni, a draught ox and brahmachārin, these three fulfill (their work) by eating, they cannot fulfill their duties by non-eating'. This is explained as not applying to *prāyaścittas* (Baud. Dh S II 7 34) and to fasts on Ekādaśī. The Śāntiparva 323 17 states 'Just as a dirty garment is afterwards cleansed by water, so to those who are heated in (the fire of) fasting inexhaustible happiness for a long time comes.' Śānti 79 18, however, says 'merely emaciating the body by fasting is not *tapas*, but *ahimsā*, truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, restraint and compassion are *tapas*'.

132. अयने विषुवे चैव चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे तथा । अहोरात्रोपित स्नात्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥
बृहत् प. by परा मा I 1 p 438.

133. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां श्लेच्छानां च पितामह । उपवासो मतिरियं कारणं च न विग्रहे ॥
अनुशासन 166 1.

133a 'उपावृत्तस्य पापिभ्यो यस्तु वासो ह्युपैः सह । उपवासः स विज्ञेयः सर्वभोगविवर्जितः'
अपरार्क p. 199. ह्युपैः means 'क्षमादिभिः,' and वासः means 'नियमेनावस्थानम्.'

Tirthayātrā:—Pilgrimage will be dealt with exhaustively in a later section. It was believed that going on a pilgrimage and bathing in such holy rivers as the Ganges freed a man from sins. Visnu Dh. S. (35.6) lays down that those guilty of *mahāpātakas* may become pure by *Āśvamedha* sacrifice or by visiting all the sacred places on the earth. Devala says that a man removes the consequences of such grave sins as the murder of a *brāhmana* that he may have committed unintentionally by the performance of great sacrifices or by going on a pilgrimage. *Parāśara* (XII 58 ff) prescribes¹³⁴ pilgrimage to see Rāma's bridge to Lankā for a murderer of a *brāhmana* who has studied the four Vedas. Devala states: 'a man becomes freed from sin by approaching holy places and shrines, *brāhmanas* that practise austerities, that all rivers that fall into the ocean, all great mountains, all shrines and all forests are holy.' The *Matsyapurāna* (184 18) says that a heap of sins as big as the mountain Meru or Mandara becomes destroyed when man reaches Avimukta (Benares). The *Kūmapurāna*¹³⁵ (*pūrvārdha* 29.3) says 'I do not see any other expiation for destroying all sins in the Kaliyuga for all beings except Benares'. Even in the times of the Peshwas of Poona pilgrimage was prescribed for *brāhmana* murder (vide 'Selections from Peshwa Records,' vol. 43 p. 107) and the *brāhmanas* were ordered that after the sinner performed the penance they were to dine with him and recognize that he had been purified. In an order dated *śake* 1659 (1737 AD) the Peshwa Bajirao the first informs the *Deshmukhas*, *Deshpandes* and *Mukadams* that four brothers named Zende approached him with the story that their father was born when their paternal grandmother lived with one Pilaji Zende after she became a widow and that she intended to remarry that man but that had to be postponed owing to famine, that the caste meeting were prepared to take them into the

134 चातुर्विंशोपपक्षे तु विधये ब्रह्मयातके । सद्युद्धसेतुगमनं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ पराशर XII 58 q. by अपरार्क p. 1061, ग्रन्थ. वि. p. 45. The प्र प्रकाश (folio 66 a and b) remarks. 'ब्रह्महत्याव्रतमुपक्रम्य भविष्यपुराणे । विन्ध्यादुत्तरती यस्य निवासः परिकीर्तितः । पराशरमते तस्य सेतुबन्धस्य दर्शनम् ॥ इति । ..अथ च विन्ध्योत्तरवर्तिनः षडधिकसप्तत्रययोजनगमनेन तावत्संख्याकमाजायत्यापनोद्यद्ब्रह्महत्यापनोदोकेरसीर्थाहकूले कैकयोजनयमनस्यैकैकमाजापत्यदुष्टपत्नमर्थादुक्तं भवति ॥'.

135. नान्यत्यदयानि जन्तूना मुक्ता वाराणसीं पुरीम् । सर्वपापप्रशमनं प्रायश्चित्तं कलौ युगे ॥ कूर्मपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 29.3) q by परा. मा II, 2 p. 162; अभिसंगम्य तीर्थानि पुण्यान्पायतनानि च । नरः पापान्यमुच्येत ब्राह्मणांश्च तपस्विनः ॥ सर्वैः सद्युद्धगाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्या नगोत्तमाः । सर्वमायतनं पुण्यं सर्वे पुण्या वनाश्रया ॥ देवल q. by परा. मा II, 2 p. 201, मा. प्रकाश folio 66 b.

caste and hold them pure if a Government order was issued. Then the Peshwa issued an order that they should go to Tulapur on the banks of the Bhimā river and that they and their male progeny together with their wives should be restored back to the caste and complete association with them as to taking food and marriage be carried on with them from generation to generation.¹³⁶ The Pr. Prakāśa quotes a verse from the Bhavisyapurāṇa about the penance for brāhmaṇa murder to the effect that for him who dwells to the north of the Vindhya mountain Parāśara prescribes the sight of Setubandha as a penance and then remarks that a man from the north of Vindhya has to travel 360 yojanas to reach Setubandha and that since 360 Prājāpatya penances are declared to be enough to remove the sin of brahmahatyā, it impliedly follows that each yojana towards a tirtha is equal to one Prājāpatya. The Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 149-150) quotes several verses from the Purāṇas stating that gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, great sages like Bṛghu, Vasistha and Viśvāmitra, great kings like Hariscandra, Nala, Sagara obtained greatness by means of tirthas and that Pāṇḍavas, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Vyāsa and other sages engaged in pilgrimages for securing kingdoms and for removal of evil fortune. This subject of *tirthas* will be dealt with at length in a separate section.

136. Vide राजवाङ्मनस खण्ड 6 letter 113 p 225

CHAPTER III

PRĀYASCITTA; ITS ORIGIN, DERIVATION AND MEANING

It is now necessary to turn to *prāyascittas* as removers of sin. A number of subjects will fall to be treated here.

First, an attempt must be made to understand the etymology and meaning of the word '*prāyascitta*' in ancient times. There are two forms of the word, *prāyascitti* and *prāyascitta*, which occur in Vedic works without distinction of meaning and both forms are fairly old, though *prāyascitti* appears to be the older of the two. The form *prāyascitti* frequently occurs in the *Tai. S.* (as in II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1, III. 1.3.2-3, V. 1.9.3, V. 3.12.1)¹³⁶. In some of these passages no question of sin arises. The word means 'doing some thing which would get rid of some accidental happening or mishap such as the breaking of an *ukhā* (a pot or saucepan for boiling or cooking) or the sun's losing its brilliance.' In *Tai. S.* V. 3.12.1 the word is used in the sense of an expiation for a sin. So even in very old books the word had two shades of meaning. The *Kausītaki*¹³⁷ Br. (vi. 12) states: "they say 'whatever mistake or excess occurs in the sacrifice that affects the priest *brahmā*, that he treats with the three-fold learning (i. e. the three Vedas)". The word also occurs in the *Atharvaveda* XIV. 1.30, *Vaj. S.* 39.12 (in close proximity to *niskṛti*), in the *Ait. Br.* V. 27, in the *Śat. Br.* IV. 5.7.1, VII. 1.4.9, XI. 5.3.8, XII. 4.1.6 and in other works also. The form *prāyascitta* occurs in *Kausītaki* Br. V. 9, VI. 12 and elsewhere. The *Āśv. Śr.* III. 10.38 and *Śāṅkhayana Śr.* III. 19.1 respectively employ the words *prāyascitti* and *prāyascitta*¹³⁸. In *Pār. gr.* I.

136 a असत्वादिभ्यो न व्यरोक्षत तस्मै देवाः प्रायश्चित्तिमैच्छन् । तै. सं. II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1; यदि निद्येत तैरेव कपालैः संघर्जेत्सर्वं ततः प्रायश्चित्ति । तै. सं. V. 1.9.3, एष वै मज्जापानं सर्वं करोति योऽश्वमेधेन यजते सर्व एव भवति सर्वस्य वा एषा प्रायश्चित्ति सर्वस्य भवजम् । तै. सं. V. 3.12.1

137 यद्वै यज्ञस्य स्वर्गलितं बोल्लवणं वा भवति ब्रह्मण एव तत्पाहुस्तन्त्रं ब्रव्या विद्यया भिषज्यति । कौषीतकि ब्रा. VI. 12.

138. विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तिः । आश्व औ. III. 10, विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तम् । अथर्ववेद प्रतिनिधि । श्रौ. औ. III. 19.1; विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तं दोषनिवारणार्थं विधीयतेऽनाज्ञाते विशेषे ध्यान नारायणस्य सज्जपेज्याहोमाश्च हननार्थेति । वैखानसश्रौतसूत्र 20.1 (ed. by

(Continued on the next page)

10 the form 'prāyaścitti' is employed. Jai. in several places employs the word *prāyaścitta* (as in VI 3.7, VI 4.10, VI 5.45 and 49, XII 3.16). Śābara¹³⁹ on the last sūtra (XII 3.16) explains that the *prāyaścittas* (in the Śruti texts) are of two kinds, viz some are meant to make good the defect in the procedure and materials of sacrifice which arises or befalls through some neglect or heedlessness, while others are subsidiary parts of a rite when an occasion arises if they are undertaken to atone for not doing what is ordained or doing something which is forbidden (e.g. non-performance of daily Agnihotra even though the sun rises). The Śat. Br.¹⁴⁰ XII 4 and Ait. Br. 32.2-11 provide some interesting and amusing examples of the mishaps for which *prāyaścittas* are provided e.g. when a vicious boar, ram or dog runs between the sacrificial fires, or if Agnihotra milk gets spilled while the cow is being milked or if the milk pot is turned upside down or if it were to break or if the cow were to lie down while being milked, or if the fire were to go out after the first libation is offered etc. Vide also Mānava-grhya I 3, Hir. gr. I 5.1-16, Bhāradvāja gr. II 32, Kauśika-sūtra 46.14-55, Āśv. Śr. III 10 and Āśv. gr. III 6-7 for similar occurrences and *prāyaścittas*. The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. VI 1.157 explains¹⁴¹ both *prāyaścitti* and *prāyaścitta* on the analogy of the word *Pāraskara*. *Prāyaścittas* may be said to be, in the language of the Mīmāṃsā, either *krativartha* or *puruṣavartha*. The former are prescribed in the Śrautasūtras. It is the latter kind of *prāyaścittas* that are generally dealt with in Smṛti works on *prāyaścitta*. In this work the *prāyaścittas* mentioned in Śrauta

(Continued from the last page)

Caland). The com. Nārāyaṇa explains अन्व औ III. 10 as follows विहितस्याकरणेऽप्यथाकरणे च प्रायश्चित्तिः कर्तव्या । प्रायो विनाशं चित्तिं सन्धानम् । विनष्टसन्धानं प्रायश्चित्तिरित्युक्तं भवति ।

139. 'प्रायश्चित्तानि द्विप्रकाराणि । कानिचिद्देश्यस्य समाधादापतितस्य समाधानार्थानि कानिचिन्निमित्तं कर्माङ्गानि । तत्र समाधानार्थानि यथा यदुक्तं यज्ञं अतिमियात् भू स्नाहेति गार्हपत्ये जुहुयात् । शबर on जै XII. 3.16, 'यानि तु न दोषनिर्घातार्थानि तेषु समुच्चय । कानि पुनस्तानि यानि श्रुतस्याक्रियया प्रतिबिद्धसेवनानि तान्मुच्यन्ते । यथा यस्याहतमग्निहोत्रं स्वर्गोऽभ्युदियान्मैत्रं चरुं निर्वपेत् सौर्यमेककपालम् । शबर on जै XII. 3.17 Compare आप औ IX 1.1 श्रुतिलक्षण प्रायश्चि विध्यपराधे विधीयते । 'जपो होम इत्या च । दोषनिर्घातार्थानि भवन्ति ।

140 यस्याग्निहोत्रं दोषमानं कन्देत् किं तत्र कर्म का प्रायश्चित्तिरिति । शतपथ XII. 4.1.6

141 प्रायस्य चित्तिचित्तयोः महाभाष्य on 'पारस्करमधुतीति च सज्ञायाम्' । पा. VI 1.157 (ed by Kriehorn, vol III p 96)

works are passed over, as they have either been mentioned in vol. II. or were of rare occurrence even in olden days.

Most digests and commentaries derive the word *prāyaścitta* relying on a verse (attributed to Angiras¹⁴² by some) from *prāya* (meaning 'tapas') and *citta* (meaning resolve or firm belief), the idea being that *prāyaścittas* are so called because of their association with or emergence from a resolve to undergo *tapas* or because of the firm belief that it will be a means of the removal of sin. Various other derivations are suggested by some writers. The *Bālabhāṭṭi*¹⁴³ on Yāj. III. 206 quotes a half verse to the effect that 'prāya' means 'sin' and 'citta' means 'purification', which had been quoted by Paksadharamiśra¹⁴⁴, Bhaktūpādhyāya and the Tadarānanda, but the Pr. M. (p. 2) says that the source or authenticity of that verse is doubtful. Hemādri refers to an unnamed bhāṣyakāra's explanation viz. 'prāya' means 'destruction' and 'citta' means 'joining together' and *prāyaścitta* means the making good what is lost and that the word denotes a *naṣṭtūḥa* action on sin.

The Pr. M. quotes a *smṛti* text¹⁴⁵ and says that that is *prāyaścitta* whereby the 'citta' (the mind) of a repentant sinner is made generally (*prāyaśah*) free (from emotion i. e. brought to a normal state) by the *parsad* (assembly of learned brāhmanas). Here 'prāyah' seems to be taken as equal to 'prāyaśah' and 'citta' has its usual sense. In Śāyana's¹⁴⁶ comment on the

142 प्रायो नाम तप मोक्तं चित्तं निश्चय उच्यते । तपोनिश्चयसंयोगात्प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्मृतम् ॥ अङ्गिरस्य acc to हरदत्त on गौ. 22.1., प्राय वि. p. 2 (० निश्चयसंयुक्तं). मरकारेण on गौ. 19.20 quotes व्यास as प्रायो ...चित्तं संयम उच्यते । तप संयमसंयुक्तं, while प्राय प्रकरण p. 8 reads चित्तं नियम उच्यते.

143 तदुक्तम् । प्राय. पापं विनिर्दिष्टं चित्तं तस्य विशेषणम् । इति । चतुर्विंशतिभेदे ऽप्येवम् । तथा पापनिवर्तनक्षमधर्मविशेषे योगरूढोऽयं शब्द इति तत्त्वम् । बालम्भट्टी on या. III. 206.

144. यत्तु पक्षधरमिभ्रभक्तूपाध्यायडोढरानन्दकुल —प्राय. पापं विजानीयाश्चित्तं तस्य विशेषणमिति च पेदुरतत्राकारश्चिन्त्य । प्राय. म. p. 2, भाष्यकारस्तु प्रायो विनाश. चित्तं सन्धान विनष्टस्य सन्धानमिति विभागयोगेन प्रायश्चित्तशब्द पापक्षयार्थं नैमित्तिके कर्मविशेषे वर्तते । हेमाद्रि (on प्राय०) p. 989.

145. प्रायश्चासं समं चित्तं चारयित्वा प्रदीयते । पर्यदा कार्यते यस्तु प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्मृतम् ॥ पापिनीलतापिनश्च चित्तं व्याकुलं सत् विषमं भवति तच्च पर्यदा येन व्रतालुष्टाग्नेन प्रायश्चोऽवश्यं समं कार्यते तद्व्रतं प्रायश्चित्तम् । व्रतं चारयित्वा चित्तवैषम्यनिमित्तं पापं प्रदीयते खण्ड्यते विनाश्यते इत्यर्थः । परा. मा. II part 1 p. 3.

146. अयं अयः प्राप्तिः प्रकर्षणाय. प्रायः । विहितधर्माकरणस्य प्राप्तिरित्यर्थः । तत्प्रकार-विषयं चित्तं चित्तिर्ज्ञानम् । तत्पूर्वकालुष्टानानि प्रायश्चित्तानि । com. on सामविधानभा. I. 5.1.

Sāmavidhāna Br I 51 another derivation is suggested viz that 'prāyah' is composed of two parts 'pra' and 'ayah' and means 'happening or finding' (of the non-performance of what is ordained) and 'citta' means 'knowledge'; and so religious observances after knowing a certain happening are called prāyaścittas. The Pr VI p 3 and Pr. Tattva p 467 quote Hārta and give¹⁴⁷ yet another derivation (from 'prayata' pure and 'cita' collected), in accordance with which 'prāyaścitta' means such actions as *tapas*, gifts and sacrifices whereby a man becomes purified (*prayata*) and destroys his accumulated sins ('cita' being equal to 'upacita'), just as clothes are made clean by the employment of salts, moist heat, putting in boiling water on a fire, and washing in water. Hence, as the Mit says, the word prāyaścitta conventionally¹⁴⁸ denotes a certain act or rite of the *namittika* type (since it takes place only when an occasion arises) intended for the destruction of sin (and therefore being desired for removal of sin it may also be called *kāmya*). The Par. M quotes verses from Brhaspati's¹⁴⁹ work of which the section on prāyaścitta holds at the beginning and at the conclusion thereof that prāyaścitta is *namittika*¹⁵⁰ (to be performed when a cause

147 तत्र हारीत । प्रयतत्वाद्वापचितमशुभं कर्म नाशयतीति प्रायश्चित्तमिति । यत्प्रायश्चित्तं कर्म उपचितं सञ्चितमशुभं पापं नाशयतीति । कृततत्कर्मभिः कर्तुं प्रयतत्वाद्वा । छुद्रत्वादेव तत्प्रायश्चित्तम् । तथा च शुनहरीत । यथा क्षारोपस्तेदच्छण्डनिर्णोद्वयप्रक्षालनादिभिर्बोत्तासि शुष्यान्ति एवं तपोदानयज्ञैः पापकृतः छुद्रिष्यत्यन्ति । प्राय तत्र p 467, vide also प्राय. वि. p. 3 for the first sūtra and p. 17 for the rest of the passage of हारीत. The मद्. पा. p 703 quotes the passage from यथा क्षारोप. मद्. पा. p 704 explains चण्डनिर्णोदनम् as 'सुल्लघयिष्यणादिना तत्क्षुद्रणम्' and मा प्रकाश (folio 9a) 'चण्ड अग्नि. निर्णोदनं तस्मिन्नाधिभयणं क्षुद्रणमिति'.

148 प्रायश्चित्तज्ञान्द्वयाय पापक्षयार्थं नैमित्तिके कर्मविशेषे रुद्र । मिता on या. III 220, which is q by स्तुतिशु (प्राय.) p 859, परा मा II part 1 p. 3

149 तथा च बृहस्पतिः प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणस्योपक्रमोपसंहारयोः नैमित्तिकत्वं दर्शयति । नैमित्तिकं धर्मजातं गन्तव्यं मे निबोधत । विहितस्याननुष्ठानात् प्रतिषिद्धनिषेवणात् । प्रायश्चित्तं यत्किञ्चित् तर्ह्यनैमित्तिकमुच्यते । इत्युपक्रमः । नैमित्तिकं समाख्यातं प्रायश्चित्तं समासतः । इत्युपसंहारश्च । परा मा. II part 1 p. 7, also in बालम्भडी on या. III 206 and प्राय प्रकाश folio 7 b तथा च जाबालः । अतः काम्यं नैमित्तिकं च प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्थितिः, मा प्रकाश folio 8a.

150 Actions are divided into three kinds, *niitya*, *namittika* and *kāmya*. *Niitya* acts are those like *sandhyā-vandana* (which are obligatory and performed daily as a duty and which if not performed lead to sinfulness), *namittika* are those acts which have to be done only on some occasion (as a bath on an eclipse) and *kāmya* rites are those which are performed out of a desire to secure some object (as the sacrifice called *putresti* for a son). Manu in XI 53 says 'therefore (because of the remnants of the guilt of

or occasion arises), Jābala q in the Pr. Prakāśa holds that *prāyaścitta* partakes of the nature of both *naimittika* and *kāmya* actions. The Pr. Prakāśa finds fault with the definitions of *prāyaścitta* proposed by the Kalpataru, Śūlapāni and others and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that those alone are *prāyaścittas* which are so spoken of by the learned, just as on Jaimini II.1.32 (tao-codakesu mantrākhyā) Bhattācārya explains that mantras are those which the respectable *ṛājñikas* and those who studied the Vedas so designate^{150a}

Sins as stated by Brhaspati¹⁵¹ and others are of two kinds, viz. intentionally committed and unintentionally committed.

Great divergence of views has prevailed from very ancient times as to whether *prāyaścittas* can destroy sins intentionally committed Manu XI. 45 and Yaj. III. 226 are positive that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by *prāyaścittas* or by the study of the Veda. The difficulty arises about sins committed intentionally or with full knowledge. Gaut. (19. 3-6 = Vas. 22. 2-5) states two views,^{151a} one holding that *prāyaścitta* should not be performed since deeds (here sinful deeds) are not destroyed (except by experiencing the consequences thereof), the other view holding that *prāyaścitta* should be per-

(Continued from the last page)

crimes in former lives men are born blind or idiots &c.) penances must always be performed for the sake of purification, because those whose sins have not been expiated are born with disgraceful marks.' Though Manu employs the word 'nityam' here, what is meant is that when a sin is committed, a *prāyaścitta* must necessarily be performed and it is not left to the volition of the sinner whether to perform it or not Vide Mit on Yaj. III. 220 But it does not follow from this that if *prāyaścitta* for removing a sin is not performed, another sin is thereby committed, for in that case there would be *anavasthā* (regressus ad infinitum)

150 a 'यथा भद्राचार्यैस्तज्जोक्तेषु मन्त्राख्येति .. यत्र वैदिकयाज्ञिकानामभियुक्तानां मन्त्र इति प्रसिद्धिः स मन्त्र इति सूत्रात्पर्यं वर्णितमेवानिहाय यत्राभियुक्तानां प्रायश्चित्त-प्रसिद्धिस्तस्यायश्चित्तसिद्धिं लक्षणे मन्त्रयाज्ञवल्क्यवाक्यानां तात्पर्यमुक्तेयम् । folio 76 of Ma. Prakāśa Ms.

151. कामाकामकृतं त्वेवं महापापं द्विधा स्मृतम् । पुरुषापेक्षया चैव निष्कृतिर्द्विविधा स्मृता ॥ बृहस्पति q. by प्राय वि p. 24, परा मा II part 1 p 13 (first half).

151 a तत्र प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यान्न कुर्यादिति सीमांसन्ते । न कुर्यादित्याहुः । न हि कर्म शीघ्रत इति । कुर्यादित्यपरम् । गो 19 3 5 = वसिष्ठ 22 2-5 (the last being कुर्यादित्येव तस्माच्छ्रुतिनिर्देशनात्) न कुर्यादित्याहुः This is the पूर्वपक्ष view The सिद्धान्त 11 'कुर्यात्' which is supported by indications derived from vedic passages

formed (for the removal of the effects of sin). The latter relies upon certain indications in Vedic passages. Gaut., relies upon four such passages. The first says "152 'after performing the *punahstoma*¹⁵³ one can come back to (become fit for) *soma* sacrifice (i. e. for Vedic rites in general). Another indication is 'after performing *Vrātyastoma* (one becomes fit for Vedic sacrifices).' A third is: 'He, who offers the *Āsvamedha* sacrifice, crosses beyond all sin, beyond *brāhmana* murder'. The fourth is one should make a person charged with grave sins perform the *Agnistut*. *Vasistha* also (20 1-2) gives expression to the two views about the efficacy of penances.¹⁵⁴ *Manu* XI, 45 (latter half) states, that according to some, *prāyaścittas* may be prescribed for the removal of intentionally committed sins from indications contained in the *Vedas*. It cannot be said that these *Śruti* passages are mere *arthavādas* (i. e. laudatory texts). They must really be taken, though expressed in the form of ordinary *arthavādas*, as laying down (a *vidhā*) that one desirous of destroying his sins should perform *Āsvamedha* and the other sacrifices mentioned. In this case the maxim of *rātrisaṭtra*¹⁵⁵ applies (vide *Jai*, IV, 3, 17-19). There are certain *saṭtras* (sacrifices extending over more than twelve days) called *Trayo-*

152. पुनः स्तोमेनेष्ट्वा पुनः सवनमायान्तीति विज्ञाप्यते । आत्यस्तोमेष्ट्वा । तदति सर्वं पाप्मानं तदति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । अग्निष्टुताभिज्ञस्यमानं राजयेदिति च । गौ 19.7-10. वसिष्ठ (22.6) is the same as गौ 19.9, while it (22.7) reads इति आभिज्ञस्तो गोसवेनाभिष्टुता यजते तदति सर्वं in ते. स V 3 12.2 quoted above and शतपथभा XIII 3 1.1. गोसव and अभिष्टुत् are different sacrifices. The गोसव is a strange rite, for which vide H. of Dh. vol II p 1213 n. 2644. It is described in ते ब्रा II, 7.6.

153. The *Punahstoma* is a *śrauta* sacrifice, of the class called *ekāha* (i. e., performed in one day) acc. to *Haradatta*. Vide *Lātyāyana-śrauta* IX 4 and 5 for its efficacy. The *Vrātyastoma* is also an *ekāha*, which was prescribed for those whose *upanayana* was not performed at the proper time (and who had therefore become *paṭita-sāvitrīka*). *Yāj* I, 38 provides *vrātyastoma* for *paṭita-sāvitrīka*. Vide H. of Dh vol II p 377 and p 385 (for its description from the *Tāndya Brāhmana*). The *Agnistut* is an *ekāha* (vide *Tai Br* II 7 12 and *Āśv Śr* IX, 7 22-25). *Manu* XI 74 prescribes *Āsvamedha*, *Gosava* or *Agnistut* and several other sacrifices for the removal of the grave sin of *brāhmana* murder.

154. अभिसन्धिष्णुते प्रायश्चित्तमपराधे । अभिसन्धिष्णुतेऽप्येके । वसिष्ठ 20 1-2.

155. राज्ञी. प्रकृत्य श्रूयते प्रतितिष्ठन्ति ह वा य एता राजीरुपयन्ति । ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनोऽभावाद्भवन्ति य एता उपयन्ति । इति । तत्र सन्देहः । किं ते फलार्थवादा उत फलविधय इति । शबर on जैमिनि IV 3, 17. The second alternative is the सिद्धान्त view.. Vide ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण 23.2.4 for the passage प्रतितिष्ठन्ति.. उपयन्ति ।

daśarātra, Caturdaśarātra and so on. All these are called rātrisattras. With reference to these a Vedic passage says 'those who approach (i. e. perform) these rātrisattras attain stability (long life or super-eminence)'. In the text prescribing the rātrisattras there is no mention of any special reward for performance. Therefore 'stability' (*pratisthā*) contained in the passage must be held to be the reward of the performance of rātrisattras and not mere heaven (which is the reward of all sacrifices for which no special reward is mentioned, according to Jai. IV, 3, 15-16). The same maxim applies to passages like Yaj. III, 226 which say that sin is removed by penances¹⁵⁶. Medhātithi draws attention to the story in the Tai. S. VI, 2.7.5, Kathaka S. VIII, 5, Ait Br 35.2 that Indra consigned yatis to *śālāurkas* (dogs or wolves) and had to perform the rites called Upahavya to get rid of the sin. Manu states his own opinion in the next verse (XI, 46) that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by the recitation of Vedic texts and sins committed intentionally through folly are destroyed by various *prāyaścittas*. Yaj. III, 226 (latter half) appears to hold that *prāyaścittas* do not destroy sins intentionally committed, but the sinner undergoing the prescribed penance becomes fit to be associated with other people on account of the texts (laying down the *prāyaścittas*); but Yaj. implies, it seems, that the results of sin intentionally committed (such as Hell and the like) are not got rid of. Manu XI, 189 prohibiting social intercourse with sinners who have not performed penance practically conveys the same idea as that of Yaj. in III, 226 (latter half). Yaj. III, 220 observes that a man guilty of *pātakas* should perform *prāyaścitta* for his own purification (here and in the next world); in this way (i. e. if he performs penance) his inner soul recovers its composure and the people also become satisfied. This verse puts in a nutshell the purposes of *prāyaścittas* as conceived by the *smṛtis*, viz. purging of sin (or purification), the satisfaction of the sinner's mind, admission to intercourse with

156 'युन स्तोमेनेष्ट्वा .. यजते इति !...न चेदमर्थवादमात्रम् । अधिकारिविशेषणा-
काक्षया रात्रिसत्रस्यायेनार्थवादिकफलस्यैव कल्पनाया न्याय्यत्वात् । अतो युक्तं प्रायश्चित्तैर-
त्येन इति । मित्ता on या III 226, vide प्राय वि p. 9 and p. 18 for similar views
' अतो रात्रिसत्रस्यायेनार्थवादिकपापक्षयकामिना प्रायश्चित्तं कर्तव्यमिति निर्णीतम् । प्राय. वि
p. 18. The उपहव्य sacrifice is prescribed for one desirous of prosperity,
ownership of a village or offspring. Vide कात्या. श्रौ. सू. 22.8.7 'भूतिकामो वा
ग्रामकामो वा भोजकामो वा उपहव्येन यजेत,'

all people. Chāgaleya¹⁵⁷ holds that *prāyaścittas* free the sinner from the consequences of sins committed unintentionally, but no penance exists which frees a man from the consequences of sins knowingly committed except in the case of *upapātakas* and in suicides or attempts at suicide. The Par. M. (II 1 pp 200-201) cites a verse of Jābali and verses of Devala setting forth the two views about the efficacy of *prāyaścittas*, while it also cites the view of Baudhāyana-smṛti that there is no *prāyaścitta* for sins committed knowingly and the view of Angiras that the penance is double in the latter case¹⁵⁸. Angiras further says that *prāyaścittas* do destroy the sin arising from committing acts that are forbidden and the like, just as the rising sun removes darkness. Manu XI 47 provides: 'A twice-born man having become liable to perform a penance (for a sin), whether he committed it through fate or by some act committed in a former existence, must not have intercourse with virtuous men until he performs the proper penance.' Āp. Dh. S (I 9 24 24-25) provides 'If a man slays a *guru* (father, Vedic teacher &c) or a *brāhmaṇa* who has studied the Veda and finished the ceremonies of a soma sacrifice he shall live according to these very rules (contained in Āp. Dh. S I 9, 24, 10-32) until his last breath. He cannot be purified (of the sin of the murder of a *guru* or learned *brāhmaṇa*) in this life. But his sin is removed (at his death).'¹⁵⁹ It appears to follow from Āpastamba's words that penance ending in death destroys the sin. The same was the view of Angiras, Yama and others.

157. छागलेयेऽपि । मायश्चित्तकानानां कानावर्ता न विद्यते । उपपान्तक एव स्यात्पण्यान्मोषधाने ॥ अन्वार्थः । कानावर्ता ज्ञानपूर्वकपापे मत्कर्मोपनिवारकं मायश्चित्तं न विद्यते । उपपान्तकान्महनरोन्तु ज्ञानपूर्वकलेपि स्याद्विद्यत इवेति । आत्महननाय विप्लवज्ञे कृते यदि जीवनि नदा मायश्चित्तं विद्यते यदा ह्यनस्त्वदा सञ्चितेऽप्युक्ता कर्मव्यभिचययथापि मायश्चित्तं विद्यते इति न विरोधः । ननु. पा. p. 705 The half verse मायश्चित्तं. विद्यते occurs in परा ना II part 1 p 201

158. अकान्त. कृते पापे मायश्चित्तं न कानतः । स्यान्मकानकृते चतु द्विगुणं दुःखिदुःखे ॥ अङ्गिरश्च q. by परा ना. II part 1 p 201; अस्ति निषिद्धक्रियानर्ज्यं पापं सत्तामकत्वं तु मायश्चित्तम् । नया चाङ्गिराः । उद्यम्यद्वयद्विषयस्तनः सर्वे व्यपोहति । वद्वत्कृतानामानिष्ठं नर्त पापं व्यपोहति । पापं चेदुच्यते हृत्वा कल्याणमभिपद्यते । सुच्यते पातकं सर्वैरिहाङ्गिरि चन्द्रना ॥ कल्याणं मायश्चित्तम् । या. नकाय folio 6a.

159. शुभं ह्यस्य आश्रित्य वा कर्ममन्त्रावनेनेव विधिनोत्तमादुद्भूतासाञ्जयेत् । नारवात्तिहोके अन्वपचिर्विद्यते कल्पं तु निर्हण्यते । आप. घ. सू. I 9 24 24-25 Vide also आप. घ. सू. I 10, 28 18 for the same words हृदयत gives his own and another's interpretation of आप. घ. सू. I 9 24 24-25 'अनिहोके जीविते प्रत्यापत्तिः कुड्मिर्मान्नीत्यर्थः । कल्पं तु निर्हण्यते । तस्य एवादिभिः संस्कारादिः कर्मण्य इति भावः । अन्ये तु पूर्व सूत्रं त्रिकुट्ययं नम्यन्ते । अन्वपत्तिः पुत्रादिभिः एवादिमावेन मन्त्र्य इति ।'

In this conflict among the authors of *smṛtis* the solution proposed by the Mit. on Yaj III 226 has been accepted by most medieval writers and is as follows¹⁶⁰. The potentialities and consequences of sins are twofold, viz those leading to Hell and the others preventing intercourse with members of the society to which the sinner belongs. Therefore, even though a *prāyaścitta* may not be efficacious to prevent the first mentioned consequence (viz fall into Hell), there is nothing improper in *prāyaścitta* being effective in removing the obstacle to association with other people. As to sinful acts that are not *patanīya* (do not cause loss of caste) *prāyaścitta* does destroy such sinfulness as expressly stated by Manu, XI 46. Even as to sins that are *patanīya* and are committed intentionally, if a penance ending in death is undergone as laid down by Manu XI 73, Yaj III 247-248 and Gaut 22, 2-3 for *brāhmana* murder; Manu XI 90-91, Yaj III 253, Gaut 23 1 for drinking *surā*; Gaut 23 8-11, Manu XI 103-104 and Yaj. III 259 for sexual intercourse with the *guru*'s wife; Manu XI 99-100 and Yaj. III 257 for theft of *brāhmana*'s gold; then the sin is destroyed as stated by Āp. Dh S I 9 24 25 and I 10. 28.18 quoted above. When Manu says (in XI 89 latter half) that there is no penance for the sin of slaying a *brāhmana* intentionally, the proper interpretation of this read along with Manu XI 46 quoted above is not that there is total absence of *prāyaścitta* in such a case, but that ordinary *prāyaścittas* (such as those in Manu XI 72) would not do in such a case, but only very heavy ones that would end in death. Medieval digests like the *Prāyaścitta-muktāvalī* (folio 32a) hold that according to the *Kalvaṇya* section penance ending in death is forbidden in the case of *brāhmana* sinners and therefore a

160. यत्तु मनुवचनं 'इयं विशुद्धिरदिता' इत्यादि (11 89) तदपीयमिति सर्वनाम-
पराष्टुष्टादशशायिकादिमत्तचर्याया एव 'कामतो...विधीयते' इत्यनेन अतिवेधो न पुनः
प्रायश्चित्तनाश्यम्। मरणान्तिकदोः प्रायश्चित्तस्य दर्शितत्वात्।.. हे हि पापस्य शक्ती नरकोत्यादिका
व्यवहारनिरोधिका चेति। तत्रैतदशक्यविनाशोऽपि व्यवहारनिरोधिकाया शक्तेर्विनाशो नाशुपपन्न-
स्तत्मात्पापपणनेऽपि व्यवहार्यत्वं नाशुपपन्नम्। यत्तु मनुवचनं (11 45) 'अकामतः...निदर्शनात्'
इति तदपि कामकृते प्रायश्चित्तमाप्त्यर्थं न पुनः पापक्षयप्रतिपादनपरम्। अपतनीये पुनः कामकृतेऽपि
प्रायश्चित्तन पापक्षयो भवत्येव 'अकामतः...पुनश्चिन्तये' ॥ इति मनुस्मरणात् (11 46)। पतनी-
येऽपि कर्मणि कामकृते मरणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्तेषु कर्मपक्षयो भवत्येव फलान्तरभावात्।
'नार्यास्मिन्लोके . निहस्यते' इत्यापस्तम्बस्मरणात्। मित्ता on या III 226 इन्द्रहारीत IX.
173 and Yama hold the view that intentional sins are destroyed by penances
that end in death. प्रायश्चित्तैरप्येत्येनो यदकार्यकृतं महत् (यदकार्यकृतं?)। कामतस्तु
कृतं यत्तु मरणास्तिसिद्धयति ॥ महापातककर्तारश्चत्वारो मतिपूर्वकम्। अग्निं प्राविश्य
क्षुष्यान्ति स्नात्वा महति वा क्रतौ ॥ यम p by मा. प्रकाश, folio 16 (b), अपराक p. 1039
reads चत्वारोऽप्यविशेषतः। The words of the मित्ता are quoted or paraphrased by
subsequent works such as the *Prāyaścittasāra* (p 4).

brāhmana murderer can only be made to undergo the twelve years' penance.

The Par M. (II part 1 pp 201-203) sets out this view of the Mit and appears to hold it itself. It sets out another view also. Those who hold this latter view read Yāj. III, 226 as 'kāmatosvyavahāryastu' with an *avagraha*. The meaning then is that one who has performed the penance prescribed for a sin does not fall into Hell, but he cannot be allowed to associate with good men (*sistas*) if he is guilty of a wilful sin. There is a verse of Manu (XI 190 = Visnu Dh. S. 54.32) that one should not associate with those who slay children, who return evil for the good done to them, who slay those that come for protection and who kill women, even though they might have become purified by undergoing the appropriate penance. There is a similar verse of Yāj III 298 on which the comment of Vijñānesvara is most interesting as indicative of the spirit of our medieval writers who were always oppressed by the might of words (Vedic or *smṛti*) deemed as authoritative. The Mit remarks ¹⁶¹ 'the prohibition (contained in Yāj. III, 298) is based on the text alone (and not on logic or reasoning). What cannot a text do? There is nothing too heavy for a text. Therefore, even though a light penance is prescribed for slaying an adulterous woman, still there is a prohibition against associating with such slayers based on the words of the text'.

161. मायश्चित्तेन क्षीणदोषानपि न संव्यवहरोदिति वाचनिकोऽयं प्रतिषेधः । 'किमिति वचनं न कुर्यान्न हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्ति' । अतश्च यद्यपि व्यभिचारिणीनां दण्डोऽप्येव मायश्चित्तेन तथापि वाचनिकोऽयं संव्यवहारप्रतिषेधः । मिता on वा III 298 The words किमिव हि वचनं. भार. occur frequently in शाबरभाष्य, e.g. on जै II 2.27, III 2.3, II, 7.11, IV 3.38, V 4.17 etc. On जै VI 1.44 (about the privilege of the *rathakāra* to consecrate Vedic fires) Sabara employs slightly different words 'न हि वचनस्य किंचिदलम्ब्यं नाम.' Even Sankarācārya relies on these words of Sabara in his *bhāṣya* on *Vedāntasūtra* III 4.32. When Yāj I 58 says that a son born of a brāhma form of marriage renders 21 generations holy (10 paternal ancestors, ten descendants and himself) Viśvarūpa says that this is all laudatory of the brāhma form and not to be taken seriously as it would be contrary to the doctrine of *Karma*, but then he turns round and says that it may be taken literally as stated by those who know *Mīmāṃsā* 'रूपतिमात्रमेतज्ज्ञाना भाविना पावनानुपपत्तेः । उपपत्तौ वा कृतनाशकृताः प्रायश्चित्तप्रसङ्गात् । यद्वास्तु फलविधिः । विवाहविशेषस्य फलविशेषापेक्षत्वात् । न चागमादुत्तराधिकार्येणैवैव उपपत्तिरिति शङ्क्यं वक्तुम् । तथा च नैयायिका — न हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्तीत्याहुः ।' निबन्ध on वा I, 58. Vide *Apārarka* on Yāj II, 73-75 (p. 673) who says that one man's merit (*puṇya*) cannot be transferred to another and that Yāj. II, 73-75 are simply intended to frighten away witnesses from perjury as Nārada (*ṛṇādāna* 200) clearly states.

This maxim is taken from the bhāṣya of Śābara and is a favourite device with all Dharmaśāstra writers from Viśvarūpa downwards to justify any statement of the smrtis however illogical or exaggerated it might appear to be. The Pr. T. (pp. 544-545) quotes ¹⁶² the Mit. about the two śaktis of sin and its remarks on Yāj III. 298 and does not approve of them, relying on the words of Brhaspati that no decision should be arrived at on the bare words of the śāstra, but it should also be supported by reasoning and that the words 'slayers of women' do not refer to adulterous women but to innocent women (such as the wives of one's enemies). Nārada (sāhasa, verse 11) holds that those who are punished by the king with a fine of the first or second (madhyama) kind can be allowed to associate with other members of society but those who are awarded the highest fine should not be spoken to by others ^{162a}. Those who take the view of the sinner's inability to associate with other men even after undergoing penance rely also upon Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi smrtērācārācca). The Par. M. very rightly points ¹⁶³ out that the sūtra refers to those who after going in for life-long celibacy abandon the duties of that stage of life (āśrama) and that it does not refer to householders and quotes a verse of Kauśika in support. The Smṛti-muktāphala (Pr., pp. 867-868) refers to this discussion contained in the Par. M. The Pr. M. (p. 7) appears ¹⁶⁴ to hold that the great Śāṅkarācārya explained

162. एतेन यद्यपि व्यभिचारिणी प्रतिषेध इति निताक्षरोक्तं न युक्तिसिद्धम्। केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः। युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते। पापे युक्तानि यस्मात् स्वल्पान्यल्पे च तद्विद्। मायश्चित्तानि नैत्रेय जलुः स्वायम्भुवाद्यः। इति बृहस्पति-वचनात्। माय त p 545.

162 a. स्यातां संयवहार्यौ तु धृतदण्डौ तु पूर्वयोः। धृतदण्डोऽप्यसम्भाव्यो ज्ञेयः क्षतम-साहसः॥ नारद (साहस, 11).

163. अयं हि बहिष्कार ऊर्ध्वरेतोविषयः न तु गृहस्थविषयः। ऊर्ध्वरेतोविचारणामेव तत्र प्रस्तुतत्वात्। इदं च कौत्सिकेन स्पष्टीकृतम्। नेष्टिकानां वनस्थानां यतीनां चावकीर्णनाम्। ह्युद्दानामपि लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रत्यापत्तिर्न विद्यते॥ इति। परा मा. II part 1 p. 205. प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 17 b) quotes कौत्सिक's verse.

164. श्रीशङ्कराचार्यास्तु 'कामतोऽव्यवहार्यस्तु' इति अकारप्रत्ययेनेदं याज्ञवल्क्यवचो 'बहिस्तुभयथापि स्मृतेराचारज्ञः' इति सूत्रे कृतमायश्चित्तनेष्टिकब्रह्मचार्यादिपरम्। आरूढो नैष्टिके धर्मे यस्तु प्रचरते पुनः। मायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन ह्युच्येत्स आत्महा॥ इति। माय. म p. 7. The verse आरूढोऽस्ति VIII 16 and is quoted by शङ्कर without citing the name. The प्रा प्रकाश (folio 17 a) also refers to Śaṅkara's comment on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 and the two verses quoted by him. It observes. एवं तावत्सकलनिबन्धुसमतं व्यवहार्य इति पदच्छेदेन याज्ञवल्क्यवाक्यस्य ध्यात्वा-सुक्तम्। शारीरकमीमांसायां तु .

Vedāntasūtra III 4. 43 after reading Yāj III 226 as 'kāmatos vyavahāryastu' and that those who fell from the vow of life-long celibacy (either as naisthika brahmacārins or as sannyāsins) were to be excommunicated (and not to be associated with). The printed editions of the bhāṣya contain no express quotation of Yājñavalkya's verse, but from the fact of his quoting Atri's verse it is possible to hold that Śaṅkarācārya understood Yājñavalkya as the Pr. M. says he did.

A question may naturally be asked: why should it be accepted that penances destroy sin (as stated in Yāj III 226). The answer is: what ¹⁶⁵ actions are grave sins or minor sins or not sins at all is laid down by the śāstra (śruti and smṛtis). For example, it is not clear to ordinary people why being an officer over mines or making friends of low people or being a servant of a śūdra should be a sin at all. But the smṛtis say so. If the smṛtis are to be relied upon for determining what acts are sinful, then it follows as a matter of course that the same smṛtis which speak of penances as removers of sins must also be accepted and that no other means for determining the efficacy of penances can be appealed to. So also the Bhagavad-gītā (IV 37) states that the fire of spiritual knowledge consumes all (accumulated, *sañcita*) actions (and their consequences).

Many of the sins (though not *all*) for which penances are provided in the smṛtis are also offences punishable by the king or State. For example, murder, theft, incest, perjury are acts punishable by the State in almost all countries even now and were so in ancient and medieval India. Persons guilty of these were also liable to undergo *prāyaścittas*. It is probably due to this double liability that punishments for crimes in ancient and medieval India were light as compared with the heavy punishments for even trifling crimes inflicted in western countries only a century or two ago. But there are other acts which are not punishable by the State now and were not probably punished even in ancient or medieval India by the king. For example, forgetting Veda studied by a person, not tending Vedic fires consecrated by a person himself, sleeping till after sun-rise and sleeping at sunset are *pātakas*, acc to Vas I 19 and some of those are *upapātakas* acc to Yāj III 239. It does not seem

165 नहु प्रायश्चित्तैरेत्येन इति न युक्तम्। फलविनाश्यत्वात्कर्मणः। नैवम्। यथा पापोत्पत्तिः। शास्त्रगम्या तथा तत्परिहारोपपत्तिः। नात्र प्रमाणांतरं क्रमेण। अत एव गौतमेन पूर्वोक्तपक्षमङ्ग्यायमर्थो दर्शितः। मित्रा on या. III. 226.

likely that an Indian king ever punished any person for these. On the other hand, obstructing the road, prying when the king is taking his meals, sitting before the king on one's haunches, speaking loudly before the king are among the fifty *chālas* of which the king could take cognisance *suo motu* and award suitable punishment (vide H. of Dh vol III p. 266). But there is nothing to show that such actions ever fell within the purview of the rules about *prāyaścittas*. The important questions are: What was the relation of the rules about *prāyaścittas* which were to be prescribed by a *pariśad* (a meeting of learned *brāhmanas*) to punishments by the king as regards actions which were both *pātakas* inviting penances and crimes entailing punishments by the King? Which of these two sets of rules was earlier? Were penance and punishment cumulative or alternative? It is difficult to give definite opinions on these questions. We know that *prāyaścittas* like *Āśvamedha* are spoken of even in the *Tai S*. We also know that the *prāśnavivāka* (which is quite close to *prādvivāka* in derivation and meaning) occurs in the *Vāj. S.* XXX, 10 and *Tai Br.* III, 5, 6. Therefore it follows that judicial functions were very early separated from the executive functions of the king. The reference to the ordeal of fire in the *Tandya Br.* 14, 6, 6 (vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 361) and the grasping of a red-hot hatchet in the hand by a person accused of theft and his being killed show that ordeals were administered and the punishment for theft was death. *Bṛhaspati*, quoted in the *Vivādaratnakara*, says 'When a man of good character and a diligent reader of the Veda has committed theft he shall be kept in prison for a long time and shall be caused to perform penance after having been compelled to restore the goods' (*S. B. E.* vol. 33 p. 362 ¹⁶⁶).

The *pariśad* made its own rules about *prāyaścittas* and the king awarded punishments. Which set of rules was earlier it is difficult to say. The king did not very probably interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the *pariśad* and the *brāhmanas* helped the king in the administration of justice by being judges and by advising him as to the punishments to be imposed (vide

166. वृत्तस्वाध्यायवान् स्तेयी बन्धनात् क्षिप्यते चिरम् । स्वामिने तद्धनं दाप्यः
प्रायश्चित्तं तु कारयेत् ॥ बृहस्पतिः ॥ by विवादरत्नाकरः ॥ 331. It is possible that this
verse means that a learned *brāhmana* who has been well conducted but fell
a victim to the temptation of theft should not be jailed for a long time
because jail life torments his mind and therefore he should be made to
restore stolen property and given penance.

Visnu Dh. S. V. 194). Gautama VIII.1, echoing the words of the Śat. Br. V. 4. 4 5, observes:¹⁶⁷ 'the king and the brāhmana with profound learning uphold the moral order in the world (or are upholders of the sacred law). The Āp. Dh. S. (II 5.10, 12-16) contains very important information: 'The ācārya shall order those who, while participating according to the śāstras (in the privileges and responsibilities of their castes), have gone astray through the weakness of their senses to perform penances according to the dictates (of the smṛtis) commensurate with their (sinful) acts. If they transgress their ācārya's order he shall take them to the king. The king shall send them to his *purohita* proficient in dharmaśāstra and the science of government. He (*purohita*) shall order them to perform (proper penances) if they are brāhmanas. He shall reduce them by forcible means except corporal punishment and slavery.' So this passage shows that the king helped in carrying out *prāyaścittas*. Nārada includes 'neglect of penances' among matters solely dependent on the king (*prakīrnaka*, verse 3) and not on complaints by private individuals. Devala¹⁶⁸ probably conveys the real position when he says: 'The king is the giver of *krochras* (i. e. his consent is required for actually undergoing the prescribed penances), the learned man who has studied Dharmaśāstras prescribes the *prāyaścitta*, the sinner carries out the penance and the king's officer sees to the safe performance of the prescribed penance' Parāśara VIII. 28 says 'an assembly should point out the proper penance after getting the permission of the king, it should not be done without reference to him, but slight penance may be done without informing him'. The Par. M. II, part 1. p. 232 explains that this applies to *prāyaścittas* for sins like *govadhā* or those that are greater than it. Devala¹⁶⁹ also has similar verses.

167. 'हौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः । गौ VIII. 1. इत्यप्य V. 4. 4 5 has 'नियसाद् धृतव्रत इति धृतव्रतो वै राजा. एव च औन्निर्यश्चैतो ह वै हौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ.'

168. कुच्छाणा वापको (वायको v 1) राजा निर्देष्टा धर्मपाठकः । अपराधी मयोक्ता च रक्षिता कुच्छपालकः॥ देवल q. by मद्. पा p 777, माय सा p 8. राजा/कुम्भे स्थित्वा मायश्चिच विनिर्दिशेत् । स्वयमेव न कर्तव्य कर्तव्या स्वल्पनिष्कृति ॥ पराशर VIII. 28, on which परा मा II. 1 p 232 says: अत्र गोवधस्य प्रकृतत्वात्तन्मात्रस्याधिकेषु राजाउक्त्यैव व्रतं निर्दिशेत् ।

169. याचितास्तेन ते चापि ब्राह्मणा. पापभीरुणा । निष्कृतिं व्यवहारार्थं कुर्यान्मन्त्रे वृषाज्ञया ॥ स्वयं वा ब्राह्मणे कुच्छमल्पदोषे विधीयते । राजा च ब्राह्मणैश्चैव महत्सु सपरीक्ष्य च ॥ देवल q. by परा. मा II part 1 p 232-233 and by माय सा p 21. मा. प्रकाश (folio 25 a) reads देवल's verse as स्वयं तु ब्राह्मणा ब्रूयुरल्पदोषेषु निष्कृतिम् । राजा... महत्सु परिच्छिन्ते ॥.

Parāśara VIII, 29 states that the king also should not ignore the parisad and should not by himself prescribe penance. Paithinasi quoted by the Dandaviveka (p. 76) provides¹⁷⁰ for both *prāyaścitta* and punishment and from the tenor of the verse it appears that both were to be enforced by the king. The position is tolerably clear as to medieval times. One feels great hesitation in stating definitely the relation of punishment to penances and the king's position as to both in ancient times. Āp. Dh. S. I, 9, 24, 1-4 provide¹⁷¹ that one who kills a *ksatriya* or a *vaiśya* or a *śūdra* shall respectively give one thousand cows, a hundred cows and ten cows for the purpose of removing the enmity and that in each of these cases one bull was to be given in addition for the purpose of expiation. Āpastamba does not expressly state to whom the cows were to be given. The commentator Haradatta explains that they were to be given to *brāhmanas*. Manu XI, 127, 129, 130, and Yaj III, 266-267 have similar provisions but in the chapter on penances. On the other hand, Baud, Dh. S. I, 10, 23, expressly states that the cows are to be given to the king. As both the words '*vairaniryātanārtham*' and '*prāyaścittārtham*' are employed by Āp. it may be said that the cows were to be made over to the king even according to Āpastamba. The cows were to be made over to the king for bestowal on the family of the murdered person to mollify them and if they refused to receive them the king was to retain them for himself but was to distribute them among *brāhmanas*. We know that Manu (IX, 243-245) provides that the fine recovered from a man guilty of mortal sins was not to be taken for himself by the king but was to be offered to Varuna and thrown into water or was to be distributed among learned *brāhmanas*. Manu IX, 236 provides that for those who were guilty of the four grave sins (*brāhmana* murder &c.) and did not undergo penance for the same the king should inflict corporal punishment (branding on the forehead) together with fine in accordance with the *śāstra*. Manu IX, 237

170. अकार्यकारिणामेषां प्रायश्चित्तं तु कल्पयेत् । यथाशक्यस्वरूपं च दण्डं चैषां प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ पैठीनसि q. by दण्डविवेक p 76.

171. क्षत्रियं हत्वा गवं सहस्रं वैरनिर्यातनार्थं दद्यात् । शतं वैश्ये । दश शूद्रे । कृषभश्वावाधिकः सर्वत्र प्रायश्चित्तार्थः । आप ध. स. I, 9, 24 1-4, क्षत्रियवधे गोसहस्र-
श्वभैकाधिकं राज्ञ उन्मुखेनैरनिर्यातनार्थम् । शतं वैश्ये दश शूद्रे कृषभश्वावाधिकः । शौ. ध. स. I, 10, 23-24.

(= Matsya 227 164) and Visnu V. 4-7 say that on the forehead a mark of female private parts with red-hot iron should be branded in the case of incest, the mark of a tavern flag in the case of drinking *surā*, the mark of dog's foot in the case of theft (of brāhmaṇa's gold) and the mark of a headless trunk in the case of a brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu IX. 240 further prescribes that men of all castes guilty of the four mahāpātakas committed unintentionally that perform the proper penance should not be branded on the forehead by the king but should be awarded the highest fine. Manu IX. 241 and 242 provide that a brāhmaṇa guilty of these grave sins unintentionally may be punished with the middle amercement (if he himself be possessed of good qualities) but if he was guilty of the grave sins committed intentionally he should be banished from the kingdom being allowed to take with him his wealth and paraphernalia; while persons other than brāhmaṇas when guilty of grave sins unintentionally committed were to be deprived of all their wealth and if guilty intentionally they were to be sentenced to death. These verses show that though *prāyaścitta* be performed persons guilty of grave sins were liable to undergo punishment and if no penance was performed then they were liable to branding and also fines etc. Manu XI. 56 provides that bearing false witness is similar to the drinking of *surā* and Manu XI. 57 and Yāj. III. 230 hold that misappropriation of a deposit is like the theft of gold. Visnu Dh. 8 (V 169) provides that the misappropriator of a deposit was to be made to return the deposit or its price with interest and was to be punished like a thief by the king and V 179 that a false witness had all his property confiscated. These instances establish that both fines by the king (i. e. *rāja-danda*) and penances prescribed by the assembly of learned men (i. e. *parisaddanda* or *daiva danda*) had to be undergone by those guilty of some grave sins that were also looked upon as crimes. In some cases the penance and the punishment were the same. For example, Gaut 23 10-11, Vas. 20, 13, Manu XI 104, Yāj. III 259 and several other *smṛtikāras* prescribe for incest the penance of the excision of the testicles and penis and proceeding toward the south or south-west till the body falls. Nārada as quoted above prescribes for incest the punishment (*danda*) of the excision of the testicles. The Mīt. on Yāj. III. 233 quotes Nārada and remarks that the punishment of excision and death prescribed by Yāj III. 233 applies only to non-brāhmaṇas and that in such cases the punishment of death itself is the

prāyaścitta There were works like the Madanapārijāta¹⁷² (p. 827) and the Mitākṣarā that held that the prohibition against corporal harm to brāhmanas (Manu VIII. 380) applies only to matters other than prāyaścittas and that since the Manusmṛiti itself (XI. 100) states that a brāhmana guilty of theft of brāhmana's gold may go to the king with an iron club and have his head smashed by the king, the death of a brāhmana as a penance for theft by being struck with a club presented by himself was not ruled out. In some cases punishment by the king was deemed to have purged a man of sin and no penance seems to have been thought necessary, as Manu VIII. 318 (= Vas 19.45) says 'men that commit sins and are punished by the king become purified and reach heaven like good men who perform meritorious deeds.' The Mit on Yāj. III. 259 explains that this holds good only where the punishment is death, as in the case of incest noted above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 10.27. 15-16 provide¹⁷³ that a person guilty of slaying a man, of theft and of forcible seizure of land was to be deprived of his wealth by the king and was to be sentenced to death and that if the offender was a brāhmana he was to have a piece of cloth tied over his eyes for the whole of his life (i. e. he was not to be sentenced to death). It appears that in very ancient times as provided by Āp. Dh. S. I 9.25.4 the thief approached the king¹⁷⁴ with a club (of iron or *khadira* wood) on his shoulder and announced his guilt, when the king struck him with the club; on his being killed he became free from guilt. This was a penance as well as a legal punishment. Manu has a similar rule in his chapter on punishments (VIII. 314-316) providing that the thief should carry a weapon (called *musala*) or a club of *khadira* wood or a double-edged *śakti* or an iron staff and that if the king strikes him once with the club and he is killed

172. अथ च लिङ्गच्छेदवधात्मको दण्डो ब्राह्मणव्यतिरिक्तस्य । न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्या-
त्सर्वपापेष्ववस्थितम्—इति तस्य वधानिवेधात् (मनु. ८.३८०) । वधस्यैव प्रायश्चित्तरूपत्वात् । निता.
on या III 233, but on या III 257 the niṭa says 'मनुना सुवर्णस्तेयकुक्षिभ्य-इत्यभिप्राय
रहीत्या सुसलं राजा सकृद्वन्यात् तं स्वयमिति सर्वनाम्ना प्रकृतब्राह्मणपरः सङ्कीर्णैव हननविधानात् ।
न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यादित्यस्य प्रायश्चित्तव्यतिरिक्तदण्डरूपहननविधयत्नेनाप्युपपत्तेः ।' ; vide
also मद् या p. 827 for the same view.

173. पुरुषवधे स्तेये भूग्यादान इति त्वान्यादाय वध्यः । स्वर्गनिरोधस्त्वेतेषु ब्राह्मणस्य ।
आप. ध सू II. 10. 27. 15-16.

174. स्तेन. प्रकीर्णकेशोत्ते सुसलमाधाय राजानं गत्वा कर्माच्छाति तेनेन हन्यादध्वे मोक्षः ।
आप ध सू I. 9 25 4. ब्राह्मणसुवर्णहरणे प्रकीर्य केशान् राजानमभिधावित्तेनोस्मि भो
मरुत्तु मा भवानिति तस्मै राजादुम्बरं शस्त्रं दद्यात्तेनात्मानं प्रमापयेन्मरणाद्युतो भवतीति विज्ञायते ।
वसिष्ठ 20 41. औदुम्बर means 'made of udumbara wood' or may also mean 'red
in colour' (i. e. made of copper).

or if he is not killed but is allowed to go half dead and lives, the thief is freed from the guilt. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 257 quotes a prose passage from Śaṅkha and a verse from Samvarta (122) to the same effect. Manu in the chapter on penances (XI. 100-101 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 20-21) provides the same procedure for theft as a penance. Vas. 20. 41, Yāj. III. 259, Viṣṇu 52. 1-2 and Parāśara XII. 69-70 provide a somewhat similar penance for the thief of brāhmana's gold. Vasistha introduces an important change viz., that the king hands over to the thief a weapon made of udumbara wood (or probably of copper) with which the thief is to kill himself. It appears that gradually the king gave up this unpleasant method of awarding punishment personally. Nārada¹⁷⁵ (pariśista, verses 46-47) provides that after the thief comes running to the king and announces his guilt, the king was to touch him (with the club, as a symbolic gesture) and then let him off and the thief became freed from sin by his confession of guilt. It has to be remembered, however, that the thief had to restore, even when he underwent penance, stolen property, as stated by Manu VIII. 40, Yāj. II. 36 and 270, Brhaspati and by digests¹⁷⁶ like the Pr. Prakaraṇa. If it were impossible to make the thief restore the stolen property the king had to make it good from his own treasury¹⁷⁷ (Gaut. X. 47, Śāntiparva 75. 10, Kautilya III. 16) or he had to make his officers¹⁷⁸ entrusted with the duty of preventing thefts pay the price of the stolen property (Ap. Dh. S. II. 10. 26. 8). Vide for further details H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 166-168. It appears that the actual carrying out of the sentence of death was later on assigned to Cāṇḍālas as stated by Manu X. 56 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 11 (vadhya-ghātaṭvām cāṇḍālānām).

175. राजा स्तेनेन गन्तव्यो मुक्तकेशेन धावता। आपक्षणेन तत्स्तेयमेवंकर्मास्मि श्लाघि
माश्च॥ अनेना भवति तेन स्वकर्ममतिपादनात्। राजा ततः स्पृशेद्वह्मस्वजेष्टु श्लाघिष्यम् ॥
नारदः परिशिष्ट 46-47.

176. दुस्त्वैवापहृतं द्वयं धनिकस्याप्युपायत। अपयश्चित्तं ततः कुर्वात्कल्मषस्यापद्रव्यं ॥
विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 52. 14. सर्वमेव सुवर्णहरणादिस्तेयमायाश्चित्तं विद्यमानस्यापद्रवद्वयस्य स्यादपुन-
रस्तेव कल्प्यम्। इतरथा कृतमायाश्चित्तस्यापि पुनस्तद्वह्मस्वस्वीकारे तथैव स्तेयप्रसङ्गात्। विनष्टे
द्व द्वये पुन-स्वीकाराभावात्मायाश्चित्तमेवेति। माय प्रक. on p. 77

177. चौरहतमपजित्य यथास्थान गमयेत्। कौशाद्रा दद्यात्। नौ X. 46-47;
प्रत्याहृतमशक्य स्याद्धनं चौरहेतुं यदि। तत् स्वकौशाद्रदेयं स्यादशक्येनोपजीवत ॥ शान्ति
75. 10 q. by the मित्ता on या II. 36, चौरहतमविद्यमानं स्वद्वयस्य प्रयच्छेत्। कौटिल्य
III. 16 p. 190.

178. तत्र यन्मुच्यते तैस्तत्प्रतिदाप्यम्। आप. ध. द्. II. 10. 26. 8.

Another point to be noted is that as regards the awarding of punishments and prescribing of penances, the matters to be considered were the same viz. whether the lapse was intentional¹⁷⁹ (*kāmataḥ*) or unintentional (*akāmataḥ*) or whether it was the first offence or whether it was repeated and what the circumstances as to the time, the place, the caste, the age, the capacity, learning, wealth were. Compare Kautīlya IV. 10, Gaut. XII 48, Manu VII 16 and VIII 126, Yāj I 368, Visnu V. 194, Vas. 19. 9 about punishments with Baud.¹⁸⁰ Dh. S. I. 1. 16, Yāj. III 293 (= Atri verse 248 and Agnipurāṇa 173. 6), Angirās 143, Viśvāmitra, Yṛddha-Hārīta IX. 297, and Vyāghra as regards penances. It is on account of this close connection between punishments and penances that the Prāyaścittatattva, after quoting Devala to the effect that if a man makes no move for taking prāyaścitta for one year, he has to undergo double penance thereafter and to pay a double fine to the king, remarks that the maxim is that prāyaścittas are to be moulded on the lines of punishments¹⁸¹. The Pr. M. (pp. 124-125) quotes Kāśyapa who provides a penance for one that causes mischief to a well, public park, bridge, rampart wall or a temple or idol, then quotes Visnu V. 169 which prescribes the highest fine for a breaker of idols, Manu IX 285 which provides a fine of 500

179. ज्ञात्वापराधं देशं च कालं बलमथापि वा । वयः कर्म च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्डयेदु पातयेत् ॥ या. I. 368; अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तत्ततः । सारापराधौ चालोक्य दण्डं दण्डयेदु पातयेत् ॥ मनु VIII. 126, on which मेधातिथि remarks that this is the fundamental or basic verse on the question of punishment 'उक्तादुक्तदण्डेष्वपराधेषु मातृकाभ्रलोकोपम् । एतदधीस्तारेण सर्वदण्डकृतिः कर्तव्या'.

180. शरीरबलमायुश्च वयः कालं च कर्म च । समीक्ष्य धर्मविद् ब्रह्मचा मायश्चित्तानि निर्दिशेत् ॥ बौ ध. I. 1.16; देशं कालं वयः शक्तिं पार्थ चविश्य यत्नतः । मायश्चित्तं प्रकल्प्यं स्थापय चोक्तानि निष्कृतिः ॥ या III. 293; सर्वत्र चैव मायश्चित्तप्रकरणे जातिशक्तिगुणपेक्षं सक्तुर्बुद्धिकृत् तथा । अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय मायश्चित्तं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ इत्येतदेव संक्षेपद्वयम् । विश्वरूप on या. III. 262 The verse is quoted as विश्वामित्रा's in प्राय. प्रकरण. p. 8, प्राय. वि. p. 29, परा. मा II. part 1 p. 235 and as देवला's by the मिता on या III. 243. Vide also व्यास q by परा. मा. II part 1, p. 24.

181. यथा स्मृतिसारे देवलः । कालातिरेके हिशुणं मायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् । हिशुणं राजदण्डं च दत्ता शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके । संवत्सराभिज्ञस्तस्य दुष्टस्य हिशुणो दन-इति मनुवचने (8 373) संवत्सरात्यरतो हिशुणदण्डदर्शनेन दण्डवत्प्रायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति न्यायेन एकत्र निर्णीतः शास्त्रार्थो बाधकमन्तरेणान्यत्रापि तथेति न्यायाच्च । प्राय. तत्त्व p. 474; vide p. 530 of the same work for the same न्याय. 'अथ मण्ड-पोधानादि-देवतागारादि-भेदने काश्यपः । वापीकूपारामसेतुलतातडागवप्रदेवतायतनभेदने प्रायश्चित्तम् ।... ब्राह्मणान्भोजयेत् ॥ इति । एतच्चात्योपचते । महतोपचतेऽन्यास्ते प्राजापत्यादि कल्पनीयम् । देवता च्वाच शुन्मयी पूजोद्दिष्टा च शास्त्रा । प्रायश्चित्तस्याल्पत्वादप्यत्र दण्ड-गौरवदर्शनेन प्रायश्चित्तगौरवं कल्प्यं दण्डवत्प्रायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति वचनात् । तथात्र दण्डगौरवनाह कात्यायनः । ..विष्णुरपि ..मनु. . इति ।

paṇas for a breaker of idols and re-instatement of the idol by him and then remarks 'dandavat prāyaścittāni bhavanti'. Nārada divided *sūhasa* into three kinds viz. *mathama*, *madhyama* and *uttama*, the last of which consisted in killing a person with poison or weapon, adultery and rape and injury to life. He then provides that when offenders guilty of the first two kinds were punished by the king, they became fit for association with the people, but that one guilty of the *uttama-sūhasa*, though punished by the king, was not fit even to be talked to (Nārada, *sūhasa*, verse 11).

The king had jurisdiction¹⁸² to punish sinners if they did not agree to undergo the *prāyaścitta* prescribed by the *pariśad* but it is extremely doubtful whether he exercised that jurisdiction in all cases. Society or the caste also had a weapon in its hand viz that of excommunication by *ghatasphota* if one guilty of a grave sin refused to perform the *prāyaścitta* prescribed (i.e. it was *jatidanda*). Vide Gaut 202-9, Manu XI 182-185 and Yāj III 294 and II, of Dh vol II p 388 and vol. III p. 1009-1010 for the rite of *ghatasphota* and re-admission to caste after *ghatasphota*. Many of the *prāyaścittas* prescribed for the grave sins were terrible (such as throwing oneself into fire, drinking boiling surā or water or cow's urine or milk or ghee for drinking surā, Manu XI 73, 90-91, 103 &c) and were to be self-inflicted and were not to be prescribed by the *pariśad* as the words of Manu in XI, 73 '*icchayātmanah*' and '*prāsyed-ātmanam-agnau vā*' clearly convey and as some of the digests expressly provide¹⁸³. In order to enable a man to become fit for intercourse with his caste men he had to give a dinner to them or distribute sweetmeats even after undergoing *prāyaścitta*. So it follows that a man guilty of a crime was liable to three burdens, punishment by the king, penance prescribed by learned *brāhmanas* and giving dinner or sweetmeats to castemen. Vide H. of Dh vol. II p. 971.

182 दण्डं कुर्यान्नुपौ वृणा प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वताम् । कामतोऽकामतो वापि प्रायश्चित्तं कृतं चरेत् ॥ अग्निपुराण 168.1 प्रायश्चित्ते शमं याति पापं कृतमसंशयम् । राजदण्डाच्छमं याति प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वताम् । प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यदण्डिताः । नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण II 73 3-4 q. by परा मा II part 2 p 210, मा प्रकाश folio 102 a.

183 प्राणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्तं तु पर्यदा न देयम् । तत्त्वयमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । प्राय सा. p. 41. एतच्च मरणान्तिक प्रायश्चित्तं पर्यदा नादेष्टव्यमपि तु धृत्वा तत्त्वयमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । अपुत्रत्वश्चेत् प्रायश्चित्तस्वरूपं दिष्टेभ्यो ज्ञात्वा तदङ्गज्ञानान्तरेण स्वयमेव कुर्यात् । मद् पा p. 817,

The literature on *prāyaścittas* is vast in extent, since in ancient times they loomed very large in the popular mind. Out of the 28 chapters of the Gautamadharmasūtra, ten (i. e. more than one-third of the whole) are devoted to penances. Out of the 30 chapters of the printed Vasistha-dharmasūtra, *prāyaścittas* cover nine (20-28) Manu devotes verses 44 to 265 (in all 222) of chapter eleven to penances and the Yājñavalkyasmṛiti containing 1009 verses deals with *prāyaścittas* in 122 verses (III, 205-327). Several printed smṛtis such as those of Angiras (168 verses), Atri (chapters 1-8), Devala (90 verses), Brhad-Yama (182 verses), Śatātapasmṛiti (in 274 verses) from the Anandāśrama collection of smṛtis alone deal only with *prāyaścittas*. Many other smṛtis and several purāṇas, such as the Agni (chap 168-174), Garuda 52, Kūrma (Uttarārḍha 30-34), Varāha 131-136, Brahmanḍa (Upasamhārapāda chap. 9), Viṣṇudharmottara (II 73, III 234-237) contain hundreds of verses on *prāyaścittas*. Besides commentaries like the Mitaksarā, Aparārka, Par. M. and others and digests like Madanapārijāta (pp. 691-994), there are special digests dealing with *prāyaścittas* alone such as Hemādri on *Prāyaścitta* (which is of doubtful authenticity), the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* of Bhavadeva, *Prāyaścittaviveka*, *Prāyaścittatattva*, *Smṛtimuktaphala* (*prāyaścitta* section), *Prāyaścittasāra* (part of Nṛsimhaprasāda), *Prāyaścittamayūkha*, *Prāyaścittaprakāśa* (ms. in the Anūp Sanskrit library, Bikaner, No. 2610), *Prāyaścittendusekhara* of Nāgejibhatta, which have been utilised in this work. The most elaborate treatment is found in *Prāyaścittaviveka*, Par. M. II parts 1 and 2, and *Prāyaścittaprakāśa*.

The commentators discuss the question about the persons who have *adhikāra* (capacity) for having penances prescribed for them. Since Manu XI, 44 (*prāyaścittiyate narah*) and Yāj III, 219 (*narah patanam-rechati*) both employ the word 'man' without ¹⁸⁴ any qualification, the commentators and digests say that penances are meant for men of all varṇas, for all persons born of unions in the reverse order (*pratilomajas*) and for even cāṇḍālas. Yāj. III, 262 states that a śūdra sinner

184 नरग्रहणं सर्ववर्णिकमदर्शनार्थम् । विश्वरूपेण वा. III, 210, नरग्रहणं प्रतिलोमजातानामपि प्रायश्चित्ताधिकारमाप्त्यर्थम् । तेषामप्यहिंसादिसाधारणधर्मव्यतिक्रमसम्भवात् । मितं वा III 219, नर इत्यनेन ब्राह्मणादिचाण्डालान्तानां सर्वेषां प्रायश्चित्तं दर्शयति । अस्ति च चाण्डालादीनामपि विधिनिषेधश्च । यथा देवलः । स्वजातिशोचनं सर्वजनप्रणामस्ति-तिशो व्यवहारश्चाङ्गिरसपमान स्वभृत्ययोपवर्ण प्रधानकर्मपारिवर्जनमिति चाण्डालधर्मः । मनु, । गवार्थे ॥ ब्राह्मणां चाङ्गिकारणम् ॥ (10,62) अतो वेदार्थव्यवहारिणामेव प्रायश्चित्तीयता न चाण्डालादीनामिति प्रत्युक्तम् । प्राय वि. p 12.

though he has no *adhikāra* (for recitation of Vedic *mantras* and *homa*), yet becomes purified by undergoing the observances (except *japa* and *homa*) for the periods prescribed. *Āngīras* 185 provides that penance may be administered to a *sūdra* devoid of *japa* and *homa*. Even as to *japa* and *homa* there were works like the *Madanapārijāta* p. 749 and *Vy. M* (p. 112) that relying on a verse of *Parāśara* VI, 63-64 held that a *homa* could be performed for women and *sūdras* in the ordinary fire through a *brāhmana*¹⁸⁶. The *Pr. V.* relies on *Manu* X. 62 and a prose passage of *Devala* for the proposition that even *Cāndālas* have to perform penances, if they act contrary to the rules and prohibitions laid down for them. Since the non-performance of what is prescribed and doing what is forbidden lead to sin, the person guilty of these or the person who has a desire to destroy his sins is a person entitled to perform *prāyaścitta*, as also one who repents of his guilt.

Before going into the subject of the several *prāyaścittas* prescribed for each grave or minor sin, some questions of a general character have to be disposed of.

Some *smṛtis* like *Brhad-yama* III. 1-2 and *Śaṅkha* state that a boy over five years of age and less than eleven years old, if guilty of some *pātakas* such as drinking *surā*, has not to undergo penance personally, but his brother, father or other

185. तस्माच्छूद्रं स्नानात्तद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम् । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं जपहोमवि-
जितम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by the मिता. on या III. 262, माय न p. 12, मा. सार p. 173.

186. श्रीशङ्खयोरपि ब्राह्मणद्वारा लौकिकाग्नी होमो भवत्येव । अत एव धर्मविद्वत्
'उपवासो व्रतं होमस्तीर्थस्नानं जपादिकम् । विप्रैः सम्पादितं यस्य सम्पूर्णं तस्य तत्फलम् ॥ इति ।'
मद्. पा p. 749. This is *Parāśara* VI. 63-64 (the printed edition in B. S.
Series reads व्रतं चैव स्नानं तीर्थं जपस्तपः). It is rather inexplicable how while
Nīlakantha in his *Vyavahāramayūkha* holds, relying on *Parāśara*, that
the *dattahoma* may be performed by a *sūdra* or a woman through a *brāhmana*,
the *Prāyaścittamayūkha* of the same author propounds a different view in
the words 'एतेन यन्महार्णवमदनरत्नयो. श्रीशङ्खादेविमद्वारा समन्वकौ जपहोमौ भवत
इति तत्परास्तम्' (p. 13) Did the author change his views or is the text of one
of the two *Mayūkhās* tampered with by his successors? The मा प्रकाश
(folio 30 b) explains *Parāśara* VI. 63-64 in a different way. It says that
the verse does not lay down generally that a woman or any one else can
in every case have a *homa* performed for her through a *brāhmana*, but that
where in a rite *japa* and *homa* are obligatory and the person concerned is
unable to perform *japa* and *homa* in person there alone he can appoint
a *brāhmana* as *pratinidhi* अयम् प्राप्तेषु जपहोमादिषु अहं कौ विप्ररूपप्रतिनिधिन-
यममात्रार्थत्वात् । प्रायश्चित्ताङ्गजपहोमयोस्तु निषेधादेवामहत्तेस्तत्र तस्यामहुतिः । ..एतेन
यन्महार्णवमदनरत्नयो. श्रीशङ्खादेविमद्वारा समन्वकौ जपहोमौ भवत इति तत्परास्तम् ।
मा प्रकाश folio 30 b

relative or friend has to undergo it for him and that if a child is less than five then whatever act it may do it is not deemed a crime, nor is it a sin and it is not liable to any legal penalty nor to any¹⁸⁷ prāyaścitta. The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) comments that these verses are not meant to prescribe a total absence of prāyaścitta in the case of children of five or less but are meant to convey that they are not liable for the full prāyaścitta prescribed for a sin. Its argument is that the texts lay down generally without any reference to the stage of life that a brāhmana should not be killed or that a person belonging to the three higher castes should not drink *surā*.¹⁸⁸ Hence any one of whatever age who is guilty of having done such prohibited acts is liable and the words of Gaut. II 1 and of Kumāra are to be interpreted as not excusing altogether the drinking of *surā* by a child but as referring to minor lapses. Brhaspati expressly states that the dictum about a child being allowed to eat what it likes is confined to such matters as will not fall under grave sins.

It has already been stated above (n 180) that the prāyaścitta to be undergone depended upon many circumstances such as the time, the place, the age &c. And first as to age, several smrtis¹⁸⁹ provide that a man 80 years old or a boy less than

187. अनैकावशर्वस्य पञ्चवर्षात्परस्य च । प्रायश्चित्तं चरेद् भ्राता पिता वान्यं सुहृज्जनः ॥ अतो बालतरस्यास्य नापराधो न पातकम् । राजदण्डो न तस्यास्ति प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥ इह, quoted by the mīta on या III 243, बृहस्पति III 1-2 (reads वान्योऽपि वान्यध्वः). These are quoted by हरदत्त on यौ II 6 (without name) and the first occurs in आपस्तम्बस्मृति III 7 as चरेद्भुजः सुहृद्वापि प्रायश्चित्तं विशेषणम्. The first verse is द्वेव 31 Both are ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by प्राय. वि. p. 29.

188. श्राद्धपनपनात् कामचार कामबाद् कामभक्तः । यौ. II. 1, लघुमृगपुरीषाणां भक्षणे नास्ति कश्चन । क्षेयस्त्वा पञ्चमाहर्षादूर्ध्वं पित्रो सुहृद्वरो ॥ कुमार q by मीता. on या. III. 253, by प्राय. प्रक्र. p. 50, स्यात्कामचारभक्षोक्तिर्महत पातकादते । बृहस्पति q by प्रा. तत्त्व p. 551.

189. अशीतिर्यस्य वर्षाणि बालो बान्धुन्योदहः । प्रायश्चित्तार्थमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 54 33, लघुहरित 33, द्वेव 30, आपस्तम्बस्मृति III 3, बृहस्पति III. 3 (reads अशीत्यधिकवर्षाणि). This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by the मीता. on या III 243 and to भार्गव by हरदत्त on आप. ध सू. I. 9 26, 5. The सू. पा. p. 796 ascribes it to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस् तथा बालहृद्वादीनां साक्षात्कर्तृत्वेऽप्यर्थमेव । अशीति रोगिण एव चेत्यङ्गिरस् स्मरणात् । तथा । अर्वाक्तु इन्द्रशङ्खीदृशीतेरुध्वमेव वा । अर्थमेव भवेत्पुत्रां तुरीयं तत्र योषिताम् ॥ इति । तथाऽपनीतस्यापि बालकस्य पादमात्रमेव प्रायश्चित्तम् । स्त्रीणामर्थं प्रदातव्यं ब्रह्मणां रोगिणां तथा । पादो बलिषु दातव्यः सर्वपापेष्वर्थं विधिरिति विष्णुस्मरणात् । मीता on या. III 243. The verses अर्वाक्तु and स्त्रीणामर्थं are ascribed to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस् by सू. पा. p. 796 and the latter is ascribed to लघुविष्णु by प्राय. वि. p. 28 and to बृहद्विष्णु by प्राय. प्रकरण p. 17.

16 years of age, women and diseased persons should be liable only to half the *prāyaścitta* (prescribed for able-bodied men) The Mit on Yāj III 243 quotes a verse of Sumantu that for a male below twelve and above eighty years of age the penance is half (of that for ordinary men) and one fourth for women within the same limits and a verse of Viṣṇu that for women, old men and diseased persons half the penance should be prescribed and for boys (before *upanayana*) only one-fourth. Some say that for boys less than five the penance is one-fourth. Cyavana (prose) prescribes half *prāyaścitta* for boys, old men and women and declares that a person is a *bāla* up to 16 years and a man is to be regarded as similar to a *bāla* after 70. Kātyāyana provided generally that the fines to be levied from females were to be half of those leviable from male offenders as regards all offences and when the punishment for a male would be death, a woman criminal was to be punished with the cutting of a limb (nose, ears &c.)¹⁹⁰

The difference between a sin committed unintentionally (*akāuṣṭah*) and the same sin committed with full knowledge (*kāmaṭah*) is this that for the latter the *prāyaścitta* is double of what is prescribed for the former as provided by Angiras,¹⁹¹ Vyāsa and the Agnipurāṇa. As Yāj. III. 226 employs the word 'ajñāna' in the first half and the word 'kāmaṭah' as its opposite in the second half instead of the word 'jñānataḥ' it follows that Yāj. makes no difference between the consequences of *jñāna* (knowledge) and *lūmannā* (desire).

The caste of the offender as well as of the victim made a difference in the *prāyaścitta* as well as in the legal punishment. Vide H. of Dh vol. III pp. 395-399 as to punishments for crimes dependent on caste. Viṣṇu¹⁹² provides that the *prāyaścitta* for

190 बालवृद्धस्त्रीणामर्थं प्रायश्चित्तम् । आ पौडशाद्बाल । सप्तद्वर्षवृत्ता वृद्धा । च्यवन
q by परा मा II part 1 p 122 and माय. वि p 28 सर्वेषु चापराधेषु पुंस्तौ योषधन
स्रुतम् ॥ तदर्थं योषितो द्युवर्षे पुंसोऽङ्गकर्तनम् ॥ कात्या 487

191 स्थाचक्रामकृते यन् द्विगुणं बुद्धिपूर्वके । अङ्गिरस् q b; माय वि pp 22 and
24; विहितं यदकामाना कामान् द्विगुणं स्रुतम् । अग्निपुराण 173 9. q by the नित्ता on
या. III 226 (without name), and as that of अङ्गिरस् by माय प्रकरण p 12 and
as of मध्यमाङ्गिरस् by या प्रकाश (folo 16b) श्रुतेतदेव कुर्वति श्रुतत्पमकामना
कामतो द्विगुणं शोक पूर्वेषु च यदुच्यते ॥ व्यास q b; माय. वि p 21

192. विभे तु सकलं देयं पादोनं सत्रिये मतम् । वेदेषु पादशेषस्तु शूद्रजातिषु शरयते ॥
विष्णु q by माय वि p 102 where it is stated that विक्रान noted that this verse
was not found in the विष्णुसंहिता It is ascribed to बृहद्विष्णु by माय प्रकरण
p. 16 and to बृहद्विष्णु by नित्ता on या III. 267.

a ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra sinner should be respectively $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of what is prescribed for a brāhmana sinner. The Agni-purāṇa says¹⁹³ the same thing. The Par. M II. 1. p. 231 quotes the Caturvimsātimata¹⁹⁴ to the same effect. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 250 explains that the verse of Caturvimsātimata applies to all cases except where any one of the four *sāhasas* is committed by a man of a lower caste as against one of a higher caste. Brhad-Yama (IV. 13-14) in prescribing penance for the killing of a cow provides the same scale of 4, 3, 2, 1 for the four varṇas. Angiras (verse 3) prescribes the penances of Krocra and Candraṇa for a brāhmana partaking of the food of an *antyaja*, half of these for a ksatriya or vaiśya guilty of the same. Yāj. II. 206-207 provide that the punishments for defamation depend upon the higher or lower varṇa or caste of the offender as well as of the person defamed and that if a ksatriya or vaiśya defames a brāhmana the fines are respectively twice or thrice as high as the fine for a brāhmana defaming a brāhmana and conversely if a brāhmana defames a ksatriya or a vaiśya the fine is reduced by half in each successive caste. The Mit. quoting Angiras says that the rules about punishments apply to *prāyaścittas* for slaying a person i. e. if a brāhmana slays anybody and a certain penance is prescribed for him, then a ksatriya killing the person would have to perform double the penance prescribed for the brāhmana and a vaiśya offender three times as much.¹⁹⁵ It may be pointed out here that though the smṛtis provided for different punishments according to the castes of the offender and of the person wronged and though some commentaries and digests went into all those details for the sake of presenting a

193 सर्वत्र शूद्रे पादः स्याद् द्वित्रयं वैश्यशूद्रयोः । अग्निपुराण -168 13

194. प्रायश्चित्तं यद्ब्रह्मणा तद्ब्राह्मणस्य महापैत्रिभिः । पादौ न क्षत्रियः क्षुर्यादर्थं वैश्य-समाचरेत् । शूद्रः समाचरेत्पादमशेषेणपि पाप्मसु ॥ चतुर्विंशतित्तं q by the मिता on या. III 250. देवल 28 is a verse of similar import यसु चतुर्विंशतित्तमवचनं प्रायश्चित्तं ..पाप्मसु-इति प्रतिशोभादुपेतचतुर्विंशतिसाहस्यतिरिक्तविषयम् । तथा सूर्यावसिक्ता-दीनामप्यलोलोत्पलानां दण्डवत्प्रायश्चित्तमूहनीयम् । मिता. The four साहस are 'मनुष्यमारणं स्तेयं परदारानिमर्शनम् । पाशव्यसुभयं चेति साहसं स्याच्चतुर्विंशम् ।'

195. यथाहाङ्गिराः । पर्यया ब्राह्मणानां तु सा राजां द्विगुणा मता । वैश्यानां त्रिगुणा मोक्षा पर्यद्वयं व्रतं स्युत्तरम् ॥ इति । ..अनयेव दिशा क्षत्रियवैश्यादायपि ह्येनेनोत्कृष्टवधे दोषगौरवा-त्यायश्चित्तस्यापि द्वैगुण्यादि कल्पनीयम् । दोषगौरवं च दण्डगौरवाद्यवगम्यते । मिता on या III 250 Vide मिता on या III 267 also This verse is q by परा मा II part 2 p 67 while the प्राय वि p 102 ascribes it to देवल; 'परिपद्या ..स्युता-इति देवल-वचनं ब्रह्मवध एव द्वैगुण्यादिकं बोधयति । The प्राय . प्रक p 16 reads the verse of अङ्गिरस as वैश्यानां . मोक्षा शूद्राणां तु चतुर्गुणा परिपद्वयं व्रतं मोक्षं शूद्रये पापकर्मणाम् ।

complete statement or digest of the *smṛti* material, such discriminatory punishments had mostly ceased to be enforced by the rulers from about the 12th century A. D. at least, as stated by the *Smṛticandrikā*, the *Madanaratna* (*vyavahāra*) and the *Sarasvativilāsa*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p 512 note 924 for the relevant quotations from the three works. Since, as stated above (n. 181), *prāyaścittas* were to be moulded on the lines of legal penalties, it appears that the discriminatory treatment about *prāyaścittas* depending upon the *varṇa* of the sinner must also have gradually fallen into disuse with the disappearance of the more severe *prāyaścittas* and the substitution of cows and monetary equivalents in later digests. And some digests expressly state this to have been the case in relation to *prāyaścittas*. For example, the *Pr. Prakaraṇa*, after quoting *Gaut.* 22. 14-16 about the *prāyaścitta* for killing a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* or *śūdra* under certain circumstances, remarks that in its day those *prāyaścittas* were no longer part of the practices of the people.¹⁹⁶

Whether an act made a man liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* depended in some cases on the country also. For example, marrying a maternal uncle's daughter was and is allowed in certain countries and among certain castes in the Deccan and Southern India on the ground of custom, but such a practice was severely condemned by *Manu* XI. 171-172 and *Baud Dh S. I* 1 17-24 and other *smṛtis*. *Bṛhaspati* refers to this custom as prevalent among southerners and states that in these countries persons following it are not liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* or penalty (at the hand of the king). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 462 for *Bṛhaspati*'s verses.

Severity and extent of *prāyaścitta* depended also on the question whether a sinner had repeated the lapse or was a first offender. The *Āp Dh S* (II. 10. 27. 11-13) prescribes that a *brāhmaṇa* who has once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for a *śūdra* having intercourse with a woman of the three upper castes, that for every repetition (of the crime) one

196 यच्च शौतेनेनोक्तं राजन्यवधे .गा दद्यात् (२२ १४-१५) एवमादीनि ज्ञानाहनिवचनानि ज्ञानविधमायश्चित्तोक्त्यर्थमतिपादकानि तानि ब्राह्मणजातवृत्तस्थ-यागस्थ-पडङ्गवेदाध्यय-नादिशुण्यक्त-कामाकामादिदुक्तक्षत्रियादिवधविषयाणि यथायोग्यं व्याख्येयानि । इदानीं तु तथाविधक्षत्रियाद्यभावेन व्यवहारानङ्गत्वात् न मत्पेक्षं विषयव्यवस्थया व्याख्यातानीति सर्वे वेद ब्राह्मणस्य क्षत्रियादिवधमायश्चित्तस्युक्तम् । शाय प्रक. p. 22.

fourth of the penance must be added and if (he commits adultery) for the fourth time, the whole penance (of 12 years must be performed¹⁹⁷). The Mit on Yaj. III. 293 remarks that for a sin that is committed knowingly the *prāyaścitta* is double of what is prescribed for the same sin if committed unintentionally and that if a sin is committed intentionally and is repeated then for the repeated lapse *prāyaścitta* is four times as much as that for the same deed done unintentionally. Similarly, the *āśrama* to which the sinner belonged made a difference in the *prāyaścitta* as stated by Angiras 'when persons in other *āśramas* are guilty of sins for which penance is prescribed if committed by householders, then the *prāyaścitta* is increased in the same proportion that is laid down for *śauca* (bodily purity¹⁹⁸). Manu V. 137, Vas. VI. 19, Viṣṇu Dh. 8 60 26, Śāṅkha 16. 23-24 provide that Vedic students, forest hermits and *sannyāsins* have respectively to perform twice, thrice and four times as much *śauca* as is prescribed for householders (e. g. by Manu V. 136 = Viṣṇu 60. 25).

One convenient and merciful rule laid down by the *smṛtis* was that if a man died in the midst of the period for which penance had to be performed (sometimes it extended to twelve years or more) he became free from the sin here and in the next world as stated by Hārīta, Vyāsa and Yama¹⁹⁹.

Though the *smṛtis* have entered into very great details about the *prāyaścittas* for different individual lapses, still they cannot be supposed to have dealt with every lapse. Therefore,

197. सर्वार्थाभ्यामन्यपूर्वार्थां सकृत्तानिपाते पादः पततीत्युपादिशन्ति । एवमन्यसे पादः पादः । चतुर्थे सर्वम् । आप च छ. II 10 27.11-13.

198. तथाश्रमिणामपि अङ्गिरसा विशेषो दर्शितः । गृहस्थोक्तानि पापानि कुर्वन्त्याश्रमिणो यदि । शौचवच्छेदानं कुर्याद्वर्गब्रह्मनिदर्शनादिति । शौचवदिति - एतच्छौचं गृहस्थानां द्विगुणं ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । त्रिगुणं तु वनस्थानां यतीनां तु चतुर्गुणम् ॥ इति (मनु ५ ३३७) वचना-द्यथा ब्रह्मचार्यादीनां शौचं द्वैगुण्यदिक्रमेण वर्धते तथा शौधनं प्रायश्चित्तमपि भवतीत्यर्थः । ब्रह्मचारिणस्तु प्रायश्चित्तद्वैगुण्यं योऽज्ञानवर्षादुद्धनेव ॥ निता on या. III 250 On ब्रह्म-निदर्शनात् the प्राय. न p 3 says 'ब्रह्मनिदर्शनं तच्च ज्ञानम् । ज्ञानोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं तत्पक्षपापं ज्ञानेनैव नाशयते । ज्ञानाग्निं सर्वकर्मणि भस्मसात्कुरुतेऽर्जुनिति भगवद्गीतोक्तेः । (गीता ४ ३७).

199. न च द्वादशवार्षिके चतुर्गुणे क्रियमाणे मध्ये विपत्तिशङ्कया समाप्यनुपपत्ते-भयतिरेव नोत्पद्यत इति शङ्कनीयम् । यत प्रक्रान्तप्रायश्चित्तस्य मध्ये विपत्तावपि पापक्षयो भवत्येव । तथा हारीत । प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते कर्ता यदि विपद्यते । पुनस्तदहरेवासाविह लोकं परत्र च ॥ इति । व्यासोऽप्याह । धर्मार्थं यतमानस्तु न चेच्छक्नोति मानवः । प्राप्तो भवति तद्युग्यमत्र वै नास्ति संशयः ॥ इति ॥ निता. on या III 250 बृहस्पत II 7 is almost the same as हारीत प्राय वि p. 86 ascribes the verse प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते to बृहस्पतः ; अपराके p. 1058 ascribes it to यम

Gaut. (19. 18-20) provides that these acts (viz Vedic recitation, *tapas*, fasting, gifts &c) may be optionally performed, when no (particular penance) has been prescribed, that for grave sins difficult penances and for trivial faults easy ones may be prescribed and that Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra and Cāndrāyana are penances for all sins²⁰⁰ Manu XI 209 (= Viṣṇu 54 34) provides that for the expiation of offences for which no particular atonement has been prescribed, let (the pariṣad) prescribe a penance after considering the (offender's) strength and the nature of the offence. Parāśara (XI, 55-56) provides that the recitation of the Gayatrī ten thousand times is the best penance for all sins and that Cāndrāyana, Yāvaka, Tulāpurusa and serving cows destroy all sins Yāj. III 265 provides that a man is purified from all sins by undergoing the penance for cow-killing or by Cāndrāyana, observance for a month of the milk *vṛata* or by Parāka. Manu XI 117 provides for all *upapātakas* except the sin of sexual intercourse by one who is in the stage of Vedic student the penance prescribed for *goradha* or cāndrāyana.

One guilty of a sin, even though he may himself be a learned man, should approach an assembly of learned brāhmanas and after making some present (a cow or the like) announcing the nature of his lapse seek their decision about the proper penance for his lapse (Yāj. 201 III 300 and Parāśara VIII 2) The Mit, Par. M., Pr. S and other digests quote long passages in verse from Angiras²⁰² who provides that the sinner should

200 एतान्धेवानादेशे विकल्पेन क्रियेरत् ॥ एन ह्यु सुखं सुखि लघु लघुनि ॥ कृच्छ्रा-
तिकृच्छ्रा चान्द्रायणमिति सर्वमायश्चित्तम् ॥ गो 19 18-20. Vide ब्रह्मपुराण 22 36 and
विष्णुपुराण II 6 38 for very similar words 'पापे सुखि सुखि स्वल्पान्यल्पे च बहिर्द ।
मायश्चित्तानि विमेन्द्रा जगु स्वायंमुवाहय ॥ Instead of विमेन्द्रा the विष्णुपुराण has
मैत्रेय This very verse is quoted as बृहस्पति's in माय हर p 545 (with मैत्रेय
for विमेन्द्रा:)

201. विख्यातदोषः कुर्वीत पर्पदोऽनुमतं व्रतम् । यः III 300. This is ascribed
to both बृहस्पति and या. by परा मा II part 2 p 153. Vide शङ्ख 17 62 also

202 A few of the verses of अङ्गिरस् are cited here. कृत्वा पापं न गृहेत गृह-
मानस्य वर्धते ॥ सचैलं वाग्यत स्नात्वा क्लिप्तवासा समाहितः । सत्रियो वाद्य वैश्यो वा परि-
षद्युपतिष्ठति । उपस्थाप्य ततः शीघ्रमातिनान्धरणीं ब्रजेत् । गात्रैश्च हिरसा चैव न च
किंचिद्बुदाहरेत् । ततस्ते प्रणिपातेन दृष्ट्वा तं सद्युपरिधत् ॥ बुद्ध्याः पृच्छन्ति किं
कार्यमुपाविश्यायत स्थितम् । किं कार्यं का च ते पीडा किं वा मृगयसे हिज । एव ते समनुज्ञात
सर्वं मृयादशेषत । तस्मिन्निवेदिते कार्ये निष्कार्यो यस्तु कार्यवान् । सर्वेषां निश्चितं यत्प्राप्तं
यच्च माणान् न घातयेत् । आहूय आवयेदेकः पर्पदा यो नियोजित । शृणुष्व भो इदं विम चते
आदिश्यते व्रतम् । वच एवेमुदाहारी यथोक्त धर्मकर्तुम् । पश्चात्कार्यावृत्तसारेण शक्त्या कुड्य-
द्यद्वत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् p by परा मा II 1 p 206-207 and 235-236 माय सा pp 7.
17-20, माय न pp 11-12, मा. प्रकाश (folio 27b and 28a).

not conceal his lapse and lose time; he should bathe with his garment on, and with the garment still wet approach the assembly and should prostrate himself on the ground. Thus the elders of the assembly ask the man prostrating himself before them 'what is your business, what is the trouble and what do you seek from us'. The assembly then asks him to go aside a little and debate among themselves what the penance should be, considering all the circumstances of time, place, nature of the lapse, age &c. Then one of them at the desire of the assembly should declare the assembly's decision as to the proper penance after citing the *smṛti* passages and reducing the penance in view of the weakness and other circumstances of the offender. It has already been stated that the *parisad* acted under the direction of the king in matters of *prāyaścitta* and that the king was not to interfere with the decision of the assembly. The principal stages in a penance were four viz. approaching the *parisad*, the declaration of the appropriate penance by the *parisad*, the actual performance of the penance declared and the announcing of the sinner's freedom from taint (Angiras q. by Fr. Prakāśa folio 27a 'upasthānam vrataśeṣaścaryā śuddhi-prakāśanam : prāyaścittam catuṣpādam vihitam dharmakartṛ-bhikṣu'").

It is not necessary here to set out the details of the constitution of the *parisad*, of the qualifications of the *śiṣtas* who were to be the members of the *parisad* and their privileges and duties. These points have already been discussed at length in H of Dh. vol. II, pp. 966-974. A few matters not stated there are mentioned here. Caste exclusiveness and pride had gone so far that Parāśara (VIII, 25) and the *Caturvimsātimata* quoted by Par M. state that a *dvija* though he may be of bad character is to be honoured and not a *śūdra* who may have controlled his senses, that the advice of a *śūdra* even though learned and devoted to the knowledge of the *śāstras* should not be accepted like sacrificial food when licked by a dog²⁰³. Instead of the word '*parisad*' the word *parsad* (which is an irre-

203 दुःशीलोपि द्विज पूज्यो न तु शूद्रो जितेन्द्रियः । कः परित्यज्य गा दुष्टां दुष्टेच्छीलवर्ती खरीम् । पराशर VIII. 25 on which परा मा II 1. p 228 observes जातिशीलोर्मध्ये जात्युत्कर्ष एव प्राधान्येनोपादेयः । शीलं तु यथासम्भवं । अत एव चतुर्विंशति-मते शूद्रोपदेशस्यानुपादेयत्वं प्रपञ्चयति । स्वचर्मणि यथा क्षीरमपेयं ब्राह्मणादिभिः । तद्वच्छूद्र-द्वयादाय न भोज्यं कथञ्चन ॥ पण्डितस्यापि शूद्रस्य शास्त्रज्ञानरतस्य च ॥ वचनं तस्य न, माद्यं शुनोच्छिष्टं हविरेषा ॥

gular abbreviation) is employed in several smṛti passages^{203a}. Parāśara (VI 55-57) provides that the assembly should take compassion on the weak, on boys and old men and should reduce the penance, but not otherwise and that if learned men through affection, greed, fear or ignorance reduce the penance that should be prescribed they themselves incur the sin^{203b}. Devala says the same and adds^{203c} that the reduction in the penance should not be directed by one man alone or by a person ignorant of Dharmaśāstra and that it is only a number of brāhmanas who are proficient in Dharmaśāstra that are entitled to reduce the penance through compassion for the sinner. The decision of the assembly should be unanimous²⁰⁵ as far as possible.

If the learned brāhmanas of the assembly knowing the proper prāyaścitta do not declare it in the case of those who are distressed by their own sin and seek direction, they incur sin similar to that of the seeker after proper penance²⁰⁶.

203a पर्वच्छन्दोऽत्र प्रयोदरादित्वात्साधु । प्राय. वि. p 26, on which गोविन्दानन्द says 'परिपीडन्यस्यामिति पर्वत् प्रयोदरादित्वादिकारलोपो विकल्पितः' पाणिनि provides प्रयोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् । VI 3 109.

203 b दुर्बलैः सुग्रहः शोकस्तथा वै बालवृद्धयोः । अतोऽन्यथा भवेद्दोषस्तस्मान्नानुग्रहः स्मृतः ॥ स्नेहाद्वा यदि वा लोभाद्वा दज्ञानतोऽपि वा । कुर्वन्त्यनुग्रहं ये तु तत्प्रायः तेषु गच्छति ॥ पराशर VI. 55-57.

204 प्रायश्चित्तं यथोद्विष्टमक्षय्यं दुर्बलादिभिः । हृष्यतेऽनुग्रहस्तथा लोकसंग्रहकारणात् ॥ एको नार्हति तत्कृतुमज्ञो वा नाप्यनुग्रहम् । धर्मज्ञा बहवो विभ्राः कर्तुमर्हन्त्यनुग्रहम् ॥ देवल q by परा सा II 1. pp. 130-131, प्राय. म p 12.

205 विचारस्तादृशः कार्यो यथा सर्वे सभासदः । एकवाक्यतया ह्युस्तथा श्रेयोपि गच्छति ॥ q by प्राय सा p 18

206. आतर्त्ता मार्गमायानां प्रायश्चित्तानि ये द्विजाः । जानन्तो न प्रयच्छन्ति ते यान्ति समतां तु तैः ॥ आङ्गिरस् q. by मिता on या III 300, प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 512, परा. सा II part 1 p 234.

CHAPTER IV

PENANCES FOR PARTICULAR SINS

It is now proper to turn to the penances prescribed for individual sins of different types (grave sins, minor sins and the like). It may be noted that the *smṛtis* contain numerous *prāyaścittas* for the same sin and that it is often difficult to reconcile all the dicta. The commentaries and digests such as the *Mit* and the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* therefore try to assign to each penance an appropriate provision, looking to all the circumstances noted above (i.e. they are bent on '*visayavyavasthā*').²⁰⁶ In this work, it is not necessary to set out in detail the numerous penances for numberless lapses that are prescribed in the several *smṛtis* and digests. In the *Śabdakalpadrūma* (part III) there is an analysis from the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* alone of the several lapses, the penances for them, the number of cows to be donated as substitutes, the monetary equivalents when even cows cannot be donated and the *dakṣiṇā* in each case, which occupy pages 321 to 364. Setting out all these lapses together with the penances for them would only be a matter of academic interest and of no practical value, as almost all the *prāyaścittas* have become antiquated and are hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to *brāhmanas*, pilgrimages and recitation of Vedic mantras or *japa* of the names of some favourite deity such as Viṣṇu or Śiva. Therefore only a few typical sins alone will be taken for treatment here and later on a list of all penances with brief descriptions will be furnished.

First come the *Mahāpātakas*. *Śaṅkha* ²⁰⁷ (17. 1-3) prescribes the following penance for the four *mahāpātakas*: the sinner should bathe thrice every day, should erect in a forest a cottage thatched with leaves, should sleep on the ground, should subsist

206 a. एवमादीन्यन्यानि उत्कर्षार्पकर्मप्रतिपादकवचनानि ब्राह्मणादिजातत्वं—इत्तरस्था-
इत्तरस्थत्वं—वेदान्त्यादियुक्तत्वायुक्तत्वं—कामाकामकृतत्वं—व्यवस्थया व्याख्येयानि। प्राय. वि.
p. 220, vide also प्राय. वि. pp. 338-39 for a similar passage

207 नित्यं त्रिपवणस्नानी कृत्वा पर्णकुटीं वने । अधःशायी जटाधारी पर्णमूलफल-
ज्ञः ॥ ग्रामं विशेषं भिक्षार्थं स्वकर्म परिकीर्तयन् । एककालं समन्वीयाहर्षं तु द्वादशं गते ॥
हेमस्तेयी सुरापानं ब्रह्महृत् शुचतल्पगः । व्रतेनैतेन शुध्यन्ते महापातकिनस्त्रियमे ॥ शङ्ख 17 1-3
q. by अपराके pp. 1053-54, परा मा II. part 1 p. 320-321, मा. प्रकाश folio 87b.

on leaves, roots and fruits, should enter a village for alms all the time declaring his misdeed, should eat only once a day. When the 12th year passes in this way, the thief of gold, the drinker of surā, the murderer of a brāhmana and one who is guilty of incest become free from sin. Visnu Dh S. 34.1 speaks of sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law as *atpātaka* and (34.2) provides that there is no penance except entering fire for this grave sin. The Bhavisyapurāna, Hārīta and Samvarta (q. by the Pr. V p 43) say the same. But other smrtis like Manu XI. 54 and Yāj III 227 treat *mātr-gamana* as a *mahāpātaka* (*gurutalpa-gamana*) and intercourse with the daughter or daughter-in-law as equal to violating guru's bed (Manu XI. 58, Yāj. III. 233-234). Therefore we begin with the *mahāpātakas* the first of which is the murder of a brāhmana Gaut. 22 2-10, Āp Dh. S I. 9. 24 10-25 and I. 9 25 12-13, Vas 20. 25-28, Visnu Dharmasūtra 35. 6 and 50. 1-6 and 15, Manu. XI 72-82, Yāj III 243-250, Agnipurāna 169. 1-4 and 173 7-8, Samvarta 110-115 and many others prescribe various penances for brāhmana-murder. As the treatment of Manu is tolerably long, an analysis of it alone will be given here. Manu as stated by the Bhavisyapurāna (quoted by Kullūka on Manu XI 72-82, Aparārka p 1055 and Pr V. p 63) speaks of 13 separate penances for *brahmahatya*²⁰⁸. The general rule was that for a man of any class who is directly guilty of intentional murder of a brāhmana the penance was to end in death²⁰⁹. The thirteen penances as set out by Govindananda in his commentary (called *Tattvārthakamudī*) on *Prāyascittaviveka* (p 63) are as follows —

(1) The murderer of a brāhmana should construct a hut in a forest and dwell therein for twelve years, should subsist on alms and should carry a piece of the head-bones of the murdered man on a staff. This is a very ancient penance and other smrtis add some details. For example, Gaut 22 4 provides that the sinner should submit to observances meant for a Vedic student (such as not partaking of flesh, honey etc, stated in

208 तथापि ब्राह्मणवधे प्रायश्चित्तानि सुव्रत । मनुना कीर्तितानीत् त्रयोदश यथाक्रमम् ।
भविष्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p 1055, अथ वि p 63

209. तत्र कामत साक्षाद् ब्रह्मवधे विशेषाश्रवणात् सर्वधामेव वर्णानां मरणात्मिकं प्रायश्चित्तम् । यदाह याज्ञवल्क्य (3 247.) 'लोमस्य स्वाहित्ये' । तथा च मध्यमाङ्गिरा. . प्राणान्तिकं तु यत्कीर्तं प्रायश्चित्तं मनीषिभिः । तच्च कामकृतं प्राप्य विशेषं नात्र संशयः । प्राय. प्रक pp 8-9 , परा मा II. part 2. p 72 and मा प्रकाश 94 a, quote the verse of मध्यमाङ्गिरसः

Gaut. 2. 19), should announce his sin and enter a village only for begging alms. Yaj. III. 243 prescribes that the sinner should have a piece of the head-bone in the hand (left) and another placed on a staff (in the right hand) and that he should eat a moderate quantity (i. e. only once a day). The carrying of the piece of the head-bone in one hand is not meant for begging alms therein but only as a symbol. There was some divergence of views on this point^{20a}, Āp Dh. 8. I. 9. 24. 14 further provides that he should beg for alms at seven houses in only a broken reddish vessel (of clay or copper) and wear a piece of hempen cloth round his waist that will reach a little above his knees and that if he got no food at the seven houses he had to go without food that day and that he should protect cows and may for that purpose (for taking them out for grazing or bringing them back) enter the village again. The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) adds that the staff with head-bone on and the head-bone carried in the left hand are merely symbolic (in order to remind him and others of his being guilty of brāhmaṇa murder), that he should on seeing an *ārya* avoid his path (Gaut. 22. 5), that he should keep standing by day and only sit down at night (Gaut. 22. 6) and bathe thrice in the day (Gaut. 22. 6). It is added by the Mit. that, if the murdered brāhmaṇa's head-bone cannot be had, that of any other brāhmaṇa would do. The Mit. adds that this *vratā*²¹ for twelve years propounded by Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya and others is one and not different for each *smṛti* and therefore all the details that are not opposed to each other should be included. Aparārka p. 1053 (on Yaj. III. 243) relies on the 'sarvasākhapratyayanyāya'²² and states:

209 a. स्वयापादितविप्रत्येयं शिरो द्वेधा कृत्वा ध्वजदण्डाभ्यां स्थापयेद्वयं च हस्ते धृत्वा पादितं केचित् । अपरे तु द्वेधाकरणे ममाणाभावात् कृत्वा शवशिरोध्वजमिति मनुवाक्ये भूषणविरहितोऽप्यन्याशेषकपालं हस्ते द्वाभ्यां स्वयापादितविप्रत्येयस्तु दण्डाभ्यां स्थापयेत् । इत्येव विज्ञानेऽन्यत्र श्रुत्यापवादः । ययं तु स्वयापादितविप्रत्येयकपालं हस्ते द्वाभ्यां अन्यदीपशिरसा तु ध्वजः कार्यः । प्रा. मकारा folio 88a.

210. इयं च मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यगीतमादिप्रतिपादिता द्वादशवार्षिकव्रतार्था एकेन न इनामिना । परस्परसापेक्षत्वाद् विरोधाच्च । तथाहि—मिक्षाशी कर्म वेद्यत्वं—(या. 3. 243) इत्येकं किं भिक्षापात्रं केषां वा ग्रहेषु कतिपु जेत्याकारं जायेतैव । तत्र लोहितकेन सङ्गमना वेण (आप. ध. सू. 2. 9 24. 14.)—इत्यापस्तम्बचर्चनैः परिपूर्णमविरुद्धम् । अतः सर्वैकः कल्पोपदेशालौकिकं मनुगीतमाद्युक्तिकर्तव्यतायाः परस्परसापेक्षत्वेऽपि विकल्प इति तत्परिण्ययोक्तमिति । नित. on या III. 243.

211. अत्र च सर्वेशास्त्रमप्यनेकं कर्मेति न्यायेन स्थूलन्तरोक्ता अविकल्पा धर्माः सङ्गच्छेन कर्तव्याः । विरुद्धास्तु विकल्पेन । अपराक् प. 1053. Vide H of Dh. vol. III. p. 870 for explanation of this Nyāya (maxim) which is based on जै II. 4. 19. and Śabara's bhāṣya thereon.

that there would be an option where the details of several smrtis are in conflict. It was Viśvarūpa²¹² on Yaj. III, 237 who held that the procedure prescribed by each smṛti was separate and that all details taken from different smrtis were not to be mixed up. According to the Mit. and Kullūka (on Manu XI, 72) this vrata for 12 years is appropriate in the case where a brāhmaṇa is murdered unintentionally and Kullūka quoting Angiras provides that for intentional brāhmaṇa murder the penance will be double (i. e. 24 years). The Mit (on Yaj. III, 243) states that this observance for twelve years applies only to one who was himself directly the murderer of a brāhmaṇa and that the *anugrahaka* has to undergo only 9 years' vrata, the *prayojaka* only six years, the *anumantā* only 4½ years and the *manuttin* only three years. It is further provided by the Mit. (on Yaj. III, 243) following a verse ascribed to Manu (not found in the printed text) and Devala²¹³ that if a man commits several murders of brāhmaṇas one after another, and performs penance at one time for them, for two murders he has to undergo the penance for 24 years and for three murders 36 years and when he commits the 4th murder there is no penance (but only death is the penance). The Pr. T. (p. 468) on the other hand,²¹⁴ following the Bhavisya-purāṇa holds that one performance of the 12 years' penance is enough penance for the murder of several brāhmaṇas, on the analogy of the *Kṣāmavati* *ṛsti* (Jai. VI, 4, 17-20) which is performed when both the purodāśas and the house are totally burnt up by accident before the oblations are offered. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 19 a) also says the same and adds that Devala's verse is to be interpreted as laying down that repetition of the same sinful act is more blamable. If the murderer of a brāhmaṇa

212. न चैकमेवेतत् सर्वस्मृतिसिद्धं द्वादशवार्षिकं व्रतमित्याशङ्कनीयं स्मृतिसिद्धिं प्रयोग-
भेदस्य-वकारो धर्मशास्त्राणामित्यत्र श्लोके (पा. १.४) अभिहितत्वात्। विस्मर्य ७७ वा III,
237 (शिर कपालवान्)

213. पञ्च मनुदेवलाभ्यामुक्तं विधेः प्राथमिकादस्माद् द्वितीये द्विगुणं भवेत्। द्वितीये
विगुणं प्रोक्तं चतुर्थे नास्ति निष्कृतिः ॥ तच्च प्रतिनिमित्तं नैमित्तिकशास्त्रमावर्तते इति न्यायेन।
मिता. on या III 243. प्राय वि. pp 25 and 77, प्राय प्रकाश (19a) ascribes the verse
to देवल alone, while परा मा. II part 2 p. 60 ascribes to both and स्मृतिसिद्ध. (पाय)
p. 872 attributes it to मनु and गालव (if the ms was properly read by the
editor). हरदत्त on गौ. 22 6 ascribes it to मनु alone

214. तथा नानाब्रह्मण्यधसर्वे सर्वोद्देशेन सकृत्प्रायश्चित्ते कृते सर्वब्रह्मण्यधन्यपापनाशः।
पथा ब्रह्मण्यधसर्वे भविष्ये। ब्रह्मण्यध ब्रह्मण्यधोर्ब्रह्मणानां च शुक्रः। प्रायश्चित्तस्य चैकत्वं
आतिमाभित्य लक्ष्यते। क्षामवत्यादिना यद्वत् फर्मणा व्रतनापते। देवदोषादकरणे जाते-
दोषकदम्बके। होमनैकेन दोषाणां सर्वेषां क्षयमाविशेत्। मा. तरव p 468.

was a ksatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra he had to perform the penance above described respectively for 24, 36 or 48 years. (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 105). Instead of staying in a hut for twelve years he may stay at the end of a village or a cowpen and should tonsure his head and the hair on the lips or he may stay in an hermitage or at the foot of a tree and should devote himself to doing good to brāhmaṇas and cows and should observe celibacy (Manu XI. 78 and 81). At the end of 12 years he destroys the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(2) According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 9.25.12, Gaut. 22. 3, Manu XI. 72, Yaṅ. III. 248, if a ksatriya intentionally killed a brāhmaṇa he may at his will enter a fight and if he were killed by his opponents who knew that he was a brāhmaṇa murderer, or even if he was wounded and left unconscious on the field but subsequently recovered he should be free from the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(3) According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 9.25.13, Vas. 20. 25-26, Gaut. 22.2, Manu XI. 74, Yaṅ. III. 247, he may cut off with an axe his hair, skin, blood, flesh, muscles, fat, bones and marrow and offer them into an ordinary fire kindled by him for the purpose and offer these eight offerings into it for Death (Mṛtyu) as the deity and then throw himself into fire (thrice with head downwards, according to Manu XI. 73). This penance is for intentional murder of a brāhmaṇa by a ksatriya according to the Madanapārijāta and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 95 a.

(4)-(8) The murderer of a brāhmaṇa may perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice or Gosava or Abhijit or Viśvajit or the threefold Agnistut (Manu XI. 74). The Aśvamedha could be performed only by a king or an emperor (samraj). The others could be performed by any one belonging to the three higher classes. This applies only where the murder was unintentional as stated by Kullūka following the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.²¹⁶ Viṣṇu

215. अग्नौ सक्तिर्भस्मस्त्रिचञ्चातरस्य । यौ 22 2 ; अपि वा लोमानि त्वन् मासमिति क्षयित्वाग्निं प्रविशेत् । आप. च I. 9 25.13 : अणुहासिद्वयसमाधाय कुह्वयादेता । लोमानि सृत्योर्लुहेमि लोमभिर्मुल्यु वासय इति प्रथमा १.. मज्जानं सृत्योर्लुहेमि मज्जाभिर्मुल्यु वासय इत्यष्टमी । वसिष्ठ 20 25-26 When Yaṅ. III. 247 prescribes that he should utter लोमयः स्वाहा, the देवता = सृत्यु and लोम, त्वक् and all others are the आहुतिः.

216. तदुक्तं भविष्यपुराणे-त्वजितादेश्च यद्वीर्य कर्मणा पुनरापते । अश्वदानं द्विजातीनां नये ह्यनतिपूर्वकं ॥ कुहूक on मनु XI.74. For the Aśvamedha, vide H. of Dh.

dharmaśāstra (chap. 35 last verse) states that all persons guilty of any of the 'mahāpātakas' are purified by the performance of *Āsvamedha* or by going to all the *tīrthas* on the earth.

(9) Manu XI. 75 provides that for the removal of the sin of *brahmahatyā*, the sinner may walk one hundred *yojanas*, subsisting on limited food, controlling his senses and reciting one of the four Vedas. Kullūka says that this applies only where the killing is unintentional and the victim is a mere brāhmana by caste (i. e. has not studied the Veda &c.). For *yojana*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 note 185.²¹⁷

(10) Manu XI. 76 provides that the murderer of a brāhmana may make a gift of all his wealth to a brāhmana who has studied the Veda.

(11) Manu XI. 76 and Yaj. III. 250 provide that the murderer may donate to a worthy brāhmana (who has studied the Veda and whose character is good) as much wealth as would suffice to maintain the latter throughout his life and a house with all paraphernalia. This is the view of Govindānanda. But the Mit. on Yaj. III. 250 appears to hold that Nos 10 and 11 are not separate penances. It combines the two into one, viz. that if the murderer has no offspring then he was to donate all his wealth or if he had offspring he was to donate a house with paraphernalia. This explanation is certainly preferable. The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 105) states that if the murderer is devoid of qualities but is well-off he may give a house and lands sufficient for the maintenance of a worthy brāhmana or he may donate a house with appurtenances or if he be childless all his wealth.

(12) Manu XI. 77²¹⁸ and Yaj. III. 249 provide that the murderer subsisting on sacrificial food (such as *nivāra*, milk or

(Continued from the last page)

vol. II 1228-1237. The *Viśvajit* and *Abhijit* are *ekāhas* and the first and last rites of the *Astarātra* and *Abhijit* follow the procedure of soma sacrifice. Vide Jai. VI. 7. 14 and VIII. 1. 16 and *Āsv. Śr.* VIII. 5. 13. In the *Viśvajit* one has to make a gift of all his wealth. vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1212 n. 2644. For *Gosava* and *Agnistut* vide note 153 above.

२१७. तथा च भविष्यपुराणेऽयमेव श्लोकः पठितं व्याख्यातश्च-जातिमात्रं यदा विदं हन्यादमतिपूर्वकम् । वेदविज्ञाशिरोजी च तदा तस्य भवेद्विदम्॥ कुल्लूक on मनु XI. 75.

२१८. हविष्यमुन्वाहसरेत्यतिश्रोत सरस्वतीम् । मनु XI. 77, मेधातिथि comments 'हविष्यं शुष्यकं नीवारादि ग्राम्यमपि पयोद्वतादि । प्रतिश्रोत श्रोत श्रोत. मति यावन्ति

(Continued on the next page)

ghee) should follow the course of the (holy) river Sarasvatī in all its branches. This, acc. to the Bhavisyapurāṇa and Kullūka,⁴ applies where a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (without Vedic learning) is killed intentionally by a man who is himself rich but has no vedic learning. The words 'pratisrotah sarasvatīm' have been variously explained. Medhātithi explains as above. Apararka, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa and Raghavananda explain that the murderer should follow the course of the Sarasvatī in the opposite direction from the sea to its origin. This appears to be a better explanation, since it brings out the force of 'pratisrotah' more clearly.

(13) It is provided by Manu XI, 77 and Yāj. III, 249 that the murderer should recite in a forest thrice the *samhitā* text of the Veda, while subsisting on limited food. The express mention of *samhitā* text precludes the *pada* text or *krama*. The Bhavisyapurāṇa and Kullūka hold that this penance is proper where a mere brāhmaṇa by birth (without Vedic learning) is killed unintentionally.

Manu XI, 79, Yāj. III, 244 and 246, Vas. 20, 27-28 and Gaut. 22, 7-8 and 11 mention three more penances, but they are not independent ones (as is made clear by Śankha). If a murderer, while undergoing the 12 years' penance, fights him who attacks a brāhmaṇa and saves him (or fights for the king, acc. to Vas.) or dies in the attempt, he becomes at once free from the sin and if he lives after the fight he had not to continue the penance for the whole period. The same applies to the saving of 12 cows by the murderer by putting his own life in danger²¹⁹. Similarly, if a murderer fights a marauder depriving a brāhmaṇa of all his wealth and restores the wealth to a brāhmaṇa or dies in the attempt or is severely wounded (thrice acc. to Yāj, Vas and Gaut.) and is unable to restore the wealth to the brāhmaṇa he becomes free from the grave sin of brāhmaṇa murder.

(Continued from the last page)

सरस्वत्यां श्रोतस्ति तावन्त्यहसरेत् ।' अपराक p 1060 says 'सरस्वतीं प्रति श्रोतोऽन्तादार-
ग्योद्धर्मं यावदपि गत्वा छुद्यति'; सर्वज्ञनारायण explains प्रतिश्रोत प्रभासमारभ्य प्लक्षप्र-
णान्तं यत्र यत्र सरस्वती तत्र तत्र श्रोतो लक्ष्यकृत्य तीरेण गमनम् ।' The मित. on य. III
249 explains प्लक्षात् प्लक्षणादारभ्य पश्चिमोदधेः प्रतिश्रोत श्रोतं प्रति सरस्वतीं इत्या गत्वा.
For the sacredness of the Sarasvatī, vide H. of Dh vol II, pp 13-15 and
later on under *tīrthas*

219. अन्तराले वा आह्वानं नोचयित्वा यत्र वा द्वादशानां परित्राणात् । इति । शङ्ख
य. by ह्यदत्त on यो 22 14 and मित. on य. III 244.

Manu XI 82, Yāj III 244, Śaṅkha and Gaut 22.9 lay down that if the murderer of a brāhmana announces his sin when the king and priests have met together for the ceremonial bath after the Āsvamedha sacrifice and being permitted by them bathes along with them, he becomes free from the sin.²²⁰ According to Haradatta this is an independent penance, while according to the Mit on Yāj III 244, Aparārka p. 1057 and others it is not so but is to be performed while undergoing the 12 years' penance.

Yāj. III 245 provides that if the murderer treats and cures a brāhmana or a cow (or cows) lying helpless on the public road suffering from a long-standing and serious ailment he becomes free from the sin.

Parāśara (XII 65-67) prescribes for *brāhmahatyā* the penance of going to the sea and Rama's bridge, begging and declaring on the way one's sin, walking without an umbrella or shoes and residing in cowpens, forests, *tirthas* and river streams; on seeing the *setu* he was to bathe in the ocean and on return to feed brāhmanas at a dinner and to donate 100 cows to learned brāhmapas.

There are other penances for *brāhmahatyā* mentioned by Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa and others quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1064-1065) and others which are passed over here for want of space.

If a brāhmana killed his own father, mother, full brother, his teacher of the Veda, a brāhmana who has studied the Veda or has consecrated sacred Vedic fires, he had to undergo penance till his last breath (acc. to Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 13 quoting Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, Pr. V. pp. 70-71, Smṛtimuktāphala Pr. p 873 quoting Dakṣa III 27-28 and Āp. Dh. S I.9 24). If a man killed a priest that was engaged at a *soma* sacrifice the penance was double (Yāj III 252). The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p 13) says that this means that the murderer should perform 12 years' penance and then donate cows²²¹ in proportion to the difference between his

220. अश्वमेधावधुर्थं गत्वा तत्रालङ्घ्य स्नात्वा सद्यः पुनो भवति । शङ्ख १ ८१ निता on या III 244. अपरार्क p 1057 (on या III 244) and ग्रय. सा p. 33 combine the two sūtras of Śaṅkha into one.

221. तथा च भविष्यपुराणम् । मातरं पितरं हत्वा सोदर्यं भ्रातरं तथा । हर्षं हत्वा भोजनं च आदिताग्निमेषाणि वा ॥ आ उत्तनादुच्छ्वासं ब्रतं स्वीकरो विभुषयि । अत्र ऐक्यं सङ्कलनाया जीवनकालस्यानियतत्वाद् विशुद्धचरं शतं परमादरेण आह्वयम् । तेन ह्यदशवार्षिकं हत्वा वधकालाद्ब्रह्मै विश्वपथिकशतस्य यावद्वशिष्टं तावत्परिमाणं ह्यदशवार्षिकव्रताद्वरुणं धेनुं ददातुः । ग्रय. प्रक p 13.

age at the time of finishing twelve years and 120 years (which is regarded as the highest limit of life). If a person strikes a brāhmana intending to kill him but only injures him he should perform the *vratā* for *brahma-hatyā* (acc. to Yāj. III. 252, Gaut. 22.11'). The Mit. explains that this is an extension (*atideśa*) of the rules about *brahma-hatyā* and so the penance is a little less than the full one (i. e. 9 years). Where certain sins are said to be equal (*sama*) to *brahma-hatyā* or *surāpāna*, the penance for them is half of what is prescribed for the latter. If a person intending to commit suicide by entering water or fire or by hanging himself or by taking poison or by falling from a precipice or the dome of a temple or by cutting his belly with a weapon or by fasting, does not die, but luckily lives, he has to undergo a *prāyaścitta* for three years (acc. to Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 15). Vas. 23.18-19 and Parāśara XII.5-8 prescribe other *prāyaścittas* for such persons (who are styled '*pratyavasita*'). Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 15) and Pr. V. (p. 75) quote two verses of Yama^{221a} for nine kinds of *pratyavasita* and prescribe Cāndrāyana or two Taptakrochras for them.

If a *ksatriya*, *vaiśya* or *śūdra* intentionally and directly killed a brāhmana, the expiation was death, but otherwise each had respectively to undergo twice, thrice or four times as much *prāyaścitta* as a brāhmana sinner would have had to undergo for killing a brāhmana.²²² Conversely, if a brāhmana killed a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* or a *śūdra* the sin was only an *upapātaka* (acc. to Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), unless the *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* victim was engaged in performing a soma sacrifice (*Sāmavidhāna* Br. I. 7. 5, Yāj. III. 251, Vas. 20. 34) when the penance was heavy. Yāj. III. 266-267, Manu XI. 126-130 and Āp. Dh. S. I.9.24. 1-4 prescribe other penances for killing a *ksatriya*, a *vaiśya* or a *śūdra*. The penance for a *ksatriya*

221. a जलान्मुहं न्यनम्रताः प्रव्रज्यानां शक्युताः । विषमपतनयाशक्षवातहताश्च ये ॥ नृपैते मृत्यवसिताः सर्वलोकावहिष्कृताः । चान्द्रायणेन ह्युच्यन्ति तप्तकृच्छ्रद्वयेन वा ॥ यम, verses 22-23, बृहद्यम 3-4, नारदपुराण. These include those who give up *sannyāsa* and those who sit down at the door of another for killing themselves (माय).

222 माय प्रक. II. 16 says: तत्र क्षत्रियादीनां साक्षाद्ब्रह्मवधे विशेषाश्रवणात् प्रणान्तिकमेव । इतरत्र तु यद् ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मवधे प्राप्यश्चित्तं तत् क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राणां यथाक्रमं द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं चतुर्गुणमिति बोद्धव्यम् ।... तथा च ब्रह्मवधप्रकरणेऽङ्किराः । परिवर्था ० (vide note 195 for the quotation). vide the माय वि p. 75 (which quotes भविष्यपुराण that quotes the verses of अङ्किरस्य, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 105, स्मृतिह. (मा.) p. 873. परा. मा. II part 2 p. 74 and मा. प्रकाश (folio 94 a) quote a verse of प्रजापति 'द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं चैव चतुर्गुणमपि वा । क्षत्रविद्ब्रह्मजातीनां ब्राह्मणस्य वधे व्रतम् ॥ .'

killing a ksatriya is a little less (i. e. by $\frac{1}{2}$) than the penance for a brāhmaṇa killing a ksatriya. Vide the verse 'vipre tu sakalam deyam' quoted above (note 192).

Women victims were placed on the same footing as ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra males (Yaj. III. 236 and Manu XI 66), except the cases where the woman was an Ātreya or pregnant or in her monthly illness (Gaut 22 17, Āp Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 5 and 9, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1.10, 12-13, Vas 20 34, Visnu Dh. S. 50 7-9) or the wife of a twice-born performing a soma sacrifice, when the penance was heavy (like the one for *brahmahatyā*). The period of soma-yāga was reckoned from the *Diksanīyā* isti to the *Udavasānīyā* (acc to the Mit) or up to the end of *avabhṛtha* bath (acc. to Aparārka). For killing women guilty of adultery the penances were higher and varied according to the caste of the paramour and of the woman (vide Gaut 22, 26-27, Manu XI. 138, Yaj III. 268-269).

Manu (XI. 208=Visnu Dh. S. 54 30) and Yaj III. 293 prescribe that for threatening to beat or strike a brāhmaṇa the penance is *kṛcchra*, for striking him it is *Ati-kṛcchra*, for shedding his blood a *Kṛcchra* and *Atikṛcchra*. The *Samavidhāna Br.* I. 7. 4 prescribes other penances (i. e. recitation of certain *sāman* texts) for these.

Gaut. 23.1, ²²³ Āp Dh. S. I 9 25.3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 21., Vas. 20.22, Manu XI. 90-91, Yaj. III. 253 and Brhaspati prescribe that if a brāhmaṇa drinks intentionally spirituous liquor prepared from flour even once he has to undergo a penance that ends in death, viz. he has to drink that liquor boiling hot or to drink boiling hot cow's urine, milk, ghee, water or liquid cow-dung, and when his body has been completely scalded thereby and he dies he becomes free from that sin. Some like Haradatta on Gaut. 23 1 hold that this horrible penance is meant for one who knowingly and repeatedly drinks *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Manu XI 92 and Yaj. III. 254 prescribe another penance in place of the one ending in death viz. that the sinner should eat during one year (during three

223. सुरापोऽग्निस्पर्शा सुरा पिबेत् । आप. घ. सू. 1 9 25 3 ; सुरापस्य ब्राह्मणस्योष्णमासिऋतुः सुरामारये मृत. छुभ्येत् । गो 23.1, सुरापाने कामकृते ज्वलन्तीं तां विनिसिपेत् । सुखे तथा विनिर्दग्धे मृतः छुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ बृहस्पति प. by मित. on या III 253, अपराकं प. 1071, माय एक प 43, प्रायेण धर्मशास्त्रेषु सर्वेऽप्येव नराधिप । मतिपूर्वं सुरापाने प्राणविकलं कदाचित् ॥ पैडीपाने तु कापिनिनेतरस्यां कदाचन । भविष्यपुराण प by द्वीपकलिका on या. III. 253.

years, acc. to Yāj.) once (a day) at night the (boiled) small grains of rice, or oilcake, should wear clothes made of cow's hair, should have matted hair on his head and carry a flagstaff (with a wine cup thereon). The same rules apply to a ksatriya or vaiśya drinking *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Only they have as stated above (in note 192) to undergo three-fourths and one-half respectively of the penance for a brāhmaṇa sinner. This penance was to be undertaken after vomiting the contents of the stomach. According to the Madanaparijata (p. 818), Pr. V. p. 104, Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 43, Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and other works the twelve years' penance is meant for one who drinks *surā* (made from flour) through ignorance or force. According to Gaut. 23, 2-3, Yāj. III. 255, Manu. XI. 146, Atri 75, for drinking intoxicants or human semen, ordure or urine through ignorance a person of the three first classes had first to undergo the penance called Taptakrochra and then his *upanayana* was again performed. Vasiṣṭha 20.19 prescribes for drinking any intoxicant unintentionally the penances of Kṛochra and Atikrochra, the drinking of ghee and the performing of *upanayana* again. There is great divergence of views about Manu XI. 146 and Yāj. III. 255 which is passed over here. Brhaspati ²²⁴ quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and others prescribes that a brāhmaṇa who drinks *surā* prepared from raw sugar, flour and honey (or madhūka flowers) should respectively undergo Taptakrochra, Parāka and Cāndrāyana. This light penance is restricted acc. to the Mit. and others to cases where *surā* is drunk for curing a malady which no other medicine could cure. If a brāhmaṇa drank *surā* (not manufactured from flour) or any other intoxicant, various easy penances were prescribed for him (such as undergoing Cāndrāyana on a river falling into the sea, feeding brāhmaṇas and donating a cow and a bull to the brāhmaṇas, Parāśara XII 75-76). Vide Yāj. III. 255 and the Mit. thereon. Ksatriyas and vaiśyas incurred no sin by drinking intoxicants other than *surā* (made from flour) and the śūdra incurred no sin even by drinking *surā* of the

224. गौडीं पैरी तथा माध्वीं पीत्वा विप्रः समाचरेत् । तप्तकृच्छ्रं पराकं च चाण्डायण-
मुद्रकमात् ॥ इत्युच्यते q. by मितः on या III. 254, अपराकं p. 1073, परा. मा II part 2 p.
84, मद्. पा p. 821, प्राय. सा. p. 42 The मितः comments यत्तु बौधायनीयं वैशाखिक-
मन्त्र्या सुरापाने कृच्छ्रान्दपादं चरित्वा पुनश्चपनयनमिति, यत्तु चाम्बं 'सुरां पीत्वा द्विजं हत्वा
रुध्नं हत्वा द्विजन्मनः । स योगं पतिते गत्वा द्विजश्चाण्डायणं चरेत् ॥' इति, यदपि चाण्डेयस्य
'गौडीं...कमात्' इति तत्त्रितयमप्यन्यौषधसाध्यस्याधुपशमार्थं पाने वेदितव्यं प्रायश्चित्तरया-
त्यत्वात् ।

paisti variety. The Mit (on Yāj III. 243) holds that since Manu XL 93 generally forbids the drinking of *surā* on the part of brāhmanas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas the prohibition applies even to boys who have not undergone the rite of *upanayana* and girls who are not yet married and adds that for drinking *surā* the child has to undergo only one-fourth penance (for 3 years) if the offence was unintentional and double of that (6 years) if it was intentional (vide also Pr. prakaraṇa p. 48). The Kalpataru, it appears, held, relying on Gaut II. 1 ('before upanayana a child may do as it pleases as regards behaviour, speech and eating'), that no sin (*doṣa*) was incurred by a child before *upanayana* and by a girl before marriage for drinking *surā*. The Pr. V (p. 104) and Pr. Prakāśa criticize the Kalpataru for this view.²²⁵ As Brhaspati states (vide n. 188 above) the license allowed by Gautama is limited by the Mit and other digests to the partaking of sour or stale drinks and the like and is not extended to drinking *surā* which is a mahāpātaka. Jātukarṇya²²⁶ (q. by the Par. M.) provides that if a boy whose upanayana has not been performed drinks an intoxicant (*madya*) through foolishness, his father, mother or brother should perform three kṛochras as an expiation for him. Angiras (Jiv. p. 557), Āpastamba-smṛti III. 7, Laghu-Hārta 34-35, Brhad-yama III. 1-2 also provide that a *matimdhū* (brother, father, friend) may undergo an expiation for a boy who is himself unable to do so or is less than eleven and above five years of age.

The Āśv. gr. (I 22 22-26)²²⁷ prescribes what is to be done and what is to be omitted in *punar-upanayana*. It provides that the rites of the cutting of the hair and the production of intelligence are optional, there are no express rules about giving the person in charge (of the deities) and as to the time, and the verse to be recited as the Savitri is Rgveda V. 82.1 instead of the usual Gayatri (tatsaviturvarenyam, Rg. III. 62.10)

225. अत्राहुपनीतब्राह्मणकुमाराच्छुद्धब्राह्मणकुमारिकयोः सुरापाने दोषाभावे सुर पीत्वा द्विजो मोहादित्यादि प्रायश्चित्ते द्विजग्रहणादिति कल्पतरुस्तत्र तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराज्यो इति मद्यवचनात् सुरापाननिषेधोऽयं जात्याश्रय इति स्थितिः । न पिबेद् ब्राह्मणो मद्यं निषिद्धमपि चापरम् ॥ इति कुमारवचनाच्च द्विजग्रहणस्य जात्युपलक्षणार्थत्वात् । प्राय ति pp 104-105.

226. अनुपेतस्तु यो बालो मद्यं मोहादपिबेद्यदि । तस्य कृच्छ्रत्रयं कुर्यान्माता भ्राता तथा पिता ॥ जादृक्पर्यं q. by परा मा. II part 2 p 80.

227. अथोपेतपूर्वस्य । छुत्ताकृतं केशवपनं मेधाजननं च । अनिरक्तं परिदानम् । कालञ्च । तत्सविहृष्टंमदे इति सावित्रीम् । आश्व. गृ I. 22 22-26, q by सद्. पा. p 821.

Vasistha 20.18 quotes Mānu XI. 151 on this point²²⁸ and Visnu (Dh. S. 51.4-5) in prose is to the same effect. Visnu (Dh. S. 51. 2-3) provides Cāndrāyana for drinking any of the (twelve) unclean excretions of the body (Manu V. 134) or any of the several kinds of intoxicating drinks and for eating garlic or onion or red garlic or any plant having a similar flavour or the flesh of village pigs, of tame cocks, of apes and of cows and then adds (in sūtra 4) that they (the sinners) must undergo fresh *upanayana* also. The smrtis provide different *prāyaścittas* for various lapses about drinking and eating such as drinking water from a pot which had already been used for holding *surā*, for drinking water from the water vessel of a *cāndāla* or of a washerman or from a *sūdra*'s house or for drinking milk which should not be drunk (Gaut 17.22-26, Yaj I. 170, Manu V. 8-10), for eating forbidden food, which must be passed over here, because²²⁹ they are too many and too various and depend on circumstances for their application as observed by the Pr. V and because they are now of academic interest alone. Some reference, however, may be made to show how some of these lapses were treated. Sankha states that there are many articles that are allowed or forbidden to men, particularly to *brāhmanas* and in cases of transgressions the decision rests with the *śiṣṭas* (the *pariśad* of respectable people). Brhaspati²³⁰ (quoted by Aparārka) prescribes that in the case of the partaking of things that should not be licked or drunk or eaten or in case of taking in human semen, urine or ordure, the penance of a *cāndrāyana* is the purification. Some of the sages such as Samvarta, Sankha-likhita took a lenient view, prescribed Cāndrāyana even for eating cow's flesh and human flesh²³¹

228. मानवं चात्र श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति । अपनं मेखला दूहो मेक्षचर्या व्रतानि च । एतानि तु निषर्तन्ते शुच.संस्कारकर्मणि ॥ इति । बसिष्ठ 20. 18 The verse is मनु XI 151.

229. यानि चाप्यानि ह्यन्यस्तरोक्तानि अभक्ष्यभक्षणे अपेयपाने शुक्लपुष्यायश्चित्तानि तानि कानाकामकुतसकुटुम्भासपेक्षया योज्यानि द्रव्याणामानन्यात्यतिस्पृक्षितु अभक्ष्यत्वमभि-
धातुमक्षयमिति तत्स्पृश्यस्तरदिवावयन्त्यम् । शिट्वाक्याञ्च । यथा शङ्ख । भक्ष्याभक्ष्याण्यने-
कानि ब्राह्मणस्य विरोधतः । तत्र शिष्टा यथा ब्रूयस्तथा कार्यो विनिश्चयः ॥ q by माय. वि. p.

339. The verse is quoted by परा. सा II. part I p. 462.

230. अलेखानपेयानामभक्ष्याणां च भक्षणे । रेतोमूत्रपुरीषाणां शुद्धिश्चाग्नायणं स्मृतम् ॥
बृह q by अपरार्क p. 1164, परा सा II part I p 367.

231. गोमांसमाहुषं चैव सुनिहस्तात्ममाहुतम् । अभक्ष्यं तद्वेत्सर्वं भुक्त्वा चाग्नायणं
चरेत् ॥ संवत् 197 q by अपरार्क p. 1165, परा. सा II part I p 367; शृगालकुक्कुट-
वन्ति-कृपाव-वानर-खरोह-गजबालि-विट्पराह-गोमाहुषमांसभक्षणे चाग्नायणम् ॥ शङ्ख-

लिखित q by अपरार्क p. 1166, परा सा II part I p 368, vide गौ 23. 4-5, बसिष्ठ
23 30, मनु XI. 156, विष्णु 51 3-4 for similar provisions

The general rule stated by the Sāma Br. I 5 13, Manu XI, 160 and others is that one desirous of inner purity should not eat forbidden food, that if he eats it through ignorance he should make efforts to vomit it and if that is impossible he should quickly take some *prāyaścitta* (which is slight in the case of ignorance). It may be mentioned that even from very ancient times exceptions were recognised to the prohibitions against the partaking of forbidden food. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I, 10)²²⁷ narrates the story of Usastī Cākṛāyana, who when the country of the Kurus had been devastated by hailstones (or by locusts), begged (along with his very young wife) of a chief eating beans and took from the latter the beans that had been put away for the chief (and so were *ucchṛṣṭa*), but when asked to take water for drinking meant for the chief replied that if he drank of it he would be drinking what was unclean, since he could get water whenever he liked. This Vedic passage indicates that even unclean things may be eaten when there is distress (*āpad*) or danger to life, but that when there is no distress or danger even one who has knowledge of *brahmandyā* should not violate the injunctions of śāstra about eating. The Vedāntasūtra (III.4 28) has an aphorism on this incident. Manu X.104 provides that he who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever is not tainted by sin as the sky is not tainted by mud. Manu then refers (X.105-108) to the stories of Ajigarta who, when famished, approached for slaying his own son, of the sage Vāmadeva who when tormented by hunger desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life and did not sully himself, of Bharadvāja who when distressed by hunger along with his son in a lonely forest accepted many cows from the carpenter Vrdhu (Brbhu?) or of Viśvāmītra who, well knowing what was right or wrong, proceeded, when tormented by hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a Cāṇḍāla.²²⁸

222 स हेमं कुल्मापांश्चादन्त निमिषे त होवाच नेतोऽपे विद्यन्ते यन्न येन ह्य उपनिहिता इति । एतेषा मे देहीति होवाच तानस्मै भद्रौ वृत्तामुपायमिच्छन्ति इति मे पित र्ग्याहति होवाच । न त्विदमेष्टुच्छिद्य इति न वा अजीविष्यमिमांश्च खादन्ति होवाच कामो न उद्वपानमिति । छा. उप. 1. 10 2-4, सर्वोक्तान्तित्थ माणात्यये तद्वशीनात् । वेदान्तसूत्र 111 4 28, on this शाङ्करभाष्य observes तदेतदुच्छिद्योच्छिद्यपुष्टिपित्तमक्षण दर्शयन्त्या-शुतेराशयातिशयो लक्ष्यते माणात्ययमसङ्गे माणसन्धारणायाभक्ष्यमपि भक्षयितव्यमिति । स्वस्था-वस्थाया नु तन्न कर्तव्यं विद्यावतापीत्युपायमत्यारूपानाद्वश्यते ।

222^a For the legend of Ajigarta, vide Aitareya Br. VII.13-16 (or 33 1 ff) and H. of Dh vol III pp 563-64, 660, 663. In Rg. VI 45 31-33 Brbhu is described as the carpenter of the Panis and his liberality is highly praised. For Viśvāmītra trying to steal from a hamlet of cāṇḍālas a dog's leg, when famished, vide Śāntiparva 141.26-96

For eating the flesh of various birds Visnu Dh. S. 51. 29 and 31 and others prescribe fasting for three days or one day and also for eating several varieties of fish (Visnu 51.21).

We may now revert to the penances for the other Mahāpātakas. It has already been seen how the thief that had stolen a brāhmana's gold of a certain weight was to approach the king with a club (p. 73 above). Even Ap. Dh. S. I 9.25.4 refers to this and prescribes as an option (Āp Dh. S. I 9 25.6-7) entering into fire as an expiation for theft or starving oneself by reducing the intake of food. Therefore, the penance for the theft of brāhmana's gold of the weight of 80 *raktikās* or more (Manu VIII. 134 and Yāj I 363) was death for the offenders of all varnas, except a brāhmana offender, who clad in rags (or bark garment) was to undergo a penance in a forest for twelve years of the same kind as for brāhmana murder (Manu XI. 101) or for the drinking of *sauā* prepared from flour (Yāj III 258). The offender may also give as much gold (if he is rich) as his own weight or as much wealth as would be required for the maintenance of a brāhmana's family for the latter's lifetime (Yāj. III 258 and Mit. thereon) The Āp Dh. S. I. 9 25 8 provides the observance of the penance of Krochra for one year (as defined in Āp Dh. S I 9 27 7-8) and quotes a verse "those who have committed a theft (of gold), drunk spirituous liquor, or had connection with a *guru's* wife, but not those who have slain a brāhmana, shall eat every fourth meal-time a little food, bathe thrice a day, pass the day standing and the night sitting; after the lapse of three years they cast off their sins."^{232b} The digests contain numerous and varying expiations for theft depending upon the weight of gold stolen, upon the qualities of the man robbed and of the thief, upon the caste of both, upon whether it is a first offence or a repeated one, on the price and nature of the thing stolen and on the time and place and so on Vide Pr V. pp. 117-127, Pr. Sāra p 49, Madanapārijāta pp 828-834, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 108-109, Smṛtimuktāphala pp 883-885. These have to be passed over here for reasons of space.

If the gold stolen (even from a brāhmana) was less than 80 *raktikās* or if gold of any weight was stolen from a ksatriya

232 b कृच्छ्रसंवत्सरं वा चरेत् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । स्तेयं कृत्वा दुरां यीत्वा शुद्धारं च गत्वा ब्रह्महत्यामकृत्वा चतुर्थकाला मितभोजना स्थुरपीम्यवेष्टुः सवनाञ्जकल्पम् । स्थानासनाभ्यां विहरन्त एते त्रिभिर्वेदेभ्य पापं शुद्धन्ते । आप. ध. सू. I 9, 25, 8-10.

or any other non-brāhmana, the expiation would be as one for an upapātaka. Manu (XI 162-168 = Matsyapurāṇa 227, 41-47) and Visnu 52, 5-13 prescribe various penances such as krochra for a year for the theft of corn or cooked food or wealth; cāndrāyana for abducting men and women (slaves) or for appropriating a field or house and the water of wells and cisterns; śāntapana for thefts of objects of small value; pañcagavya for stealing eatables of various kinds or a vehicle or a bed or a seat or flowers or roots and fruits; fasting for three days and nights in the case of theft of grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather (or armour) and flesh, subsisting for twelve days on small grains of rice for stealing gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, bell-metal or stones, subsisting on milk alone for the theft of cotton, silk, wool, animals with cloven hoofs (cows &c.) or uncloven hoofs (horses &c.), birds, perfumes, medicinal herbs or a rope (used for drawing water). It must be remembered as stated above (p. 74) that the thief had to restore to the owner the thing stolen and then undergo a penance (Manu XI 164 and Visnu Dh S 52.14) and Medhātithi (on Manu XI 164) adds that if he is unable to restore the thing (or its price) the penance is to be double. Besides, in certain cases of theft if corporal punishment or death was not inflicted by the king, the thief was fined eleven times the price of the thing stolen (Manu VIII 321, 323, Visnu Dh S. 5.82) 233

Steja (theft) is of two kinds, by force (such as robbery and dacoity and called *sāhasa*) and by clandestine means. In the former case the penance goes on increasing (twice, thrice) according as the offender is a ksatriya or vaiśya (*parasadyā brāhmaṇūm*, quoted above, Par. M. II part 1 p. 231) In the case of theft by clandestine means if the owner whose gold or wealth is stolen is a brāhmana and the thief a ksatriya or vaiśya, then also the penance must be higher than for a brāhmana thief (since, as, Nārada says in his chapter on *sāhasa* verse 16, the wealth belonging to idols, brāhmanas and kings is the best) But conversely, if the owner of stolen property is of lower class than the thief then the verse of Brhad-Visnu (‘vipre tu sakalam dayam,’ quoted above in note 192) will apply.

233. द्वित्रादिमापात्मकहेमहरणं तु क्षत्रियादिहेमहरणवदुपपातकमेवेति युक्तम् । किं च स्रुवर्णकियूनपरिमाणहेमहरणे प्रायश्चित्तान्तरोपदेशात्परिमाणस्यैव हेमनो हरणे सरणान्तिकादि प्रायश्चित्तामिति युक्तम् । तथा चोक्तं षड्विंशन्मते । मित्ता on या III 257.

The penance for incest with the *guru's* wife was prescribed from very ancient times as follows: Gaut. ²³⁴ 23.8-11, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9,25. 1-2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 14-16 (almost in the same words as in Gaut), Vas. 20. 13-14, Manu XI. 103-104 prescribe that the offender shall confess his guilt and then extend himself on a red-hot iron bed or embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman or having himself cut off his organ and testicles and having taken them in his joined hands may walk straight towards the south or south-west until he falls down dead and that he becomes purified by death. According to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 the three are not distinct penances, but that two of them, viz. embracing the red-hot iron image of a woman and sleeping on a bed of red hot iron form one penance. The words of Yāj. no doubt convey that the two together are one penance (viz. sleeping on red hot bed and clinging to a red hot image). Others like the Madanapārijāta (p. 837), Medhātithi ²³⁵ on Manu XI. 103 do not accept this interpretation. The latter moreover relies on Gautama who employs the word 'vā' (or) in the two latter of his three sūtras on this point. The Pr. V. (p. 138) points out this difference between Gaut. and Yāj. Manu XI. 58 and 170-71, Yāj. III. 231, Sainvarta 159 regard sexual intercourse with a friend's wife or a maiden of a higher caste and the wives of one's son or of sagotras and women born of the same womb (sister &c.) or with an *anyaja* woman as equal to *gurutalpagamana* and the penance is only a little less than for the latter. Manu XI. 105 and Yāj. III. 260 prescribe a penance (other than one ending in death), viz. that the sinner should dwell in a tenantless forest, allow his beard to grow, should wear tattered garments and practise Prājāpatya Kṛochra for one year (three years acc. to Yāj.). The commentators say that this was meant where the sin was committed by mistake. Manu XI. 106 and Yāj. III. 260 provide another penance viz. Cāndrāyana for three months, Manu prescribing that the sinner should subsist on sacrificial food (fruits, roots or *nivāra* grain) or on barley gruel and Yāj. adding that he should recite for the three months the Vedasamhita. The commentators say that this applies in cases where the *guru's* wife is of a lower varṇa or of the śūdra class.

234. तस्मै लोदशयने सुवृत्तलपगः शरीत । स्त्री वा विप्रयेज्जलन्तीम् । लिङ्गं वा सङ्घयसङ्कृपाजलावाधाय दक्षिणपतीर्चीं ब्रजेदजिह्वमा शरीरपतात् । गौ 23 8-10.

235 आचार्याणीं गतेदं प्रायश्चित्तमपरा मतेन । समानजातीयायमने इमानि त्रीणि प्रायश्चित्तानि कल्पन्ते । मेधातिथि ०७ मनु XI. 103.

Parāśara (X 10-11) provides three different *prāyaścittas*, viz. excision of the organ, three *kṛccnas* or three *cāṇḍālyanas* if a man commits incest with his mother, sister, or daughter and in X. 12-14 prescribes other penances for adultery with other near female relatives. The Mit on Yāj. III 259 quotes Śāṅkha for twelve years' penance for all four kinds of Mahāpātakas, which applies acc to it to intercourse with guru's wife of the same class. It is not necessary to quote further *smṛti* passages which vary greatly as to the extent of the penance. Manu XI 178 (= Visnu Dh S 53. 9 = Agnipurāṇa 169 41), Śānti 165 29 state that the sin which a twice-born man commits by sexual intercourse for one night with a *vṛśālī*²³⁶ (a *cāṇḍāla* woman) is removed by him by the penance of subsisting on alms for three years and reciting mantras (like the *Gāyatrī*). Āp. Dh S. I 9 27. 11 has a somewhat similar verse about a brāhmana's intercourse with a śūdra woman²³⁷. Yāj. III. 233 prescribes for women death as a legal penalty and the same *prāyaścitta* as for a male if a man has sexual intercourse with his paternal or maternal aunt, or daughter-in-law, maternal uncle's wife and others (enumerated above) with their consent. Manu XI 175 (= Laghu-Śatātapa 155 = Agnipurāṇa 169 38) holds that a brāhmana, who has sexual intercourse with a *cāṇḍāla* woman or *mleccha* woman or dines with *cāṇḍālas* or *mlecchas* or accepts gifts from them, has to perform penance as if he were *patita* if he unknowingly did these things, and becomes like them by committing these sins knowingly. Compare Vasistha 23 41, Visnu Dh. S 53 5-6.

If a woman be guilty of a Mahāpātaka the general rule stated by Manu XI 176 (latter half), Katyāyana and Brhaspati²³⁸ was that whatever penance was prescribed for a male in cases of adultery with other's wives the same was to be administered to women in case of adultery with males. In this parti-

236 वृषली in मनु XI 177 is explained as चण्डाली by कुल्लुक and मित्त on या. III 260, which quotes a *smṛti* verse 'चण्डाली बन्धकी वेद्या राजस्था या च कल्पका । उवा या च सगोत्रा स्याद्ब्रह्मण्य. पञ्च कीर्तिता ॥' शुलपार्थि understands वृषली as वृषली, vide Pr. Prakāśa folio 111 b for this difference.

237 यदेकरत्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्णं ब्राह्मण. सेवमानश्चतुर्थकाल उदकाग्न्यापी त्रिभिर्वर्षैस्तद्वहन्ति पापम् ॥ आप ध. सू. I. 9 27 11. शान्तिपर्व 165.29 reads 'निकुलवर्ण' and 'स्थानासनान्या विहरन् व्रती स त्रिभिर्वर्षे शमयेद्वात्मपापम् ॥'

238. यत्सुतः परदारेषु समानेषु व्रतं चरेत् । स्यमिचारानु भर्तुं स्त्री तद्वशेव समाचरेत् । ब्रह्मण्य by अपरार्क p 1124, माय वि. p 371 ; एवं दोषश्च क्षुद्धिश्च पतितानाहदाहता । क्षीणामपि प्रसक्तानामेव एव विधिः स्युतः । कात्या. p by मित्त. on या. III. 260.

cular case the rule about half penance being prescribed for women did not hold good when a woman with full knowledge committed adultery and half penance was to be prescribed only where the adultery was through mistake. A similar rule was laid down by Angiras^{238a}. If a woman became *patita* and did not undergo *prāyaścitta* she could be excommunicated by the process called *ghatasphoṭa* (described in 'H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 615-616 and 1009). But there was a difference between a male and a woman in this respect. A woman, however, was not to be altogether abandoned on the street and left to fare for herself, though she be *patita*, but she was to be lodged in a cottage thatched with grass near the house and was to be guarded against further lapses and given bare maintenance (enough to keep body and soul together) and (dirty) clothes (Yāj. III. 296, Manu XI. 176). There were certain acts, however, which were specially condemned in women (Yāj. III. 297) viz. sexual intercourse with a man of a lower class, causing abortion and killing the husband. Vas. 21. 10 provides²³⁹ that four classes of women may be altogether abandoned (and not given even starving maintenance &c) viz. a woman who has sexual intercourse with (her husband's) pupil or with his *guru* or one who kills her husband or one who sexually approaches a man of a lower degraded class. Women, however *patita* they may be, were to be dealt with as stated in Yāj. III. 296 even if they did not perform any penance. Vas. 21.12 states that women of the *brāhmaṇa*, *ksatriya* and *vaiśya* classes, if guilty of sexual intercourse with a *śūdra*, can be purified by penance if they do not give birth to a child, but not those others (who give birth to a child born of the condemned connection). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 946-949 for penance and other matters in relation to adultery by men and women.

It is now necessary to turn to the penance for association with those that are guilty of grave sins (*mahāpātakas*). Manu XI. 181, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54 1, Yāj. III. 261 provide that whoever associates with (for a year, acc. to Yāj.) a person guilty of one

238a अतः यच्चोदितं इसां पतितस्त्रीनिषेवणात् । तच्चापि कारयेन्मूढां पतितसेवनात् क्षिप्यम्॥ अङ्गिरसः q. by माय. वि. p. 372.

239. चतसस्तु पतिपाज्याः क्षिप्यया दुरगा च या । पतिह्री च विशेषेण छुद्भितोपगता च या॥ वसिष्ठ 21 10 q by the मिता on या III. 297 and अपराक्ष p. 1208 on या. I. 72. The मिता attributes the verse to व्यास and explains छुद्भित as 'प्रतिलीमज्ज्वर्मकारादि'. The दीपकालिका explains as 'छुत्सित. प्रतिलीमज्ज'. The माय. वि. p. 374 attributes it to अङ्गिरसः and explains 'छुद्भितः छुत्सितो ह्रीनवर्णः'.

of the four mahāpātakas has to undergo the *vata* (the observances) prescribed for that grave sinner in order to free himself from the sin of association. Kullūka, the Pr sara (p. 61) and others state that the penance here referred to is the one for twelve years and not death since it is the word *vata* that is employed by Manu and *vata* does not ordinarily convey the idea of death.²⁴⁰ If the association was due to ignorance the penance was half. Vyāsa prescribed²⁴¹ for the knowing associator $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the penance provided for the sinner himself. According to the Pr. V (p 171) there was no difference in the extent of the penance for association with a sinner in the case of a brāhmana²⁴² and a śūdra, though in other cases penance was reduced by one quarter for each varna. If the association was for less than one year, then the penance was proportionately reduced. Not only was the *patita* condemned but even his son born after he became *patita* and he was excluded from inheritance. But the daughter of a *patita* was treated differently and she could be married without any stigma being attached to the husband. Vide Vas. 13 51-53, Yāj. III, 261, Band. Dh. S II 1. 73-74, Hārta q by Pr V. p 174 and Pr prakaraṇa p 110 and H of Dh vol III. pp. 614-616.

Viṣṇu Dh S (chap 36) speaks of certain sins as *anupātakas* which are declared by Manu (XI 55-58) and Yāj (III 228-233) to be equal to or like one or other of the mahāpātakas and provides that those guilty of them become pure by Āśvamedha sacrifice or by resorting to pilgrimages. It has also been seen that such sins are removed by the penances that are slightly less (i. e. by $\frac{1}{2}$ th) than those for the mahāpātakas themselves.

The penances for *upapātakas* must now be briefly dealt with. The number of upapātakas is very large and it is of no practical importance to deal with each of them separately. First of all, some general rules about them will be stated and

240 अत्र च ब्रह्महादिषु यद्यपि कामतो मरणान्तिकमुपदिष्टं तथापि संसर्गिणस्तत्कालि-
विश्यते । स तस्यैव त्वत् कुर्यादिति त्रतस्यैवातिदिशात् । मरणस्य च त्रतगच्छद्वारस्याभावात् ।
अतोऽयं कामकृतेऽपि संसर्गे द्वादशवार्षिकमकामतस्तु तदर्थम् । मिता. on या III. 261, vidē
also मद्. पा p. 853

241. यो येन संवत्सेद्वर्षं सोऽपि तत्समतामियात् । पादहीन चरेत्सोऽपि तरप तरप ब्र-
ह्म ॥ व्यास q. by the मिता on या III 261, कुट्टक on मनु XI 181

242 अतः संसर्गिणि ब्राह्मणे श्रुते च न प्रायश्चित्ते विशेषः । तथा निम्नस्त्वस्वस्वतन्त्रं
यत् प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तं तस्य च संवत्सरान्त्यूर्ध्वं भागहारः कार्यः । तथा च ब्रह्मस्पतिः । प्रायश्चित्तं
तु संयोगे याजनाध्यापनादिना । एकत्रासनशय्याभिः प्रायश्चित्तार्थनाचरेत् । मद्.
pp. 171-172.

a few of them that are of some importance will be dealt with individually. The Sāmavidhāna ²⁴³ Br. (I 5.14) states that on committing several upapātakas a man becomes pure by reciting thrice the whole of the veda while fasting. Manu XI. 117, Yaj. III. 265, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37-35 prescribe that purification from all classes of upapātakas (except the sin of the *avalikṛm*) is effected by the same penances that are prescribed for *govadha* or by *cāndrāyana* or by subsisting on milk alone for a month or by *Parāka* or *Gosava*. The digests prescribe that *Parāka* is meant for him who is strong enough to undertake it, *Cāndrāyana* for him who is weak, *Gosava* for him who repeatedly commits the same upapātaka or is guilty of several at the same time (vide Pr. Prakāśa, folio 122 a).

Govadha stands at the head of upapātakas in Manu, Yaj., the Agnipurāṇa (168 29-37). Several smrtis provide different penances for the sin of killing a cow. Gaut. 22. 18 prescribes²⁴⁴ the same penance for *govadha* as for killing a vaiśya (Gaut. 22. 15) viz. staying for three years in a forest, subsisting on alms, observing celibacy and donating one hundred cows together with a bull. In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 for killing a milch cow or a full grown ox the penance is said to be the same as for killing a śūdra. Vas. 21. 18 provides that if a man kills a cow he should cover himself with the raw hide of the cow (that is killed) and should observe *Krechra* or *Atikrechra* for six months. Manu²⁴⁵ XI. 108-116, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50. 16-24, Samvarta 130-135, Parāśara VIII. 31-41 (q. in Smṛtimuktāphala p. 875, prāyaścitta section) prescribe elaborate observances as penances for *govadha*. Yaj. (III. 263-264) provides four separate prāyaścittas, viz (1) the killer of a cow should control his senses for a month, should subsist on *pañcagavya* (cow's urine, cow-dung, milk, curds and ghee), should sleep in a cowpen, should follow the cows so penned (by day) and at the end of a month donate a cow; (2) or he should perform *Krechra* penance while sleeping in a cow-pen and following cows by day; (3) or should perform an *ahkrecchra* in the same way; (4) or should fast for three days and donate ten cows together with

²⁴³ बह्व्युपपत्तीयानि कृत्वा त्रिभिरनश्नन्परायणैः पुनो भवति। सामविधानम्।
I 5. 14.

²⁴⁴ गां च वैश्यवत्। नौ 22 18; घेन्ननहुतोश्चाकारणात्। आप. ध. सू. I 9. 26 1

²⁴⁵ अत्रिपुराण 169, 5-7 are the same as मनु XI. 108-110; संवर्त 130-134 are quoted (with slight variations) by विश्वरूप on वा. III. 262.

one bull. Śankha provides²⁴⁶ that the killer of a cow should fast for 25 days and nights subsisting on pañcagavya, should tonsure his head together with the top-knot, should wear as an upper garment cow-hide and should follow cows, lie down in a cow-pen and donate a cow. Some of the smṛtis and digests declare that the penance differed according as the cow that was killed belonged to a learned brāhmana or to a mere brāhmana by caste, to a ksatriya or vaiśya or śūdra. For example, Devala (q. by Pr. V. p. 202) states that if a cow belonging to a brāhmana were killed, then the sinner should wear as upper garment that cow's hide for six months, should bring fodder for cows, should imitate cows, should subsist on barley gruel, should move among cows and then he becomes free from the sin. Śātātapa (q. by Pr. V. p. 203) states that one killing the cow of a vaiśya should subsist on pañcagavya for a month, should recite the Gomati-vidyā²⁴⁷ and stay in a cowpen for a month. Viśvāmitra (Pr. V. p. 203) says about the killer of a cow belonging to a śūdra that he should undergo four krochras if he kills intentionally and two if unintentionally. The Gomati-vidyā is quoted by Aparārka (p. 1102), the Madana-pūrijāta (p. 862) and Pr. T. p. 522 (which takes it from the Prāyaścitta section of the Kalpataru that takes it from Yama) is a laudation of cows: 'cows always emit fragrance, they have the smell of guggulu (bdellium), they are the support of beings, they are a great blessing, cows are (yield in their milk) the best food and the best offerings for gods; they are purifiers of all beings and offerings ooze from them; they please the gods in heaven by the offerings (of milk and ghee) that are rendered pure by the mantras recited over them; in the agnihotra (keeping up the sacred fire) of sages cows help

246 गोचनः पञ्चगव्याहार पञ्चविंशतिरात्रमुपवसेत् सविश्वं वपनं कृत्वा गोचर्मणा माहृतो गाश्चाष्टगच्छन् गोष्ठेशयो गा च दद्यात् । शङ्ख १ by विश्वरूप on या III. 262, मित्ता. on या III 264, हरदत्त on गी 22 18, अपराकी p. 1094. The मित्ता and हरदत्त ascribe the passage to both शङ्ख and प्रचेतस्.

247 गोमतीविद्यामाह मायश्चित्तकाण्डकल्पतरौ यम । गोमतीं कीर्तयिष्यामि सर्वपापप्रणाशिनीम् । तां ह मे गदतो विभ्राः शृणुष्व सुसमाहिताः ॥ गावः सुरभयो नित्यं गावो गृह्यन्ते गन्धिका । गावः प्रतिष्ठं भूतानां गावः स्वस्वयनं महत् । अक्षमेव परं गावो देवानां हविश्चतमम् । पावनं सर्वभूतानां क्षरन्ति च हवींषि च ॥ हविषा मन्त्रपूतेन तर्पयन्त्यमरान्दिति । क्षयिणामग्निहोत्रेषु गावो होमप्रयोजिका ॥ पावनं सर्वभूतानां गावः शरणस्तुतमम् । गावः पवित्रं परमं गावो मङ्गलस्तुतमम् । गावः स्वर्गस्य सोपानं गावो धन्याः सनातना । नमो योग्यं श्रीमतीभ्यः सौरभेयीभ्य एव च । नमो ब्रह्मसुताभ्यश्च पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः । ब्राह्मणाश्चैव गावश्च कुलमेकं द्विधा कृतम् । एकत्र मन्त्रास्तिष्ठन्ति हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति ॥ माय तत्र pp. 522-523, अपराकी and या प्रकाश folio 1166 with some variations such as 'सर्वभूतानां रक्षन्ति च वहन्ति च' अपराकी p. 1102 quotes the verses from गावः सुरभयो 10 पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः ।

to bring about *homa*; cows are the holy and eminent protection for all beings; cows are extremely holy and most auspicious; cows are blessed; salutation to cows that abound in wealth and are called *saurabheyī*! salutation to the cows that are holy and the daughters of *Brahmā*. *Brāhmanas* and cows are (really) one family divided into two parts, in one (*brāhmanas*) reside the (vedic) *mantras* and in the other reside offerings (to Gods of ghee &c.)." The Pr. prakarāna ²¹⁸ (p 33) says that *Kātyāyana*, *Gautama*, *Samvarta*, *Parāśara* and other sages prescribe differing penances for *govadha*, which are to be explained away by reference to the killing being intentional or unintentional or to the fact of the cow being owned by a *brāhmana* engaged in a *soma* sacrifice or by a *brāhmana* who has studied the *Veda* with the six auxiliary *śāstras*, or by the fact that the cow was useful for the *homa* of a *brāhmana* possessed of good qualities or was a pregnant cow or of the *lapilā* (brown or tawny) variety. It adds the important statement that in its days such cows being not found in ordinary life it is not necessary to expressly assign to each of those texts its appropriate subject matter.

Yāj. III. 284, ²¹⁹ *Samvarta* 137, *Agnipurāṇa* 169.14 provide that if a cow or bull dies while being treated with medicine or while an attempt is being made to help the cow in delivery, or being branded (as a treatment) there is no sin. This applies as an exception in all cases of injury or death of *brāhmanas*, cows or other animals. *Parāśara* (IX. 4 ff) and *Angiras* (q by Pr. T. pp 526-527) prescribe $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the *prāyaścitta* for killing out-right a cow, if the death is due to putting an obstacle in the cow's or bull's free movement or to tying it up or to yoking it with thongs. Before undergoing a penance for *govadha*, the sinner had to make good the price of the animal to the owner, according to the *Brahmapurāṇa* and *Parāśara*, ²²⁰

228. यत्पुनः काल्पायनेन... पराशरादिभिरपि न्यूनाधिकतयश्चित्तान्मुक्तानि तानि कामाकामकृत-सर्वनश्य-श्रोत्रि-बद्धमेवाध्यायि-ब्राह्मणसम्बन्धिशुण्वद्धोमधेनु-गर्भिणी-कपिलादिवधनिषयाणि यथायोग्यं व्याख्येयानीति । इदानीं तु तथाविधमवाप्तेन व्यवहारानङ्ग-साम्प्रत्येकं निषेधव्यवस्थया व्याख्यातानीति । माय प्रक p. 33,

249. क्रियमाणोपकारे तु सूते विमे न पातकम् । विपत्ते गोवृषाणां तु भेदजात्रिक्रियासु च ॥ या. III. 284, यन्त्रणे गोचिकित्सार्थे यद्धवर्मादिमोचने । यदि तत्र विपत्तिः स्यात् स पापेन लिप्सते ॥ संवत् 137 q. by the नित्ता on या. III. 284, माय प्रकरण p 33.

250. गोवधे तु स्वामिने गोमूल्यं दत्त्वा व्रतं करणीयम् । आदौ गोपतये दत्त्वा गोमूल्यं साधुकाक्षितम् । इति ब्रह्मपुराणम् । न चैतद्ग्रहणे दोषः । ...तथा च पराशर । प्रमाणे माणधृतां भवद्यात् मत्तिरूपकम् । तस्याल्लक्षणं मूल्यं वा दद्यादित्यब्रवीन्मनुः । माय तत्र p. 513. The verse प्रमाणे is quoted as काल्पायनः (792) by the परा मा III. p. 425 and ज़ि. १ p 284.

The Sāmavidhāna Br (I 7.8) prescribes that on killing any animal (except a cow or bull) the guilty person should fast for one night and recite the sāmaveda verse 'Agnis-tigmena' (I 1 3 2) Āp. Dh S (I 9.25.14) provides for killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a *chakravāka*, *hamsa*, *bhāsa*, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog the same penance as for killing a śūdra. Gaut 22 19-22, 24-25, Manu XI. 133-137, Yāj III 269-274, Visnu Dh. S 50.25-32, Parāśara VI 1-15 prescribe several penances for killing an elephant, a horse, a tiger, a monkey, a cat, a serpent and numerous other animals, which are passed over here. Some smrtis such as Samvarta 10 and Paithinasi make a difference between *grāmya* and *ārya* (forest) animals, in each class seven being specified by Paithinasi.²⁵¹ The great concern of the sages for anything possessed of the principle of life or growth went so far as to prescribe the penance of reciting one hundred *rk* verses if a man cut off big trees (like mango or jack-fruit tree) or shrubs and creepers, except for purposes of sacrifices or agriculture.²⁵² (Manu XI. 142, Yāj III 276, Vas 19. 11-12) These provisions tended against wanton destruction of trees, shrubs and forests that are so beneficent to humanity and lend a charm to the landscape.

It is remarkable that in case a man was bitten by a harlot or a monkey or an ass or by a dog or jackal or a camel or a crow he had to perform (in addition to the pain of the bite) *prāṇayāma* while standing in water and to drink ghee for purification (Manu XI 199, Yāj. III 277, Vas 23. 31) Parāśara V 1-9 prescribe elaborate rules of purification for bites by wolves, dogs and jackals (such as a bath and *japa* of Gayatri &c).

PARADĀRYA (adultery with another's wife)—is a minor sin (acc to Yāj III 235, Manu XI. 59). This excludes intercourse with *guru's* wife and other intercourse declared to be like *gurutalpāgama* or with *cāndāla* women (Manu XI 170-172, 175, 178, Yāj III 231-233, Vas XX. 15-17 and XXIII 41) Āp. Dh S. I 10 28 19 is very severe on a male adulterer who transgresses his vow of loyalty to his wife; one who proves false to his wife shall put on the skin of an ass with the hair turned

251. शास्त्रारण्यपञ्चविके पैठीनसि । शास्त्रारण्यश्चतुर्विंश । गौरविरजोऽश्वोऽश्वतो गर्दभो मनुष्यश्चेति सप्त ग्राम्याः पञ्चवः । महिषवानरकक्षसरीसृपकुरुपृषतद्वयाश्चेति सप्तारण्याः पञ्चवः । प्राय वि प 233. Even the तै स VII. 2 2. 1 says 'सप्त ग्राम्याः पञ्चवः सप्तारण्याः'.

252. दुष्कर्मलोपगान्धावपाक हिंस्यात् । कर्षणकारणार्थं चोपहन्त्यात् । वसिष्ठ 19 11-12.

outside and beg at seven houses saying 'give alms to him who played false to his wife'. This should be his livelihood for six months". Conversely, Āp. (I. 10.28.20) provides that if a wife plays false to her husband she should perform for as many months (i. e. six months) the twelve night *kṛcchra* penance. In another place Āp. Dh. S. (II 10. 27. 11) states that if a *brāhmana* commits adultery once with a married woman of equal class he shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast. Gaut. (22 29-30, 34) provides penances for two years generally and three years if the woman be the wife of a learned *brāhmana*. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 265 quotes numerous texts dealing with the penance for adultery that does not amount to a *mahāpātaka* and tries to evolve order by assigning to each its proper province. This is passed over here. A woman guilty of adultery with a male of the same or higher caste than herself had to undergo the same penance as a male adulterer (Manu XI 176 and *Bṛhaspati*), but if she committed adultery with a male of lower caste, then the penances differed as stated above (vide Vas. 21. 1-5 and *Saṁvarta* 167-172). *Bṛhadayama* IV. 48 states that adultery in the inverse order of classes is a grave sin, but adultery in the *anuloma* order of classes entails different penances for purification from it.²⁵³

Vṛātyatā (failure to have upanayana performed at the right time)—A person whose upanayana is not performed at the proper time is called *vṛātya* or *patitasāvritrika*. Vide Āśv. gr. I. 19. 5-7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 22-26, Baud. gr. III. 13. 5-6, Vas. XI. 71-75, Manu II. 38-39, Yaj. I. 37-38. The penances also such as the performance of *Vṛātyastoma* and *Uddālakavṛata* (Vas. XI. 76-79, Gaut. 19.8) are prescribed by some of these works, while Manu XI. 191 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 26-27 = *Agni-purāṇa* 170. 8-9) prescribes a milder penance of three *kṛcchras* and then *Upanayana* is to be performed again. Vas. XI. 77 describes *Uddālakavṛata* as follows: 'for two months he should subsist on barley gruel, for a month on milk, for half a month on *amīkṣā*, for eight days on ghee, for six days on food obtained without begging or asking for it, for three days on water and he should observe a complete fast for one day.' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.1. 24-27) prescribes another penance for *vṛātyatā*. For *vṛātya* or *patitasāvritrika*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 96, 376-379. Haradatta as

253. संवर्त 167-168 are q. by माय. वि. p. 358 and परा मा. II part 1 p. 330; संवर्त 169 is q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 254 p. 132, बृहदयम IV. 48 in यातिलोम्ने महत्पप भवन्ति मनीषिणाः। मायश्चित्तं चातुलोम्नेन भवत्येव चान्यथा॥.

quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II, p 379 appears to hold that even if generations before the great-grand-father of a man had been without *upanayana*, still proper penance should be prescribed and the man taken in the fold of Hinduism. But there were others who stuck literally to the words of Āp. and Parāśara and hold that if all the generations from the father of the great-grand-father of a man were without *upanayana* then nothing could be done for that man ^{253a}

Vratalopa (non-observance of the vow of celibacy on the part of a brahmachārin). A Vedic student who has sexual intercourse with a woman is technically called *avakīrṇin*. The Tai. Ā. II. 18 contains the penances for *avakīrṇin* first promulgated by Sudeva Kāśyapa ²⁵¹. Āp. Dh. S. (I 9. 26. 8-9) provides ²⁵⁵ that such a student shall offer to Nirrti (goddess of Hell or death) an ass according to the manner of *Pākayajñas* and that a śūdra shall eat the remainder of the offering. Jaimini (VI 8 22) provides that the offering is to be made in the ordinary fire (*laukikāgni*) and not in the consecrated Vedic fire. ²⁵⁶ Vas. (23 1-3) prescribes 'if a Vedic student approaches a woman, then he should offer an ass to the goblins (*rahasas*) in a forest where four roads meet, kindling an ordinary fire or he may offer an oblation of boiled rice to Nirrti and throw into the fire four oblations of that food saying 'To lust, *svāhā*; to him

253a. इदं व्याख्यात हरदत्तेन भाष्यकृता । यस्य प्रपितामहस्य पितृरस्य नासुस्मर्यत उपनयनं तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं नोक्तमिति । तथा च सत्कार्यस्य विदुषोऽपि व्याख्येयं कथमपि संस्कार्यस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति कलितम् । प्राय. सूक्तावली folio 80 a

254. यो ब्रह्मचार्यवाकिरेदनावास्याया राज्यामग्निं प्रणीयोपसमाधाय द्विराण्यरोपपातं जुहोति कामावकीर्णोऽस्म्यवकीर्णोऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहा कामाभिद्रुधोऽस्म्यभिद्रुधोऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहेत्यसृत्तं पा आउयममृतमेवात्मन्धत्ते । तै. आ. II. 18.

255. गर्दभेनावकीर्णीं निर्वर्तति पाकयज्ञेन यजेत । तस्य शुद्धं माश्रीयात् । आप. ध. सू. I 9 26 8-9, ब्रह्मचारी चत्स्त्रिपक्षपेयादरण्ये चतुष्पथे लौकिकेग्नौ रक्षोदेवतं गर्दभं पशुमालभेत् । नैर्वर्तत वा चरुं चिर्वपेत् । तस्य जुहुयात्कामाय स्वाहा कामकामाय स्वाहा । नैर्कस्य स्वाहा रक्षोदेवताय स्वाहेति । वसिष्ठ 23.1-2 अवकीर्णोऽस्मि is explained by शीरस्वामी as 'अमरकोश' as 'अव अन्तरे कीर्णं स्तोऽस्यावकीर्णी' The वैखानसस्मृत्युद्ध VI 8 employs the word in a wider sense 'सतराज्ञौ हीने नित्यकर्मणि अवकीर्णी भवति' For पाकयज्ञः which are ordinarily said to be seven, vide H. of Dh vol II p 194 The Āśv. gr I 1.2-3 speaks of three and quotes Rg VIII 19.5 in support The commentator explains 'पाकयज्ञाः अल्पयज्ञाः प्रशस्तयज्ञा वा' and quotes Rg VII 104 8 in support for the latter meaning The खदिरसूक्त I. 1 20 defines 'पाकयज्ञ इत्याख्या य कश्चैकाग्नौ' बृद्धगौ. VIII p. 557 speaks of five पाकयज्ञः.

256. अवकीर्णपशुश्च तद्वदाधानस्यामासकालत्वात् । जै. VI 8.22, on which शबर says 'अस्यवकीर्णपशुः, ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णी नैर्वर्तत पशुमालभतेति । तस्माद्विदमपि कर्तुं लौकिकेनिति ।

who follows his lust, svāhā; to Nirrti svāhā; to the deities called *Raksas*, svāhā'. Gaut 23. 17-19, Manu XI. 118-123, Baud Dh. S II. 1. 35-43; Yāj. III. 280, Agnipurāṇa 169. 15-18, Pār gr. III. 12 contain similar provisions, Gautama adding that he shall beg for a year at seven houses with a red vessel (earthen) in his hand and proclaim his misdeed. The Baud. Dh S. and Pār gr furnish elaborate details. The former states that the Paśupurodāśa may be offered to Raksas or to Yama or he may offer on the Amāvāsyā at night two offerings of clarified butter in fire after performing the preparatory rites of a *darva-homa* and that he may then invoke fire with the verse (Tai. Ā. II 18) 'Sam mā cīcāntu marutaḥ &c.' (may the Maruts grant me long life and strength).

If an ascetic reverted to the life of a householder, Samvarta (171-172) prescribes the penance of krochra for six months²⁵⁷. Such a man is called *pratyavasita*. The *pratyavasitas* are said to be of nine kinds²⁵⁸ by Yama (22-23), Brhad-Yama (3-4) and others viz. those who turn back from water, fire, halter (by means of which they wanted to kill themselves), those who revert back from the stage of *sannyāsa* or from a fast (unto death), or from poison, precipice or sitting *dharmā* and those who (desiring to commit suicide) strike themselves with a weapon (but are not killed), these nine are called *pratyavasita* and are beyond commerce with people, become pure by the penance of *Cāndī āyana* or two *Taptakrochras*. Vṛddha-Parāśara quoted by Par. M. and Prāyaścitta-muktāvali provides that *sannyāsins*, who revert to the life of the householder, are to be treated as *cāndālas* even after undergoing penance and their children born after they fall from the ascetic stage are to be made to dwell among *cāndālas*. This explains the harsh treatment alleged to have been meted to the great saint Jñāneśvara and his brothers at Paithan in the 13th century. A person who after becoming a *sannyāsin* reverts to another *āśrama* or acts contrary to the

257 सत्यस्य दुर्मति कश्चिदपत्यार्थं स्त्रियं व्रजेत् । कुर्यात्कच्छं समानं तत्पन्मासां-
स्तदनन्तरम् ॥ सर्वत्र 171-172, quoted in परा मा. II part 2 p 129 (reads प्रत्यापत्तिं
व्रजेद्यदि । स कुर्यात्कच्छं मन्थान्त पन्मासांस्तदनन्तरम्) and माय सा p 123 (reads
प्रत्यापत्तिं विकीर्णति) 'सत्यस्य प्रायश्चित्ते लुप्तधर्माः परिव्राजका गृहिता इत्याह बृहस्पराशर ।
लुप्तधर्मास्तु चाण्डालाः परिव्राजकतापसा । तेभ्यो जातान्यपत्यानि चाण्डालैः सह वासयेत् ॥
इति । माय. मुक्तावली folio 73 b, परा मा II part 2 p 11

258 अज्ञान्युद्धवन्धनव्रटा प्रत्ययानाशकश्च्युताः । विषप्रपतनमायशास्त्रवतहताश्च ये ॥
यैते प्रत्यवसिताः सर्वलोक्यदिष्कृताः । चाण्डायणेन ह्युध्यन्ति तत्कच्छद्वयेन वा ॥ यम 22-23
q. b) माय सा p 126

rules of his āśrama is called *ārūḍhapāṭita* also (vide Par. M. II, part I p 373 quoting Hārīta).

Elaborate purifications are prescribed for removing the taint of touching certain men, unclean objects like bones (Manu V. 87), women in their monthly illness or within certain days after delivery and animals (like dogs, village pigs, cocks, crows). They have to be passed over here for reasons of space. But a few passages may be cited by way of sample. Gautama²⁵⁹ (14, 28) provides that on touching *paṭita*, cāṇḍāla, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse, or on touching any one who has touched any one of these or any one who is the third in contact, the purification is brought about by a bath with the clothes on. Manu V. 84 and Yāj III 30 contain similar provisions. The Pr. V. (pp. 495-499) discusses the question whether *spaśa*²⁶⁰ (touch) means direct touch or includes even indirect touch and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that indirect touch also is included and cites Āpastamba-smṛiti in support that if a brāhmana and a cāṇḍāla or the like are both seated on the same branch (without actually touching each other) the brāhmana can become purified only by a bath. A verse quoted as Yājñavalkya's by Pr. Prakaraṇa²⁶¹ p. 110 (not found in the printed text) states: 'on touching a cāṇḍāla, pukkasa, mleccha, *bhilla*, a *pūrasika* (one coming from Persia) and the like and persons guilty of grave sins one should bathe with the clothes on.' The Sat-triṃśan-mata²⁶² provides 'on touching

259 पतितचण्डालद्वितिकोदकपाशवस्पृक्षितस्पर्धुपस्पृक्षे सचैलोकदर्शनात्पुरयेत् ।
नौ 14 28 The मित्ता on या III. 30 reads it as सचैल्लोकः and एतद्
observes that the latter is the better reading.

260 उपस्पृक्षो यद्यपि न स्पर्शशब्दस्यार्थं तथाप्यत्र वचनादेकाग्रविद्वता परम्परा-
स्पृक्षोऽपि ग्राह्य । तथा चापस्तम्बः । एकशालां समारुद्ध्वाण्डालादिर्यदा भवेत् । ब्राह्मणस्तत्र
भित्तस्य स्नानेन शुचितामियात् ॥ आदिशब्दाद्बुद्ध्यादीना ग्रहणम् । शालाग्रहणमेकाग्रम् ।
पलक्षणार्थं तेनैकपाशागादेरपि ग्रहणम् । माय. वि. p 496. The verse is अपस्तम्बस्मृति
VII 14 (reads somewhat differently) It is quoted in मा प्रक p 111 also

261. तत्र बाह्यवस्त्रं । चाण्डालपुक्कसम्लेच्छभिष्टपासिकादिकान् । मरणातिमन्यो
स्पृष्ट्वा स्नायात्सचेलकः ॥ मा प्रक p 110 This verse is quoted as वृक्षपाशवस्त्रं
by अपरार्क p 923

262 पदत्रिंशन्मत् । बौद्धाग्राशुपताश्चैव लोकायतिकनास्तिकान् । विस्मयन्
द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचेलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ चैत्यवृक्षधितिर्युपस्थाण्डाल सोमविक्रमी । एतद्
ब्राह्मण स्पृष्ट्वा सचेलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ मा प्रक p 110, and स्मृतिच I p. 118 (which
reads पाशुपतान् जैनान् लोकायतिकपापिलान्) The first verse is quoted as from
the Brahmandā-purāṇa by the मित्ता. on या. III, 30 and by स्मृतिच I : 118
(reads जैनान् पाशुपतान् स्पृष्ट्वा and शूद्रान् for स्पृष्ट्वा) and the 2nd is ascribed to
परशर by अपरार्क p 923.

Bauddhas, Pāsupatas, Laukayatikas, atheists and those who follow forbidden actions, one should plunge in water together with the clothes on. On touching a *cantya* tree (such as a fig tree round which a platform is built), a funeral pile (or brick altar prepared in the śrauta rite called Agnicayana), a sacrificial post, a cāṇḍāla, one who sells the soma plant, a brāhmana should enter water with the clothes on.' Samvarta²⁶³ requires a *devīa* to sip water on touching a shoemaker, a washerman, a *lena* (Manu X 19, 49, one who beats drum &c.), a fisherman, a dancer (*nata*) and Śātātapa²⁶⁴ provides that if any limb of a *dvija* (except the head) is touched by one who colours clothes, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a *ṭhaka* (*Thug*), an actor, one who allows sexual intercourse in the mouth, a dog, a prostitute allowing men of all varnas to visit her, an oil-grinder, the keeper of a tavern, an executioner, a village pig or cock, he should wash the limb with water and perform *ācamana*. If the head is touched by any one of these, then he should bathe. In this connection it may be noted that Hemādri quotes (on p. 38) the Garuḍapurāṇa and (on p. 316) Parāśara for the 16 castes in a village that were treated as cāṇḍālas in the matter of touch, speech or sight. Devala (q. by Hemādri on *prāyaścitta* p. 312) says that Cāṇḍāla and Turuska (Turk) are equally low. The chapter on untouchables in the 2nd vol. of the H. of Dh pp. 165-179 may be consulted in this connection. On pp. 175-176 of the same work references are given to verses of Atri, Śātātapa, Brhaspati and others stating that no purification is required on the ground of untouchability in the case of religious festivals and marriage processions, in battle, in the case of fire or invasion and similar calamities. By no stretch of imagination can these verses be restricted to the untouchability arising from death or birth as some propose

263 चर्मरं रजकं वेणं धीवरं मन्त्रेव च । एताव् स्पृष्ट्वा द्विजो मोहादाच्चामेत् प्रयतोऽपि सत् ॥ सर्वतः q. by प्राय वि pp 472-473.

264. रजकश्चर्मकृच्चैव वधाधजालोपजीविनौ । निर्णेजकः सौमिकश्च ठकः शैलूपकस्तथा ॥ सुलेभगतथा श्वा च वनिता सर्ववर्णाः । चक्री ध्वजी वक्ष्यमस्ती धाम्मशूकरकुक्षुदौ । एमिर्यदङ्गं सस्पृष्ट सिरोरजं द्विजातिषु । तोयेन क्षालनं कृत्वा आचान्त क्षुचित्तमियात् ॥ ज्ञातानप q. by प्राय वि p 473 and स्पृष्टिच I p 119. The word ठक explained by प्राय वि as धूतं may be noted as the original word for the modern word 'Thug' The स्पृष्टिच reads च for ठक and explains as जातिविशेष रजकश्चर्मकारश्च सडो वृषड एव च । कैवलमेदग्निहोत्रं स्वर्णकारश्च सौमिक (सौविदः ?) ॥ काणको लोहकारश्च गिलाभेदी तु नापि । तक्षकस्तिलयन्त्री च सुलक्ष्मी तथा ध्वजी । एते दोषशया मोकाश्चाण्डाला ग्रामवासिनः । मरुदङ्गण q by हेमाद्रि (on प्राय p 38 and also पराशर on p 316)

to do. The words are too sweeping for this explanation and there being no untouchability on birth for any one except the mother and persons in mourning not being likely to join religious festivals and marriage processions those verses cannot be so construed.

The śūnīs were very keen on keeping a high ideal before brāhmanas as regards receiving gifts. The Sāma Br. (I. 7. 1-2) prescribes that if a brāhmana receives a gift from a ksatriya when not in distress (or difficulty) he should eat only one meal by day for a month and recite the Sāma verse 'mahat tat some mahānśaṅkāra' (Sāmaveda I 6. 1. 5, 10, No 542) for one month, while standing in water and if he accepts a gift from any one else from whom he should not accept it, he should undergo *kṛcchra* penance and recite the sāma verse 'trikadrakesu' (Sāmaveda I. 5. 2. 31, No 457) Yāj. I. 140 provides that a brāhmana should not accept a gift from a king who is parsimonious (or greedy) and acts against the dictates of śāstra and Manu XI. 194 (= Visnu Dh. § 54.24) provides that a brāhmana becomes free from the sin of the acceptance of a thing which should not be accepted or of the acceptance of a gift from a condemned donor by reciting the Gāyatri three thousand times (in a month) or subsisting on milk alone or staying in a cowpen for a month. It may be noted that Manu X. 102-103 and Yāj. III. 41 allow a brāhmana when in distress to accept a gift from anybody or to take food from anyone whatever or to maintain himself by teaching any one whatever and state that he is not tainted by sin in so doing, since he is like fire and water (like that of the Ganges) and since it is unreasonable (or impossible) to assert that what is pure can be sullied. Manu X. 109, however, regards acceptance of a gift from an unworthy (or low) person as worse than teaching an improper person or officiating for him. A brāhmana was not to sell things declared to be unfit to be sold by him such ^{264 a} as sesame, oil of sesame, curds, bees' wax (ksaudra), salt, grapes, wine, cooked food, female or

264 a अथाविकेयविक्रयमायश्चित्तानि । शङ्कलितौ । न विक्रीयदविक्रेपाणि । तिलतलेदधिकौद्रलवणद्राक्षामद्यमासकृताक्षणीषुषट्स्य चतुषगन्धरससौमकुण्डलाजिनसोमोदकनीलीविक्रयात् सद्यः पतति ब्राह्मणस्तत्र मायश्चित्तमकामावासौ कामकृतेष्वेके पतितौ शात्मानश्चद्वरेत् । सवत्सर तसकृच्छ्रमाचरेत् । कृतवापन शुचिरपोऽखुपेयात् त्रिरकाद्रवासा काष्ठनीनी धीरासनमासीत रात्रौ दिवा निष्ठेयकोमि । कार्यपर (विकार्यपर ?) सावित्री सवनाङ्गा जपेत्स्य व्रतमशुपगम्य कुशचीरासा सौख्यं मेखली दण्डी पवित्रपाणिर्हविष्य वा अथर्ववेद भैक्षमुदुष वा यात्रिकमवनीयात् द्वादशरात्र चोपवासो ब्राह्मणतर्पण यवाहिकमित्येव व्यवहार्यः यथा पतितः शिष्टैरसभाभ्यः शुद्ध्यति । मा. प्रकाश folio 127b.

male slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, fragrant substances, liquids, silken cloth (kṣauma), black antelope hide, soma plant, water, indigo; by selling these he at once incurs sin. As penance he should practise *Tapta-kṛcchra* for a year after tonsuring his head, he should enter water thrice, wear only one wet piece of cloth, should observe silence, should practise the *Virāsana*, should sit up at night and stand by day, should recite the *Gāyatrī*.

One important matter dealt with by a few of the *smṛtis* and some of the digests is the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those who were converted by force by the invading *mlecchas*. About the meaning of the word *mleccha*, there is some divergence of views. From the *Sat. Br.* (III 21 23-24) it appears that the *mlecchas* spoke a degraded and corrupt speech (such as saying 'helavaḥ' for 'heṣrayaḥ'). *Parāśara* (IX. 36) refers to the *mlecchas* as the eaters of cow's flesh. The *Pr. T.* (p 549) quotes a *smṛti*²⁶⁵ text to the effect that a *mleccha* is an eater of cow's flesh and talks much that is contradictory, and cites a passage from the *Harivaṃśa* for the manner of the dress and of the trimming of hair in the case of *Śakas*, *Yavanas*, *Kāmbojas*, *Pāradas*, *Pahlavas* &c. Vide for *mleccha* and for the return to the Hindu fold of those that were forcibly carried away as slaves by *mlecchas* and robbers or made to kill cows or to eat the flesh of asses, camels, village pigs, H. of Dh. vol. II p 92, 383-385, 389-392 (where verses of *Devala* ascribed by some like the *Mit.* to *Āpastamba-smṛti* are set out), 973-974. A few matters not dealt with there may be added here. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*²⁶⁶ *purāṇa* (II 73. 203-206) provides that when persons are kidnapped by *mlecchas* or raiders or persons passing through forests are so treated and return to their own country, the penances for purifying them from the sin of eating forbidden food are to be prescribed after considering their class (*varṇa*), viz that a

265. गोमंसखादको यश्च विरुद्धं बहु भाषते । सर्वाचारविहीनश्च स्लेच्छ इत्यभिधीयते ॥
बोधयन् q. by आ तत्त्व p 549, रायसुकुट as q by माय हुक्कावली (folio 104 b)
reads गो ...भक्षको यस्तु अपशब्दं च भाषते । सदाचारविहीनश्च ; सगर. स्त्वां प्रतिज्ञा च
शुर्वोर्वाच्यं निश्चयं च । धर्मं जघान तेषां वै देवान्यर्थं चकार ह ॥ अर्थं शकानां शिरसो मुखं
कृत्वा व्यसर्जयत् । यवनानां शिरः सर्वं काम्बोजानां तथैव च ॥ पारदा हुक्केशाश्च पल्लवाः
श्मश्रुधारिणः । निःस्वाध्यायवपुष्काराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना ॥ शका यवनकाम्बोजा. पारदाश्च
विज्ञापते । कोलिसर्पा समहिषा दायांश्चोला सकेरलाः ॥ सर्वे ते क्षत्रियास्तात धर्मस्तेषां
निराकृत । हरिवंश, हरिवंशपर्व 14 15-19 q by माय तत्त्व p 549.

266. स्लेच्छेद्देवानां चौरैर्वा कान्तारे वा प्रवासिनाम् । भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविशुद्धयर्थं तेषां
षड्यानि निष्कृतिम् ॥ पुन माप्य स्वदेशं च वर्णानामनुपूर्वशः । कृच्छ्रस्थार्थं ब्राह्मणस्तु पुनः
संस्कारमर्हति ॥ पादोनान्ते क्षत्रियस्तु अर्धार्थं वैश्य एव च । पादं कृत्वा तथा शूद्रो दानं दत्त्वा
विशुध्यति ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 203-206.

brāhmaṇa should undergo half kṛcchra penance and should have the Upanayana performed again, a ksatriya should undergo three-fourths of Kṛcchra (and also upanayana), a vaiśya one-fourth Kṛcchra and a sūdra becomes pure by undergoing only $\frac{1}{2}$ of a kṛcchra and by making a gift. In view of the fact that Manu VIII 169, Visnu Dh. S. VII 6-7, Yāj II 89 declare that what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force and what is caused to be written by force and all transactions whatever that are brought about by force are void, and the burning desire of many people forcibly converted in times of disturbances to return to the Hindu fold and to the religion of their forefathers, the movement now called *suddhi* should be encouraged by all interested in the well-being and stability of Hindu society. It is better to call this return by the name of 'parāvartana'. A model but brief rite for the *parāvartana* of those who were forcibly converted or for those who voluntarily left the Hindu fold but want to return to it is given in the Appendix. The same *prayoga* with suitable changes may be employed for taking into the Hindu fold any one who was not born a Hindu. In ancient times such people appear to have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of *Vṛtyastoma*. For this latter, vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 385-387 and for the spread of Hinduism in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Siam and other countries of South-East Asia, vide H. of Dh vol. III, pp 934-935. Recently, through the kindness of Dr. J. M. Unvala, I had an opportunity of reading several inscriptions of the 18th and 19th centuries at the fire temple called Jvalāji at Suruhani near Baku, the capital of Russian Azerbaijan, situated on the northern shore of the Caspian sea, which were inscribed by Hindu pilgrims or visitors, that begin with obeisance to Gaṇeśa and in one of which occurs the verse quoted below.²⁶⁷

Manu XI 124 (= Visnu Dh S. 387) prescribes the penance of Sāntapana for committing with full knowledge any of the deeds described above as *jātibhramśakara* and the penance of Prājāpatya for doing it unintentionally. For doing any of the deeds called *sankarīkarana* or *apātīkarana* described above, Manu XI 125 prescribes the penance of cāndrāyana for a month and for doing any of the deeds called *malāvaha* prescribes that the perpetrator should scald himself with barley gruel for three

267. श्लोक । देवयज्ञे व्रते तीर्थे सत्पात्रब्रह्मभोजने । पित्र्यश्राद्धे जदीहस्ते धनं
व्रजति धर्मताम् ॥

days Those two verses of Manu occur in Agnipurāna (170. 23-25). Visnu Dh. S. (39.2, 40.2, 41.5) prescribes somewhat different penances for sankarīkarana, apātrīkarana or malīnikarāniya deeds Vide also the Mit on Yāj III. 290 for the penances prescribed for these deeds by Yama and Bṛhaspati. About miscellaneous *pūṭakas* the rule laid down by Manu XI. 209, Visnu Dh S 42.2, Yāj. III 294 and others is that the penance should be prescribed by the brāhmanas after taking into account the nature of the deed, the ability of the perpetrator and other circumstances of time and place &c.

Some of the digests prescribe certain times for the performance of penance. The first rule is laid down by Hārta that having done something sinful or improper through trustfulness, affection, greed, fear or heedlessness one should resort to purification at once Dakṣa²⁶⁸ II 73 also states that all *naṁtthka* and *kāmya* matters must be performed as they fall due and no delay should be caused. If more than a year is allowed to pass after the sin is incurred the penance would have to be double of what it otherwise would have been, according to Devala and Manu.²⁶⁹ The Pr. T. (pp 474, 512) quotes a verse from the Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi²⁶⁹ and an astrological work to the effect that a penance or ordeal should not be administered on the 8th or 14th *tithi* of a month, nor should an ordeal or marriage take place on a Saturday or Tuesday. The Prāyaścittendusekhara (p 15) says that according to respectable people (*śiṣtas*) the *sankalpa* (declaration of undergoing a penance) should be made on the 14th *tithi* and the actual rite should be performed on the *amāvāsya*. If the guilty person is in mourning he may perform penance after the period of mourning is over.

The procedure for undergoing penances for sins and lapses prescribed by the assembly of learned men has varied in details from time to time. The Gaut. Dh S. 26.6-17 prescribes

268 नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानि निपतन्ति यथा यथा । तथा तथा हि कार्याणि न कालं तु विदुश्चरेत् ॥ दक्ष II 73 q by मा तत्त्व p 512.

268 a. यथा स्मृतिसंगरे देवलः । कालातिरेके द्वियुगं प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् । द्वियुगं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा छुद्भिर्बामुयात् ॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके । संवत्सराभिज्ञस्तस्य दुष्टस्य द्वियुगो दमः । इति मनुवचने ० । मा. तत्त्व p 474 This is मनु VIII 374.

269. 'तस्माद्विभ्रमात् स्नेहात् लोभाद्भयात्पमादाद्वा अशुभं कृत्वा सद्यः शौचमारभेत्- इति हारीतेन सद्यःकरण्यकम् । अत्रापि ष्यवहारचिन्तामणौ विशेषः । नाष्टम्या न चतुर्दश्या प्रायश्चित्तपरीक्षणौ । न परीक्षा विवाहश्च शनिमौमदिने तथा ॥ मा. तत्त्व p 474. The words 'तस्मात्... चरेत्' (for आरभेत्) are quoted from हारीत by मनु. पा. 703-704.

the method of performing Krecchra penance It is briefly as follows: The sinner desiring to be free of sin quickly should stand by day and sit up by night (i e. should take sleep in a sitting position and not lie down), he should speak the truth and should not hold conversation with *amāryas* (*sūdras* &c.), should bathe thrice in the day, should perform *mārjana* (splashing or sprinkling water on the head and other limbs by means of *kuśas* dipped in water after repeating sacred mantras) with the three verses 'āpo hi sthā' (*Rg. X.9.1-3*), with the verses called Pavitravati and with the eight verses beginning with 'hiraṇyavarṇāḥ suvayāḥ pāvakaḥ' (*Tai. S. V. 6.1.1-3*) Then he should perform the *tapana* ²⁷⁰ (satiating with water) with thirteen mantras beginning with *namaḥ* and ending with *namaḥ* (each respectively containing 6, 4, 4, 13, 2, 2, 2, 6, 5, 2, 2, 6, 2 names of deities) This constitutes for him the worship of Āditya (the Sun) and he offers oblations of clarified butter with these thirteen mantras and, after he passes twelve days in this way, on the 13th he offers nine oblations of boiled rice to Agni, Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, the *Five Devas*, Brahman, Prajāpati, Agni Svistakṛt Then he serves dinner to brāhmanas The Āp. Dh. S II, 6.15.9 states ²⁷¹ the general rule that in all religious observances one should give dinner to brāhmanas that are pure (in conduct) and that have studied the Veda. The Baudh Dh S. (II, I, 95-99) prescribes that in a krecchra penance one has to bathe thrice in the day, to lie down on the ground (not on a cot &c), to wear only one piece of cloth, to shave one's hair on the head, the moustache and the body and to pare one's nails, and that the same mode is prescribed also for women (sinners) except the tonsure of the head Manu (XI, 222-225) prescribes that in all penances there is *homa* with the mahāvīryārtis every day, the sinner has to practise *ahimsā* (non-injury to all sentient beings), truthfulness, absence of anger and straight-forwardness, has to bathe thrice by day and thrice by night together with the clothes on, he should not talk with women, *sūdras* and *patitas*, he should stand by day and sit down at night or if unable to do so he should sleep on the ground (raised platform called *sthandila*), should observe celibacy and the rules of a student, such as wearing girdle of *muñja* grass and carrying a staff (of *palāśa* &c), should honour gods, brāhmanas and his elders, should always recite the Gāyatrī and sacred texts.

270 For the usual tarpanas, vide H. of Dh vol II, pp 689-695

271. शुचीन्मन्त्रवत सर्वकृतेषु भोजयेत्। आप ध सू II 6.15 9.

Vas. 24.5 (a long prose passage) contains similar provisions. Yaj III. 312-13 are very important. They prescribe the practice of certain virtues and rules of conduct called *yamas* (such as *brahmacarya*, kindness, forbearance, truthfulness, *ahimsā* &c.) and *niyamas* (such as bath, silence, fasting, purity of body &c.) as necessary adjuncts in all penances. The Laugākṣigīhya (V. 3-11) prescribes the procedure for all penances. Yaj. III. 325 holds that one should, while performing the penance of *krochra* or *cāndrāyana*, bathe thrice daily, recite holy mantras (as stated in Vas 28.11-15) and should eat balls of rice over which the *Gāyatrī* has been recited. Śaṅkha²⁷² (18.12-14) also summarises the different items that have to be gone through in undergoing a penance. The Madanapārijāta (pp 781-784), Pr. V. (pp 503-506), Pr. Sāra (pp 21, 22 and 200-203), Pr. T. pp. 497-510, 523-524, Pr. Mayūkha pp. 18-21, Pr. Prakāśa (folios 38b to 43b), Prāyaścittenduśekhara (pp. 15 and 88) and other works provide elaborate rules about the procedure of undergoing *prāyaścitta*s. It is not possible nor necessary to set out these in detail here. Briefly put, on the day previous to the actual day of commencing penance the sinner should pare his nails, shave his head, bathe with clay, cow-dung, holy water &c, drink clarified butter, make a declaration of performing the penance indicated by the assembly of learned men. On the next day he should bathe, perform śrāddha, drink *pañcagavya*, should perform *homa*, give *dakṣiṇā* (gold, cows &c.) to the *brāhmanas* and feed them. Parāśara (XI.3) says that at the end of the rite of penance *pañcagavya* should be taken and one, two, three or four cows should be donated respectively by a *brāhmana*, a *ksatriya*, a *vaiśya* and a *sūdra*. Yama (verse 63) says that *brāhmanas* should be fed on the performance of a penance and a *dakṣiṇā* of one golden *māsa* should be given to each *brāhmana*. Jābali says that at the beginning and close of all penances the sinner should offer in the *smārta* fire oblations of clarified butter to the accompaniment of the *Vyāhrtis*, perform śrāddha and offer *dakṣiṇā* consisting of a cow or gold. Vide Aparārka (p. 1230) and Par. M II part 2 p. 195 for Jābali's verses. The Pr Prakāśa (folio 30a) adds that according to the Mahāvāsa the number of *vyāhrti-homas* should be 28 or 108.

272. सुष्ठुविषयवर्णनानी अथ शापी जितेन्द्रियः। स्त्रीशूद्रपतितानां च वर्जयेत्परि-
भाषणम्॥ पवित्राणि जपेच्छक्या जुहुयाच्चैव शक्तिः। अयं विधिः स विज्ञेय सर्वकृच्छ्रेषु
सर्वदा। शङ्ख 18 12-14, which are almost the same as the last two verses of
विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.

A few words may be said about the tonsure of the head (*vapana* or *mundana*). The Tai Br (I 5 6.1-2) states²⁷³ 'The Asuras first shaved the hair on the head, then the moustache and then the armpits, therefore they went down (or with face downwards) and were defeated, while the gods first shaved the armpits, then the moustache and then the hair on the head'. The Pr Prakāśa quotes this passage in a mutilated form and then states that *vapana* is of three kinds, *daiva* (of the gods), *āsura* (of the *asuras*) and *mānusa* (of men), that the *āsura* method is condemned, that in consecrating the Vedic fires, in the *istis* and *soma* sacrifices the *daiva* method is ordained, while in *prāyaścittas*, there being no special *vidhi*, there is an option. Tonsure of the head is enjoined on several occasions e.g. the Visnupurāṇa provides²⁷⁴ 'Tonsure should be carried out at Prayāga when on a pilgrimage, and on the death of one's father or mother, one should not in vain (lightly) tonsure the head'. To these occasions may be added penances. The idea seems to have been entertained that whatever sin a man commits it becomes centered in the hair, as a verse quoted by the Madanapārijāta and Pr M. states²⁷⁵ Gaut. (273), Vas.²⁷⁶ (245), Baud. Dh. 8. (II.1.98-99) and others provide for the tonsure of the hair on the head and lips (except those on the eye-brows, the hair on the trunk and the top knot). Exceptions were introduced to the rule about tonsure Daksā²⁷⁷ forbade tonsure, the offering of *pinḍas* and the carrying of a corpse and 'all funeral rites to

273 तैसुस ऊर्ध्वं वृष्टेभ्यो नापश्यत् । ते केशानग्रेऽवपन्त अथ इमंश्चुणि अघोपपक्षौ । ततस्तेऽस्त्राञ्च आपत् पराभवत् । यस्मैव वपन्ति अवाहति । अथ देश ऊर्ध्वं वृष्टेभ्योऽपश्यत् । ते उपपक्षौ अग्रेऽवपन्त अथ इमंश्चुण्य केशान् । सुवर्गं लोकमापत् । तै ब्रा I, 5 6. 1-2 (about the *vapana* of a *Cāturmāsya-jāṇin*). वपन त्रिविधं दैवमाहुर मातुष चेति । आहुर निन्दितं मातुषदैवयोर्विकल्प । आधामेदिसोमेषु दैवरय विहितत्वात् । श्रायश्चित्तेषु ह विशेष-विषयभावाद् विकल्प एव । मा प्रकाश folio 31 b.

274. प्रयोगे तीर्थयात्राया पितृमातृवियोगतः । कश्चाना वपनं कार्यं न हृषा विकची भवेत् ॥ विष्णुपुराण ५ by माय तत्त्व p 489

275. यानि कानि च पापानि ब्रह्महत्यासमानि च । केशानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति तस्माकेशा-
व्यपास्यहम् ॥ इति मन्त्रमुक्त्वा कक्षोपस्थशिक्षावर्जं क्रमेण इमंश्चुपपक्षेऽशब्दकृतस्यान
प्रापयेत् । यतिविधवादीना सशिक्ष वपनम् । ब्रह्महत्यादिभ्योपि सशिक्ष सर्वोद्ग्लोभना च । श्राय-
स p. 19.

276. कुच्छ्राणा घतरूपाणि इमंश्चुकेशादिपयेद्भुवोक्षितोमाशिक्षावर्जम् । वसिष्ठ 24 4-5,
कुच्छ्रे त्रिषण्णशुकोपस्पर्शनम् । अधः शयनम् । एकवस्त्रता । केशमश्चुलोमनक्षवपनम् । एतदेव
त्रिधा । केशवपनवर्जम् । यौ ध सू II. 1. 95-99 The मित्ता on या III 325 reads
वसिष्ठ as इमंश्चुकेशादि वापयेत् कुक्षिरोमशिक्षावर्जम् ।, should it not be अक्षिरोम ?

277. सुण्डन पिण्डदानं च मृतकर्म च सर्वज्ञ । न जीवन्पितृकः क्षुर्याद् शुर्विणीपतिरेव
चेति दक्षीयनिषेधस्य रागमासविषयत्वाद् विधिस्पृष्टे निवेधानवकाशात् । मा प्रकाश folio 32a.

one whose father was alive and to a man whose wife was pregnant. But this prohibition did not apply to penances. The Baud. Dh S already referred to prohibits the tonsure of women in penances. Angiras 163, Apastamba-smṛti I. 33-34, Bṛhad-Yama IV. 16, Vṛddha-Harita IX 386, Parāśara IX. 54-55, Yama 54-55 provide ²⁷⁸ that in the case of married women whose husbands are alive and in the case of maidens all their hair should be held together and only two finger-breadths of hair should be cut off. In the case of widows and ascetics the entire head was to be shaved. It was further provided by Parāśara (IX 52-54), Śaṅkha (q. by Par. M. II. part I, pp. 290-291) that in the case of a king or prince or a learned brāhmana tonsure of the head should not be insisted upon, but that they should have to undergo double the usual penance and the *daśanā* would have to be double. ²⁷⁹ The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a verse of Manu ²⁸⁰ (not found in the printed text) 'tonsure of the head is not desired in the case of learned brāhmanas and kings except in the case of those guilty of mahapātakas, of cow-killing or of being an *avalīrin*'. The Mit. (on Yāj. III 264) further quotes *Samvarta* ²⁸¹ to the effect that when the penance prescribed is only a quarter then only the hair on the body below the throat is to be shaved, when half is prescribed then in addition the hair on the lips is to be cut, when three-fourths then all the hair on the body except the knot is to be cut and in the case of the full penance all hair including the *śikhā* (the top-knot) also are to be cut off. The Par. M (II part I. p 300) while describing cāndrāyana penance requires the cutting of the hair on all parts

278. सर्वान्केशान् ससृद्धृत्य छेदयेदङ्गुलिद्वयम्। एवं नारीकुमारीणां शिरसोऽसृङ्गं
सृजतम्। न स्त्रिया केशवपनं न दूरे शयनाशनम्॥ पराशर IX. 54-55.

279 केशाना रक्षणार्थाय द्वियुगं व्रतमाचरेत्। द्वियुगे व्रत आदिदे द्वियुगा दाक्षिणा
भवेत्। राजा वा राजपुत्रो वा ब्राह्मणो वा बहुश्रुतः। अङ्गुला वपन तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत्।
पराशर IX 52-54, नारदपुराण, पूर्वोक्त 14 52-54, for the half केशाना, vide बृहदारणित
IX 387. The Mitā on ya III 325, प्राय. शि. p. 503, प्राय. सार p. 22, नन्द पा.
p 762 quote these verses as हारित's in a different order and प्राय. तत्त्व p 519
ascribes almost similar verses to लुङ्गहारित

280. विद्वद्विप्रपत्नीणां नेष्टते केशवापनम्। व्रते महापातकिनो गोहन्तुश्चावकीर्णः॥
सर्वे q by Mitā. on ya III 325, प्राय. सार pp 22-23 (as महर्षि). The प्राय. तत्त्व
p 516 expressly refers to this text as cited by the Mitā

281 पादेऽङ्गुलीवपनं द्विपादेऽङ्गुलीऽपि च। त्रिपादे तु शिखावर्जं सशिखं तु निपातने॥
सर्वे q. by Mitā. on ya III 264, प्राय. सार p 14, या प्रकाश folio 31a, which
remarks 'शिखावर्जमिति शिखावतमेव तेन यतिविधवादीनां सर्ववपनमेव। यतिः स्रद्धा
यिथा सशिख वपनं चरेदिति वचनाच्च।'

of the body (including private parts).²⁸² The tonsure is to be performed by a barber and yet the *śaṅkhalpa* is 'vapanam karisyē' and not 'vapanam kārayisyē' From Gaut 27.3 (vapanam vratam caret) prescribing tonsure in cāndrāyana Haradatta and others infer that *vapana* is unnecessary in kṛcchra penance

Baths that are subsidiary to prāyaścitta are performed with ashes, cowdung, clay, water, pañcagavya and water in which *kūśa* grass has been dipped *Mantras* that are to be recited at the time of bath are laid down in the Linga-purāṇa, the Bhavisyapurāṇa and elsewhere.

There are certain virtues to be cultivated as being common to all prāyaścittas whether secretly or openly undergone They are called *yamas* and *niyamas* and have been set out above (p 121) from Yāj III 312-313 Atri (verses 48-49) sets them out somewhat differently. Manu IV. 204 (= Atri verse 47) refers to *yamas* and *niyamas* which Medhātithi explains as follows. viz *yamas* are in the nature of prohibitions (e. g. a brāhmaṇa should not be killed), while *niyamas* consist of what is to be done (such as one should always recite the Veda, as in Manu IV. 147).

While undergoing prāyaścittas certain rules about food and other matters were to be observed. For example, *Harita*²⁸³ prescribes that the person undergoing penance should omit on all days *māsa* and *masū* a pulse, honey, taking food at the house of or belonging to others and sexual intercourse, should not speak at an improper time, should perform *ācamana* if he speaks with women or śūdras or those who are *ucchīṣṭa* Yama ordains that one who is undergoing a penance should omit massaging the body or head with oil, the chewing of *tāmbūla*, applying unguents and every thing else that causes one to feel strength or sexual passion.

According to the Pr 78¹ Prakāśa when undertaking a penance one should begin with the mantra 'Agne vratapate

282. पौर्णमास्यास्तुपेतस्तु ब्राह्मणः सुसमाहितः। केशश्मश्रुणि लोमानि कक्षोपरस्य च वापयेत् ॥ q by परा. मा II. part 1 p 300

283. माषमसूरमधुपराकनैथुनानि प्रत्यहं वर्जयेत् । व्रतोपेतो नाकाले वाच विवृजेत् । स्त्रीशूद्रोच्छिष्टाभिभाषण आचामेत् । हारीत q. by अपरार्क p 1230, गात्राग्न्यङ्ग शिरोग्न्यङ्ग तान्मूलमङ्गलेपनम् । व्रतस्थो वर्जयेत्सर्वं यज्ञान्यङ्गचलरागकृत् ॥ यम q by परा. मा II part 2 p. 196

284. व्रतनिषेधनविमोचनमन्त्रौ तैत्तिरीयशाखाया अग्रे व्रतपते व्रतं चरित्रायामि तच्छ-
केय तन्मे राध्यताम्, अग्रे व्रतपते व्रतमचारिष त्वृशकं तन्मे राधि हति तु व्रतसमाप्तौ ॥ मा प्रकाश
folio 37 b, अग्रे...राध्यताम् is तै सं I 5 10.3 = वाज सं I 5 and अग्रे व्रतपते व्रतसचारिष
is तै सं I 6 6.3 = वाज. सं II 28.

vrataṃ carisyāmi' (O! Fire, lord of vrataṃ! I shall perform a vrata) and when finishing a penance one should repeat the mantra 'agne vrata-pate vrataṃ-acārisam tad-aśakam tan-me rādhi' (O! Fire, lord of vrataṃ; I have performed the vrata, I had the strength to do it, may it be propitious for me &c.).

Prāyaścittas are of two kinds, *prakāśa* (undergone openly) and *rahasya* (undergone secretly). A few words must be said about the latter. Gaut. (24.1-11), Vas. (25.1-3), Manu XI. 248-265, Yaj. III. 301-305, Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 55 and other smṛtis lay down rules about secret prāyaścittas. Where a man's ²⁸⁵ sin is not known to anyone except himself he may perform secret expiation. In the case of adultery and in the case of association with one guilty of a grave sin, one may still perform a secret penance, even though the adultery is known to the adulteress and even though the man guilty of a mahāpātaka is aware of the association. Vas. ²⁸⁶ 25.2 states the general rule that secret penances are meant for those who have consecrated the Vedic fires, who are disciplined, old or learned and that the openly undergone penances are meant for others. If such a man is himself aware of the proper penance, he should perform it without going to an assembly (*parṣad*), but if he is not so aware he may consult some knowing person privately, asking him in a general way what the penance for a particular sin may be. Vas. 25.3 provides that those who are always intent on prāṇāyāmas, holy texts, gifts, *homas* and *japa* are released from sin. Manu XI. 226 states that those whose sins have not become public may be purified by *homas* and *mantras*. Even women and sūdras can perform penance in secret, since, though they cannot perform *homa* and repeat Vedic *mantras*, they can, as the Mīl on Yaj. III. 300 says, perform expiation by means of gifts and prāṇāyāmas. Gaut. 26.2 and Manu XI. 253 prescribe that one who desires to receive a gift which he should not accept or who receives such a gift should recite in water (navel-deep according to some) the hymn of four verses beginning with 'tarat

285. हारीतेऽप्यह। अथ ब्राह्मणस्य श्रुतधर्मशास्त्रस्य रहस्यमनुकामिन्यामः। रहस्ये रहस्यं प्रकाशे प्रकाशमिति। प्राय. सा. p. 161, परा सा. II part 2 p. 153, vide प्रा. सार p. 161 and प्राय. वि. p. 500 for रहस्ये...प्रकाशमिति as from यम.

286. आहिताग्नेर्विनीतस्य ब्रह्मस्य विदुषोऽपि वा। रहस्योक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं पूर्वोक्तमितरे जनाः॥ प्राणायामैः पवित्रैश्च दानैर्होमैर्नैवेद्यतया। नित्यशुक्लाः प्रक्षुण्णन्ते पातकेभ्यो न संशयः॥ बसिष्ठ 25. 2-3; the first verse is q. by अपरार्क p. 1212 as from चतुर्विंशतिमत (reads इतरस्य तु).

sa mandī' (Rg X.58 1-4). For one who is guilty of brāhmana murder Gaut. (24 5) prescribes that for the first ten days he should subsist on milk alone, on clarified butter for a further ten days, on water for another period of ten days, that he should partake of the articles specified only once in the morning, should wear wet clothes and should offer every day eight symbolic *homas* with clarified butter, of his hair on the body, nails, skin, flesh, blood, muscles, bones and marrow with the words 'I offer in the mouth of Death' added at the end.²²⁷ Yāj III.301 prescribes that the murderer of a brāhmana should fast for ten days, should recite the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg X.190) while submerged in water, donate a cow yielding milk, while Viṣṇu prescribes that he should bathe for a month in a flowing stream or river, should perform every day 16 prāṇāyāmas, should eat only once a day sacrificial food and may then become purified. Viṣṇu provides that the drinker of *surā* becomes pure by observing the *vata* (as stated) for brāhmana murder and reciting Aghamarsana; while the thief of brāhmana's gold becomes pure by fasting for three days and reciting the sacred Gāyatrī ten thousand times and one guilty of incest by the repeated recital of the hymn beginning with 'sahasrasīrṣa' (Rg X. 90).

The sages observed that some of the penances mentioned in old smṛtis were terrible and involved loss of life. Therefore, gradually more humane and easier penances came to be prescribed. For example, Hārita²²⁸ states 'brāhmanas who have studied dharmaśāstra should prescribe a penance appropriate to the age, the time and the strength of the brāhmana (sinner), the penance being such that he may not lose his life and yet may be purified; one should not prescribe an observance that will cause great distress (to the sinner) Āṅgīras also says that the *paśad* should indicate the penance resolved upon by all the members which would not cause loss of life Śaṅkha

227. हरदत्त on गौ 24 5 explains that he will have to say लोमानि आत्मनो मुखे वृत्त्योरस्त्ये जुहोनि स्वाहा नखान्यात्मनो मुखे वृत्त्योरस्त्ये जुहोनि स्वाहोपेवंकृत्य होमाः.

228. यथावयो यथाकालं यथाभावं च ब्राह्मणे । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं ब्राह्मणैर्धर्मपाठकैः ॥ येन जुद्धिमवाप्नोति न च प्राणैर्वियुज्यते । आर्तिं वा महर्तौ याति न चैतद् ब्रतमादिशेत् ॥ हारीत पृ. by परा मा II. part 1 p 235, पर्यत्सर्वित्थं तत्सर्वं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ सर्वदेवं निश्चितं यत्स्याद्यत्र प्राणाच्च न घातयेत् ॥ अङ्गिरस पृ. by परा मा II part 1 p 236, नद पा. p. 779.

declares:²⁸⁹ 'a brāhmaṇa should never practise the performance of a penance in a forest full of thieves, ferocious beasts, elephants and other animals through fear of injury to life. The body that is the all in all (i.e. the only source) of (the observance of) dharma must be protected with efforts; just as water oozes down from the mountain, so dharma springs from the body'.

As times changed easier substitutes (called *pratyāmnāyas*) were found and prescribed. The word *pratyāmnāya* was used in this sense in the Āp. Śr. S. V. 20.18 (*yadyanādhyo-guṇādadhita kāmam-evaikam gām dadyāt sā gavām pratyāmnāyo bhavatiti viṇāyate*), 6 30 9 and Śān. Śr. S. 14 51.6 and other sūtras. Samvarta²⁹⁰ states that if a sinner is unable to undergo the Prājāpatya penance, he may donate instead a cow yielding milk and if he cannot donate such a cow he may donate the full price of such a cow. Parāśara²⁹¹ (XII 63-64) provides four substitutes for a Prājāpatya penance viz the recital of the famous Gāyatri mantra (Rg. III. 62 10) ten thousand times or 200 *prāṇāyāmas*, or bathing twelve times in a sacred watery place after drying the head on each bath, or taking to a journey of two *yojanas* towards a holy place. From the words of Gaut. 19 16 and 18 (quoted above in note 120) it follows that gold is a substitute for a cow by way of penance. The Brahmapurāṇa²⁹² provides that in the absence of a cow a *niska* or half *niska*

289 तस्करम्बपदाकीर्णे यद्व्यालद्वये वने । न व्रत ब्राह्मण. कुर्पात्मागवाधामयत्सदा । शरीरं धर्मसर्वस्वं रक्षणीयं प्रयत्नत । शरीरात्स्ववते धर्मं पर्यात्सलिलं यथा । शङ्ख 17. 63 and 65 q. by मद्. पा 728, अपराकं p. 1231 (which inserts one more verse between the two (सर्वतो जीवितं रक्षोजीवन्त्यापं व्यपोहति । व्रतै. कुच्छैस्तथा दानैरित्याह भगवान्मयः ॥). This is शङ्ख. 17 64.

290. भाजापत्यव्रताक्षौ धेर्लं दद्यात्पयस्विनीम् । धेनोरभावे दातव्यं तुल्यं मूल्यं न संशय ॥ सवर्त q by परा मा. II. part 2 p. 197, मा सार p. 203, माय. तत्त्व pp. 517 and 541. The मिता on पा. III. 326 quotes this verse as स्मृत्यन्तर and adds another half as 'मूल्यार्थमपि निष्कं वा तदर्थं शक्त्यपेक्षया' The verse is q from मार्कण्डेयपुराण by अपराकं p 1248.

:91 भाजापत्यकुष्ठस्य चतुर मत्याम्नायानाह कुच्छं देव्ययुतं चैव प्राणायामशतद्वयम् । शृणुतीर्थेऽनार्द्रेशिरःस्नानं द्वादशसंख्यया ॥ द्वियोजने तीर्थयात्रा कुच्छमेकं प्रकल्पितम् ॥ परासार XII. 63-64 and परा मा II part 2 p. 47.

292. मूल्यं च यथाशक्ति देयम् । अत एव ब्रह्मपुराणे गवामभावे निष्कं स्यात्तदर्थं पादमेव वा । परा मा. II part 2 p 197, मा. सार p 203. The मिता. on पा III 326 quotes it without name.

or a quarter niska may be given. The *Caturvimsātimata*²⁹³ provides several *pratyāmnāyas* for *Prājāpatya* viz recital of *Gāyatri* ten thousand times, standing in water, gift of a cow to a *brāhmana*—these four (including *Prājāpatya*) are equal, as also a thousand *homas* with sesame, recitation of the whole *samhitā* of the *veda*, feeding twelve *brāhmanas*, *Pāvakeśi* are equal. The *Caturvimsātimata*²⁹⁴ stated that one should substitute the gift of one cow for *Prājāpatya* penance, of two cows for *Sāntapana*, of three cows for *Parāka*, *Tapta-krocra* and *Ati-krocra* and eight for *Cāndrayana*. The result was that from medieval times at least even in the case of *mahāpātakas* there was a sliding scale of penances ultimately ending in feeding *brāhmanas* or making monetary or other presents to them. For example, the *Mit* (on *Yaj. III* 326) says that in the case²⁹⁵ of the twelve years' penance, optionally 360 *prājāpatyas* could be performed, each *prājāpatya* extending over twelve days, that if a man was unable to undergo this he should donate as many (i.e. 360) milch cows, if that was impossible he may donate their price or 360 *niskas* or even half or quarter thereof &c. *Yaj. III* 309 provides (a lakh of) *homas* with sesame to the accompaniment of the *Gāyatri* or making *brāhmanas* recite the *Veda* by the gift of sesame. *Vas* 28 18-19 (= *Atri VI*, 7-8) and *Viṣṇu Dh* § 90 10 state that by feeding seven or five *brāhmanas* on the Full moon of *Vaiśākha* with sesame and honey a man becomes free of all sins. These provi-

293 कृच्छ्रोऽयुतं च गायत्र्या उद्वासस्तथैव च । धेनुमदानं विप्राय समेतश्चतुष्टयम् । तिलहोमसदृशं तु वेदस्याध्यायमेव च । विमा द्वादश वा भोग्याः पावकोद्विस्तथैव च । अग्न्यानि वा पवित्राणि समान्याहुर्मनीषिणः । चतुर्विंशतिमत् q. by परा मा II part 2 p 47 and also p 196 (with some variations). मा मयूख p 26 The *mita* on या III, 326, मा सार p 204 ascribe the first verse to पराशर and the latter reads उपवास for उद्वास . There are similar verses in the *षड्विंशन्मत* also (vide मा सार p. 204).

294 प्राजापत्ये तु गानेकां दद्यात्सान्त्वयने द्वयम् । पराकतधातिकृष्टे तिस्रस्तिस्रश्च शास्तया ॥ अष्टौ चान्द्रायणे देयाः प्रत्याम्नायविधौ सदा । यथा विभवसरेण दानं दद्याद्वि-
ष्टुष्टये । चतुर्विंशतिमत् q. by परा मा II part 2 p 200, अपराका p 1248, मा सार p 204 (first verse)

295. न च महापातकमनुकृतिनिष्कृतिक सम्भवति कस्मादुक्तानिष्कृतिरूपेण प्राजापत्यादयो 'योजनीयाः' । तत्र द्वादशवार्षिकव्रते द्वादश द्विंश दिनाभ्यन्तरे प्राजापत्य परिकल्प्य गण्यमाने प्राजापत्यानां षष्ठ्याधिकशतत्रयं द्वादशवार्षिके वैकल्पिकमनुष्ठेयं भवति । तद्वत्तां तावदप्यो वा धेनवो दातव्याः । तदसम्भवे निष्काणां षष्ठ्याधिकशतत्रयं दातव्यम् । तथा शृष्टरन्तरम् । प्राजापत्य ...मूल्याधर्ममपि निष्कं वा तदर्थं शक्त्यपेक्षया । गवामभावे निष्कं स्यात्तदर्थं पाद एव वा इति स्मरणात् । *mita*. on या III 326. The मा प्रकाश says 'सुवर्णचतुष्टयसमतोलितं रूपं निष्क इत्यर्थः' (folio 62 b). This is the view of the *Prāyaścitta-muktāvalī* (folio 17 a) which remarks, 'तथा च धरण-पुराण-कार्त्तिकापणशब्दा अन्योन्यं पर्याया मासन्ते'.

sions are maintained in almost all medieval works such as the *Smṛtyarthasāra* pp. 149, 155, *Prāyaścittasāra* p. 203, *Pr. T.* pp. 517, 541, *Pr. Mayūkha* p. 18 &c The same method is followed in penances for lesser periods. It is due to this provision in the *smṛtis* that in modern times men, when on death-bed, perform *prāyaścittas* for all their sins by donating a cow or more or by monetary presents to priests.^{295a}

Some interesting sidelights are thrown on the prices of milch cows, cows and bulls by the medieval writers. The *Pr. V.* (p. 199) states that the price of a milch cow (*payasvini*) was 3 *purāṇas*, that of an ordinary cow (*go*) one *purāṇa* and that of a bull was five *purāṇas*. The *Pr. T.* (pp. 517-18) quotes *Kātyāyana* to the effect that the price of a cow (*go*) is 32 *panas* and that of a male calf one *purāṇa*, that a *pana* is copper weighing 80 *raktikās* or equal to 80 *varātakas* (cowries), that 16 *panas* were equal to one *purāṇa* (following *Bhavisya* and *Matsya purāṇas*), that by *niska* is not meant the one indicated by *Manu* (VIII. 137) but a *dināra-niska* i. e. gold weighing 32 *raktikās*. The *Prāyaścittendusekhara* p. 7 follows *Yājñ* I 365 and holds that *niska* is silver equal (in weight) to four *suvarṇas* or a *pala*. A *raktikā* weighs on an average 1.8 grains; so a copper *pana* of 80 *raktikās* would weigh about 144 grains. Therefore a *dhenu* was equal to 32 *panas* (or two *purāṇas*) i. e. about 26 *tolas* of copper (one *tola* being taken as equal to 180 grains). Vide H of Dh. vol. III pp. 120-121 notes 161 and 162 for information about ancient coins and their weights. There appears to be owing to lapse of centuries some difference in the views of several writers. According to *Vijñāneśvara* four *suvarṇas* are equal to a silver *niska*. According to the *Līlāvati* 20 *varātakas* are equal to a *kāṇini*, 4 *kāṇinis* are equal to a *pana* and a *niska* is equal to 256 *panas*.

295a There was a parallel to this method of *pratyāmnāya* in Europe as remarked by Gibbon 'A year of penance was appreciated at 26 *solidi* of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich, at 3 *solidi* or nine shillings for the indigent; and these alms were soon appropriated to the Church which derived from the redemption of sins an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion' *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. VII. p. 187 (Smith's ed. of 1862).

CHAPTER V

NAMES OF ALL PRĀYAŚCITTAS

Now all the prāyaścittas mentioned in the smrtis and digests will be arranged in alphabetical order (Sanskrit, transliterated into English), excepting mere hymns, fasts, &c. and brief explanations and references will be added to each.

AGHAMARŚANA—(The hymn Rg. X 190 1-3)

This is prescribed as a penance for all sins by even the most ancient Dharmaśāstra works such as Gaut 24.11, Baud. Dh S IV. 2 19-20, Vas 26 8, Manu XI 259-260, Yāj III 301, Viṣṇu Dh S. 55 7, Śankha 18 1-2 and others. They prescribe that if a man recites (for three days, according to Haradatta) the Aghamarsana hymn thrice in the day while immersed in water for a bath, he is freed from all sins and that this penance is equal in sanctification to the bath at the end of the Āśvamedha sacrifice. The Pr. Sāra p 199 speaks of the Aghamarsana-vrata. He has to fast for three days and stand up by day and sit up by night and donate a milch cow at the end, Śankha 18 1-2 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.1-9 prescribe the details.

ATIKRCCHRA—Vide under Krcchra. Manu XI 219 prescribes that this penance is constituted by eating only one morsel of food for three days in the morning only, for three days in the evening only, for three days eating one morsel got without asking for it and observing a complete fast for the next three days. Yāj III 319, on the other hand, prescribes the eating of just as much food as would fill the hand (and not merely one morsel). The Mit, Pr Sāra (p 176) and others state that the rule of Manu applies to those who are able to undergo it, while that of Yāj is meant for those who are unable (*aśakta*). The Sāmavidhāna Br. 1.2 6-7, Gaut 26.18-19, Viṣṇu Dh S 54 30, Laugākṣigṛhya V.12-13, Parāśara XI.54-55, Vas 24 1-2, Baud Dh S IV 5 8 also speak of this. Manu XI 208 (= Viṣṇu 54 30) prescribes this penance for striking a brāhmana with a weapon or a cudgel. Gaut 26 22 states that this penance purifies a man of all sins except the *nahūpātala*s.

ATISANTAPANA—See under Mahā-sāntapana. This is variously defined. According to the Agnipurāṇa 171 10 and Viṣṇu Dh S. 46 21 it lasts for 18 days (3 times of the Mahā-sāntapana in which for six days one has to subsist on cow's urine and five

other things). The Mit on Yāj. III 315 quotes a verse of Yama according to which this penance lasts for 12 days.²⁹⁶ The Pr. M. (p. 23) speaks of it as lasting for 15 days.

ARDHAKRCCHRA—See under Krcchra. According to the Āpastamba-smṛti 9 43-44, this is constituted by taking food only once in the day for one day, only once in the evening for one day, taking food for two days without asking for it and completely fasting for two days²⁹⁷ (in all six days). The Mit. quotes another variety of it, viz. subsisting for three days on food obtained without asking for it and thereafter observing a complete fast for three days.

ĀŚVAMEDHAVABHARTHASNĀNA—the ceremonial bath in the sea or a holy river at the end of an Āśvamedha sacrifice. Visnu Dh. S. 36 (last verse) prescribes for those guilty of mahāpātakas and anupātakas the Āśvamedha sacrifice. It is only an emperor or a crowned king who is entitled to perform an Āśvamedha, at the end of which comes a ceremonial bath. Vide H of Dh. vol. II, pp. 1228-1236 for a description of the Āśvamedha. According to Pr. V. p. 65 only a ksatriya could perform Āśvamedha and so this bath was a penance for him alone. But according to Kullūka (on Manu XI 92) and Pr. T. (both quoting a verse from Bhāvisya-purāṇa) even a brāhmana could participate in the bath at the end of the Āśvamedha and become free from the sin of brāhmana murder if committed unintentionally.²⁹⁸

AGNEYA KRCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara if a man subsists for twelve days on sesame alone that is *agneya* Krcchra.²⁹⁹ Vide also Pr. Pr. (folio 48 b.)

296 यदा तु षण्णां सान्तपनद्व्याणामेकैकस्य द्व्यहृद्वययोगस्तदाऽतिसान्तपनम् । यथाह यमः । एतान्येव तथा पैशाण्यैकोक्तं तु द्व्यहं द्व्यहम् । अतिसान्तपनं नाम श्रृणुष्वपि क्षोभयेत् ॥ इति । मिता. on या III 315, प्राय. सा p. 191, अपरार्क p. 1234 (reads द्व्यहं द्व्यहम्)

297. सार्धमातस्तथैवैकं दिनद्वयमयाचितम् । दिनद्वयं च नादनीयाच्छृणुष्वर्थं तद्विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति 9 43-44 q. by मिता. on या III, 318, प्रा. वि p. 509, परा मा II part 2 p. 173, प्राय. सा. p. 172.

298. अश्वमेधमायाध्विर्त्तं तु राजा एव तत्र तस्यैवाधिकारात् । ...अश्वमेधावभ्युत्थाने विप्रस्याप्यधिकारः । तथा च कल्पतरुधृतं भविष्यपुराणम् । यदा तु शुणवान् विप्रो हन्याद्विप्रं तु निर्युग्म् । अकामतस्तदा गच्छेत्तानं चैवाश्वमेधिकम् । ततश्चावभ्युत्थानं क्षत्रियविषयमिति मायध्विन्विनेकोक्तं हेयम् । प्राय. तत्त्व p. 544. Vide प्राय वि. p. 65 for the opinion referred to.

299. तिलैर्द्वादशपत्रेण कृच्छ्रमाग्नेयमर्तिषुत् । अग्निपुराण 171. 14, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर p. 11 मा. प्रकाश folio 48b (reads ° श्रेयसुच्यते)

KSICANDRĀYANA—According to Brhad-Visnu quoted by Pr. Prakarana p. 132 this penance requires that one should take only three mouthfuls of sacrificial food every day for a month ³⁰⁰

EKABHAKTA—According to Pr. Pr. (folio 48a) if one takes for a month only one meal a day it is ekabhaktaka. ³⁰¹

KROCCHRA—This is the general word for several penances. The Sama. Br (I 2 1) starts ³⁰² by saying 'we shall now expound three krocchras' and adds that one should eat sacrificial food for three days only by day and eat nothing at night, then for three days more one should eat at night only, then for three more days one should not beg or ask for food from others and should then observe a complete fast for three days. If he is in a hurry to purify himself he should pass the day standing and the night in a sitting posture. Gaut. (26.2-16) describes the procedure of the first Krocchra (called Prājāpatya by later writers), then Atikrocchra (26 18-19), and then Krocchratikrocchra (26 20). Baud. Dh. 8 (II.1.91) speaks of Parāka as Krocchra. Āp. Dh 8 (19.27.7) describes the Krocchra penance of twelve days. The Krocchra penance described by Gaut. 26 2-16 is one for twelve days and is called Prājāpatya by Manu (XI 211), Śankha (18 3), Yaj III 319 and others. Laugakṣi Gr. (5 3-11) describes Krocchra. According to the Par ³⁰³ M. (II part 1 p. 30) and Pr. Pr. (folio 64a) the word Krocchra without any qualifying epithet (*upapada*) means Prājāpatya. The Pr. T. (p 481) states that the Krocchra described by Gaut. (26 1-5) is given the name of Prājāpatya by Manu (XI 211). Besides the rules about the intake of food, Gaut. prescribes certain other observances viz speaking the truth, not holding conversation with

300. तथा बृहदिष्टु । त्रींशोऽपि पिण्डान् तमश्नीयान्नित्यतामा बृहन्नत । हविष्यान्नस्य वै मासमुपि चान्नं चरन् । माय. प्रक. p 132. This verse is quoted as Yama's by Pr. V. p 520, Pr. T. p 544, माय. सा. p 196 (reads ब्राह्मणं for पिण्डान्)

301. एकभक्तेन मासेन कथितं वैकभक्तकम् । नक्तकृच्छ्रं तु नक्तेन महत्संस्तराज्ये । मा. प्रकाश (folio 48 a),

302. मातराज्ञानं भुत्वा तिस्रो रात्रीर्नाश्नीयात् । अथापरं ब्रह्म नक्तं भुञ्जीताथापरं ब्रह्म न कश्चन याचेदथापरं ब्रह्ममुपवसेत् । तिष्ठेदह्नि रात्रावासीत क्षिप्रकाम । साम. मा. I 2 1-4 गी (26. 1-6) is word for word the same except that Gaut. omits the word श्री in the first sūtra. अथातस्त्रीन् कृच्छ्रान् दशारुणस्याम । हविष्यान् ब्रह्ममन्त्रादपविशती ततस्त्वहं ब्रह्ममयाचितवत्स्वयं नाश्नाति किंचनेति कृच्छ्रद्वदशारुणस्य विधि । आप. ध. सू. I. 9 27 7

303. स्मृतिशास्त्रेषु निरुपपदस्य कृच्छ्रशब्दस्य प्राजापत्य एव प्राच्येण प्रयोगात् कृच्छ्रमिति प्राजापत्यमिति देवदत्तस्मरणञ्च । परा मा. II part I. p 30

men and women that are *anāyās* (not of the three higher castes), always singing the *sāmans* called 'Raurava' and 'Yaudhājapa', bathing thrice in the day in the morning, the noon and the night, then performing *māṛjana*³⁰⁴ (sprinkling of water) with the three verses beginning with 'Āpo hi stha' (Rg. X.9.1-3), with the mantras called 'pavitravati' viz. those beginning with 'pavamānah suvarjanah' (Tai. Br. I.4.8.1) and the eight verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarṇah' (in Tai. S. V. 6.1), he should perform *tarpana* with water with 13 mantras (Gaut. 26.12); he performs the worship of Āditya (the sun) with the same mantra (i.e. after *tarpana* with the 13 mantras, he is to perform the worship of the sun with the same thirteen mantras) and offers oblations of clarified butter with the same 13 mantras and then on the 13th day he cooks boiled rice and offers oblations into ordinary Agni ('svāhā' added at the end of each, such as 'agnaye svāhā'), Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, Viśve devāh, Brahman, Prajāpati and Agni Śvistakṛt and then feeds the brāhmanas.

Kṛochra-samvatsāra—Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27.8 speaks of this as a penance in which *Kṛochras* are undergone continuously in a cycle for one year.

Krochratikrochra—Gaut. 26.20 and Sāma. Br. I. 2. 8, Vas. 24.3 define it as a *krochra* where only water is drunk on those days on which food is allowed and Gaut. 26.23 and Sāma. Br. I. 2. 9 state that this penance frees a man from all sins,³⁰⁵ Yāj. III. 320 (= Devala 86, first half) and Brahmapurāṇa q. by Pr. Pr. (folio 40 a) prescribe that in this one has to subsist on water alone for 21 days. This difference between the views of Yāj. on the one hand and of Gaut. on the other is reconciled by the digestists by saying that the period depends on the capacity of the sinner. According to Pr. Pr. (folio 46b) and Aparārka p. 1238, Yama prescribed a *krochratikrochra* for 24 days.³⁰⁶ Vide Par.

304. For *māṛjana* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 317, 312 n and for *tarpana* the same vol. pp. 668-9, 689-695. Raurava Sāman is sung on the rk 'punānah soma dhārayā' (Rg. IX. 107.4 = Sāmaveda Nos. 511 and 675) and Yaudhājapa on 'Duhāna ūdhar' (Rg. IX. 107.5 = Sāmaveda No. 676).

305. अन्मक्षस्तुतीयः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः । ..तृतीयं चरित्वा सर्वेस्मादेनसो मुच्यते । यौ. 26, 20, 23; कृच्छ्रोऽन्मक्षः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः । बसिष्ठ 24, 3.

306. चतुर्विंशतिरात्रं तु नियतात्मा जितेन्द्रियः । कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रं कुर्वीत एकस्थाने द्विजोत्तमः ॥ यम प. by अपराक p. 1238, सद्-पा. p. 716, महार्णव folio 182 explains. पूर्वोक्तदशाहसाध्यातिकृच्छ्रद्वयेन एकः कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रो भवतीत्यर्थः ।

M. II part 1 p. 179 and Madanapārijāta p. 716. According to Manu XI 208 (= Visnu Dh. S. 54.30) when a person strikes a brāhmana with a weapon and draws blood, he has to undergo this penance. The Pr. Prakarana (p 15) states that for those unable to undergo Krocra, one milch cow is a substitute, for Atikrocra two milch cows and for Krocra-tikrocra four.

GOMŪTRA-KROCRA—The Pr. Sāra p. 187 quotes a verse about this: one should make a cow eat to satiety grains of wheat mixed with barley and then may collect the yava grains that are to be found in her dung and then drink the gruel of those yavas cooked in cow's urine.³⁰⁷

GOVRATA—Pr. Prakarana (p. 132) quoting the Mārkaṇḍeya describes this as follows: One should bathe with cow's urine, should subsist on cow-dung, should always stand among cows, should sit down on cowdung, should drink water only when cows have drunk water; one should not eat when they have not eaten, should stand up when they stand, should sit down when they sit down. This should be continued for a month.

CĀNDRĀYANA—The word is derived in this way That rite, where there is action by means of increase and decrease (in the intake of food) in imitation of the course of the phases of the moon, is cāndrāyana³⁰⁸ The word occurs in Pān. V. 1. 72 (pārāyana-turāyana-cāndrāyanam vartayati) From very ancient times Cāndrāyana has been divided into two varieties, called Yavamadhya³⁰⁹ (lit. being large in the middle like a grain of yava, and therefore tapering or thin at the ends) and Pīṭhikāmadhya (lit. having a middle like that of an ant, that is, slender in the middle and large at the ends), Baud Dh. S. III. 8. 33 names these two varieties. According to Jabali³¹⁰ there are five

307. अग्नौ चोष्यन्वापयित्वा मा गोधूमान्यवमिश्रितान् । तान् गोमयेतथान्नं संयुज्य पिबेद्गोमूत्रं यावत्कृत् ॥ q. by प्राय. सा p. 187. This is quoted as from चण्डिकावल्क्य by महाश्वेतो folio 185a (which reads एतेत् for पिबेत्)

308. चन्द्रायणमिति वाच्यं चरणं यस्मिन् कर्मणि प्राप्तवद्भिन्ना तच्चान्द्रायणम् । संज्ञाया दीर्घः । मित्ता on पा III. 323. These very words are quoted in प्राय सार (p. 192), मा. प्रकाश (folio 50b) and other works The word should be चन्द्रायण, but being a technical term the first syllable is lengthened

309. तदेतच्चान्द्रायणं पिपीलिकामध्यं विपरीतं यवमध्यम् । औ. ध III. 8. 33. 'यवन्तं मान्तयोरणीयो मध्ये च स्थवीय इति' प्राय. सा p. 192. पिपीलिकावन्मध्ये इति भवतीति पिपीलिकामध्यमिति कथ्यते । मित्ता on पा III. 323.

310. पिपीलिकायवमध्यं च यतिचान्द्रायणं तथा । चान्द्रायणं तथा ज्ञेयं चतुर्थं सर्वतो मुखम् । पञ्चमं शिष्टं साह च तुल्यपुण्यफलोदयम् । जाबालि q. by दीपकलिका on पा. 325, प्राय वि p. 517.

varieties of Cāndrāyana viz. *Yavamadhya*, *Pipilikāmadhya*, *Yatīcāndrāyana*, *Sarvatomukha* and *Śīśucāndrāyana*. These will be described later on. Yājñavalkya says (III, 326) that where no specific penance is prescribed in the smṛti texts, cāndrāyana effects purification and cāndrāyana may be undergone not as a penance but for the purpose of accumulating merit and that in the latter case (when performed for a year) the performer enjoys the happiness of going to the world of the moon after death.³¹¹ Manu XI, 221 and Gaut. 27.18 state the same view about cāndrāyana for accumulating merit. When the *vratā* of cāndrāyana is performed for the sake of merit, there is no tonsure (vide Gaut. 27.3 '*vapanam vratam caret*' and Haradatta thereon). Gaut. 19.20 (= Vas. 22. 20) prescribes that *Krochra*, *Atikrochra* and *Cāndrāyana* are the same penance for all sins (collectively for grave sins, for lesser ones separately, according to Haradatta and others). Compare Manu V 21 and XI, 215 (=Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5. 16). Manu XI, 27, Yāj. III, 323, Vas. 27 21, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.18 and others define Cāndrāyana (of the *Yavamadhya* type) as follows: On the first day of the bright half of a month only one morsel of food (*grāsa* or *pinḍa*) is taken, on the second *tithi* two and so on; on the full moon (*Purnamāsī*) 15 morsels are taken; then on the first of the dark half 14 morsels, one being reduced on each succeeding day. So on the 14th of the dark half only one morsel is eaten and on the *Amāvāsyā* there is a complete fast. Here in the middle of the month of thirty days the largest number of morsels is taken (and so this is *Yavamadhya*) just as on the *Purnamāsī* day the moon becomes full and begins to wane from the next day. Here *Purnamāsī* is in the middle of the period of the observance as *Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.6* says. If one begins the *vratā* on the first *tithi* of the dark half, he reduces one morsel on the 1st i. e. takes 14 morsels on that day, 13 on the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half and so on. On the 14th of the dark half he eats one morsel and on the *amāvāsyā* he eats nothing. Then on the 1st of the bright half he takes one morsel and goes on increasing the intake till on the *Purnamāsī* he takes 15 morsels. The month is taken in this latter case to be *Pūrnimānta*. Here in the middle of the observance there is no food taken and a large number of morsels is taken at the beginning and at the end. So this is called *Pipilikāmadhya*. This latter is described by Vas 23.45

311. अनादिष्टेषु पापेषु शुद्धिश्चाब्दाद्येन तु । धर्मार्थं यश्चरेदेतच्चन्द्रव्रतैति सलोकताम् ॥
या. III 326, सवत्सरं चाप्यत्र चन्द्रव्रतं सलोकतामाप्नोति । गो. 27. 18.

and Manu XI 216. Visnu Dh. S. 47.5-6 say: *Yasyāmamāvāsyā madhye bhavati sa pipilikā-madhyah yasya purnamāsi sa yavamadhyah*. If there are 14 or 16 tithis in any particular paksa (half of a month) then the number of *grāsas* must be regulated accordingly. There are other descriptions of *cāndrāyana*. Vide Haradatta on Gaut. 27.12-15. The Kalpataru appears to have held (explaining two verses of Jābala) that on the first of the dark half of a month 15 morsels were taken, then one morsel less was taken on each succeeding tithi; so that on *amāvāsyā* one morsel was eaten, then on the first of the bright half two morsels were eaten and one morsel was added every day so that on the 14th of the bright half fifteen morsels were taken and there was a complete fast on *Purnamāsi*. But this seems to be opposed to the very idea of increase and decrease of the intake of food on the analogy of the waxing and waning of the Moon and to several *smṛti* texts such as *Vas* 23.45 and *Parāśara* X 2. Therefore the *Pr. Prakāśa* (folio 58b) finds fault with it.^{311a} *Cāndrāyana* may be divided from another point of view into two varieties: (1) *MUKHYA* (in the primary sense, viz. following exactly the waxing and waning of the moon) and *GAUṆA* (having a secondary or metaphorical sense). The former is either *yavamadhyā* or *pipilikā-mamamadhyā*, while the latter is of four kinds, viz. *sāmānya*, *rsi-cāndrāyana*, *śiśucāndrāyana* and *yaticāndrāyana*. The last two will be described later. The *Sāmānya* (or *sarvatomukha*) consists in eating only 240 morsels of sacrificial food in a month of 30 days, distributing them according to one's choice (not necessarily in imitation of the phases of the moon) as stated by *Manu* XI 220, *Baud.* IV. 5.21, *Yāj.* III. 324 and the *Mit.* (on *Yāj.* III. 324), the *Madana-pārijāta* and other works. Here the penance, though it is not regulated by the phases of the moon, is called *Cāndrāyana* for the purpose of prescribing the same procedure and observances in it as in the *Cāndrāyana* which follows the phases of the moon. Here the *Mīmāṃsā* rule of *Kundapīyānam-ayana* applies.³¹² From the words of Gautama

311a अत्र कल्पतरुव्याख्यानम्। एकैकं द्वास्येदं ग्रासमिति कृष्णश्रुतिपादे पञ्चदशग्रासां नारम्य एकैकापचयेनामावास्यायामेको ग्रासः। तदनन्तरं श्रुतिपादे द्वौ ग्रासा एव वृद्धिक्रमेण चतुर्दश्या पञ्चदश्यासा संपद्यन्ते पूर्णमास्यां चोपवासः इति पिपिलिकातनुमध्यं चान्द्रायणम्। प्रायः वि. p. 519.

312. अत्रापि क्रमः। दिने दिनेऽष्टौ ग्रासान् श्रुजितं, अथवा नक्तं चतुरो दिवा चतुरं इति। अथैकस्मिन्दिने चतुरोऽपरस्मिन् द्वादश तत्रैकारात्रमुपेक्ष्यापरस्मिन् षोडशं। यद्वा दिनं द्वयमुपोष्य तृतीयादिने द्वात्रिंशदित्यादियकारणा मध्ये द्वास्त्यपेक्षया श्रुजितेति। अत्र तिष्ठत्यपेक्षया

27.12-15 it appears that he envisaged a cāndrāyana of 32 days (pipīlikāmadhya) or 31 days, when he says that the performer should fast on the 14th of the bright half, eat fifteen morsels on the Full Moon day, then reduce it by one morsel, so that there is a total fast on the amāvāsyā and then on the first of the bright half one morsel is taken until on the full moon 15 morsels are taken. Thus from the 14th of the bright half (when there is a complete fast) to the full moon of the succeeding month there are in all 32 days and the penance is of the pipīlikā-madhya type.

As regards the size of the morsels, different views are expressed. Gaut. 27.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.2 prescribe that the size of a morsel shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth (while swallowing it) Yāj. III. 323 allows that the morsels may be as large as the egg of a peahen, and Parāśara X.3³¹³ prescribes the size of a hen's egg and Sankha that of an undried āmalaka fruit (*myrobalan*). The Mit explains that Gautama's words apply to boys and young people and that the other sizes confer an option according to the capacity (*śakti*) of the man undergoing penance. The procedure of cāndrāyana is described in Gaut. 27.2-11, Baud. III.8, Manu XI.221-225, Vṛddha-gautama chap. 16 and other works. The one given by Gautama, being probably the oldest among Dharmaśāstra works, is here set out.

The general rules prescribed for the Kṛcchra penance in Gaut. 26.6-11 are applicable to Cāndrāyana also. If it is performed as a penance the performer must tonsure his hair and observe a fast on the day preceding the Full Moon. He offers libations of water, oblations of clarified butter, consecrates the sacrificial food and worships the moon, reciting 'āpyāvasva', (Rg I. 91. 17), 'san te payāmsi' (Rg. I. 91. 18). He shall offer clarified butter, reciting the four (ṛks) beginning with 'yad deva devahedaṇam' (Vāj. S. 20.14 or Tai. Br. II. 6. 6.1). These

(Continued from the last page)

मानिनो नानि व्यक्तन्तु कुण्डल्याभितपदोरन्यतरत्र पच कर्तव्यः। नद पा. p. 743, वच
ह चत्वारिंशद्विक्रान्तपयसां नानेन पचाकथंचिद्भक्षणं तत्र चन्द्रायत्यहविधानाचरण-
भवेत् काण्डायनशब्दः कुण्डपायिनामयने अग्निहोत्रशब्दवत्तद्वर्गमाप्स्यथौ गीण इति। श. प्रकाश
65b. Vide नद. पा. p. 743 for the maxim of the Agnihotra in Kuṇḍapāy-
ināyana and Jai. VII. 3. 1, where श्वर says 'कुण्डपायिनामयने श्रूयते मास-
नहोत्रं कुहोवति। तत्रैतन्नामयनं नैयनिकाग्निहोत्रात्कर्मांतरमेव इति। अधुना अग्निहो-
त्रात्तद्विषये। ...नैयनिकत्वाग्निहोत्रस्य नैधर्म्येति तस्मिन्नेन नाम्नातिदिश्येत् ॥'.

313. कुकुवान्दनार्णं ह वासं वै परिकल्पयेत्। पराशर. X 3; vide also प्राय. स. p. 21.

four together with the preceding are seven oblations of clarified butter that have to be offered. At the end of the offering of clarified butter he shall offer pieces of sacred fuel while reciting the (eight) texts beginning with 'devakṛtasya' (Yaj. S. VIII. 13). Each mouthful must be consecrated by (mentally) reciting one of the ³¹⁴ following words 'om bhūh, bhuvah, svah, tapah, truth, fame, prosperity, vigour, refreshment, strength, lustre, brightness, soul, dharma and śiva' ³¹⁵; or he may consecrate all of them at once saying 'adoration' svāhā'. The sacrificial food must be one of the following. boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley, grain separated from the husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. Among these each succeeding one is preferable to that enumerated earlier.

JALA KRCCHRA—See under Toyakrcchra

TAPTAKRCCHRA—There is great divergence of views about this penance. Manu XI 214, Vas. 21 21, Visnu Dh. S. 46 11, Baud. Dh. S. IV 5.10, Sankha-smṛti 18.4, Agnipurāṇa 171 6-7, Atri verses 122-123, Parāśara IV. 7 speak of it as of 12 days' duration comprising four periods of three days each. In this one drinks hot water, hot milk, hot ghee for three days each and then for three days there is a complete fast when he inhales hot vapour or atmosphere (acc. to Manu XI 214). Manu adds that the performer has to bathe only once (and not thrice as in some other penances) and that he should practise self-control. Yāj. III 317 (= Devala 84) speaks of this as of four days' duration, viz. he takes hot milk, hot ghee and hot water for one day each and observes a total fast on the 4th day. The Mit. on Yāj. III 317 calls this *mahātapta-krcchra* and also mentions a *taptakrcchra* of two days, viz. on the first day the sinner takes three, viz. hot water, hot milk and hot ghee and observes a total fast on the 2nd day. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 50a) remarks that the authority for the two days' taptakrcchra spoken

314. Haradatta says that on the days when the performer eats less than fifteen morsels, the counting is to be from the beginning and the later mentioned texts must be left out and that, while eating, the performer must employ the Prāṇāhuti mantras, viz. 'prāṇāya svāhā, apāṇāya svāhā' etc.

315. The words of the Mantras are 'ओं भूँर्भुवः स्वस्त्यस्त्य यज्ञ ओहर्षिर्गर्भो ज्ञेजो वर्चः पुरुषो धर्मः शिव इत्येतैर्गोमातृमन्त्राणां प्रतिमन्त्र मनसा । नमः स्वाहेति वा मुवाच ।'
 मी. 27. 8-9, some MSS omit वर्चः

of by the Mit has to be found out. The Pr. Prakāśa refers to a *tapta-krcchra* for 21 days. It may be said, as done by the Pr. Prakāśa, that the penance of *tapta-krcchra* for twelve days is meant for great sins and that the one for four days is meant for lesser sins. The quantity of water, milk and ghee, that was to be taken is laid down by Parāśara³¹⁶ IV. 8, Atri 123-124 and Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Pr V. p. 511) viz. that hot water, hot milk and hot ghee should be six *palas*, three *palas* and one *pala* respectively. The Brahmapurāṇa adds that water, milk and ghee are to be taken respectively in the evening, morning and noon.

TULĀPURUSA KRCCHRA—Jabali speaks³¹⁷ of the duration of this penance as eight days; Śaṅkha (18.9-10) and Visṇu Dh. S. 46 22 describe one of ten days where oil-cake, the foamy scum of cooked rice, butter-milk, water and barley meal are to be eaten, each respectively on one day, followed by a fast on the next day. Yāj. III. 322 (= Atri verses 129-130) describes one of 15 days where the above five ingredients are eaten for three days each. Yama on the other hand speaks of Tulāpurusa for 21 days, when the five things are separately eaten for three days (vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 322). Apararka pp. 1239-1241, Par. M II part 2 pp. 184-189, Madanapārijāta pp. 718-727, Pr. Sāra pp. 179-181 set out at length the mode of the performance of Tulāpurusa as a penance. In this penance two images of the performer made of fragrant *uśīra* grass were to be prepared and placed in the pan of a balance a span high made either of gold or silver or sandalwood and were to be weighed against pebbles and placed in another pan and worship was to be offered to Mahādeva and Umā and many other subordinate deities such as Agni, Vāyu, the sun.

316. पटपलं तु विवेदम्भस्त्रियलं तु पयः पिवेत् । पलमेकं विवेत्सपिस्तत्कृच्छ्रं विधीयते ॥ पराशर IV 8 (B S series) vol II part 1 p. 26. It may be noted that the Mit. on Yāj. III. 317, the Pr. Sāra p. 136 read पराशर's verse as 'अपयः पिवेत् त्रियलं द्विपलं तु पयः पिवेत् । पलमेकं विवेत्सपिस्त्रियलं चोष्णमाकृतम् ॥' and that the Mit. explains 'त्रियलमाकृतस्य पूरणे उष्णोदकवाणं विवेदित्यर्थः'. The मद्. पा. pp. 735-736 contains both these verses and ascribes both to पराशर. According to Yāj. I. 363-64 a *pala* is equal to 4 or 5 *suvarṇas* and a *suvarṇa* is equal to 80 *krśṇas* (*guṇjas*) in weight.

317. तत्र जाबालिः । पिण्याकं च यथाचारं तर्कं चोदकसकच । त्रिरात्रस्यवासश्च ह्यलपुरुष उच्यते ॥ q. by मा. सार p. 178, परा मा. II. part 2 p. 183.

TOYA-KRCCHRA—This is also called Varuna-krcchra by Yama (q in Pr. Prakāśa, folio 48 a) and by Śankha (q in Pr. Sāra p. 182). Viṣṇu Dh S. (46. 14) states ³¹⁸ that subsisting on nothing but ground barley mixed with water for one month is called *Udakakṛcchra*. Since Varuna was regarded as the lord of waters even from the times of the R̥gveda (e. g. in R̥g. VII. 49. 3) and to mark the truth and falsehood among men, this Toya-krcchra was called Vārūna. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 47 b)³¹⁹ quotes Jābala to the effect 'If a sinner remains immersed in water for a whole day and night without taking food and recites mantras (addressed to Varuna) he removes by the *jalakṛcchra* the sins which he may have committed for a year'. According to Yājñavalkya (q in Pr. Sāra p. 187) this penance consists in observing a fast for a day and night standing up the whole day and passing the night without sleep in water and reciting the next day the sacred Gāyatri mantra 1008 times. According to Śankha (q. by Madana-pārijāta p. 737) this penance is constituted either by subsisting on lotus stalks grown in water or on *saktas* boiled in water.

DADHIKRCCHRA—This is spoken of by the Pr Prakāśa quoting from the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa as a penance in which the sinner subsists on curds alone for a month.³²⁰

DEVAKRCCHRA—Yama quoted by Par. M. (II part 2 pp. 191-192) describes this as follows ³²¹: One should partake

318 उदकसक्त्वा मासाभ्यवहारेणोदककृच्छ्रं । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46 14, 'चितान्मुदक-
सिद्धानि मासमश्नीत संयतः । सक्त्वा सोदकाग्नौ कृच्छ्रो वारुण उच्यते ॥' शाङ्ग q by
चालम्बह्री op ya III 318, मा सार. pp 186-87.

319. अनहनजलमध्यस्थस्त्वहोरात्रं जपन्मुच्यते । सवस्तरक्तं पाप जलकृच्छ्रे व्यपोहति ॥
जाबाल q. by मा सार p 187, मा. प्रकाश folio 47 b, where it is said जपश्च वारुण-
मन्त्राणाम्, as to योगियाज्ञवल्क्य 'वायुभक्षो दिवा तिष्ठेद्वात्रि नीत्वाष्ट सूर्यद्वयं । सप्तसाधकं
जप्त्वा नायकौ जलसंज्ञकः ॥', vide द्वितीयोक्तिः सूर्यं द्वाष्टौत्तरसहस्रगायत्रीजप कृत्वा पारण
कुर्यादिति । मा सार p. 187. This is q. by मा प्रकाश folio 47 b. The first half is ya
III, 311.

320 विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । दध्ना क्षीरेण तर्केण पिण्याकाञ्चनकैस्तथा । शार्कैर्मसं तु कार्याणि
स्नानानि विचक्षणैः ॥ मा प्रकाश folio 48a.

321. यवाग्रं यावकं जाकं क्षीरं दधि घृतं तथा । ज्यहं ज्यहं तु प्राक्षीयाद्वायुभक्षश्च परम् ।
मरुद्भिर्वह्नी रश्मिपादित्यैश्चरितं व्रतम् । व्रतस्यास्य प्रभातेन निरजस्ना हि तेभ्यः ॥ कृच्छ्रं देवकृतं
नाम सर्वकलमपनाशनम् । यम q. by परा मा II part 2 pp 191-192 and by मा सार pp.
183-184 (which omits the last verse मरुद्भिः) लौगाक्षिद्वय VI 3 reads 'यवाग्रं
... शार्कं पयः सर्पिः कुशोदकम् । ज्यहं .. ज्यहम् ॥'. देवपाल explains 'यवाग्रपातितुपयव
सम्पाद्या देवमाया प्रासिद्धा यावकोपि तद्वत्स तु भक्तमायः कठिनः.'

of only rice gruel, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee each for a period of three days in succession and then should observe a complete fast for three days; this is called *Devakṛta* (performed by the gods) penance and destroys all sins. It was practised by the Maruts, the Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas. By the power of this penance they became free from *rajas* (impurity). Thus this penance lasts for 21 days. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) refers to another variety of it and quotes a long prose passage on it, which is passed over here for want of space.

DHANADAKṚCCHRA—See under *Vayavya-kṛcchra*. According to the *Visnudharmottara* ³²² (q. by Pr. Prakāśa) this penance consists in subsisting for a month on food just sufficient to fill the extended but hollowed palm, mixed with gold (i. e. in which gold is rubbed or boiled).

NITYOPAVĀSA KṚCCHRA—The Pr. Prakāśa (p. 48 a) states that this is constituted by a man eating only twice in the day (in the morning and evening) for six years and not drinking even water between the two meals. ³²³

PAÑCAGAVYA—For the various details connected with *pañcagavya* prepared from cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 773-774. *Pañcagavya* is to be offered into fire with the mantras 'Irāvati' (Rg. VII. 99.3), 'idam Vismur' (Rg. I. 22.17), 'mā nastoke' (Rg. I. 114. 8), 'Sam no devir' (Rg. X. 9. 4) and then the remainder is to be drunk. It is to be drunk with the middle of a sprig of three *Palāśa* leaves or with a lotus leaf. Manu. XI. 165 (= *Agnipurāṇa* 169. 30) prescribes this drinking of *pañcagavya* as the penance for petty thefts. Similarly, Yāj. III. 263 prescribes that one guilty of killing a cow should drink *pañcagavya* for a month. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 263 quotes *Viṣṇu* to the effect that one who kills a cow should perform one of three penances, viz. drinking three *palas* of *pañcagavya* every day for one month or undergoing the penance of *Parāka* or *Cāndrāyana*. ³²⁴ Though *Viṣṇu* 54. 7 and *Ātri* (verse 300) state that a *brāhmaṇa*

³²² बाजमद्यतिमयेका कनकेन समन्विताम्। शुक्रानस्य तथा नासं कृच्छ्रे धनद्वैवतम्॥ निष्णुधमोत्तर q. by मा प्रकाश folio 48 b.

³²³ सार्य मातश्च शुक्रानो नरो यो नात्तरा पिबेत्। पञ्चभिर्विधैरिदं योक्तं कृच्छ्रं नित्योप-वासिता ॥ मा प्रकाश p. 48a.

³²⁴ गोहन्त्य पञ्चगव्येन मासमेकं पलत्रयम्। प्रत्यहं द्वात्यराको वा चान्द्रायणम-थापि वा ॥ निष्णु q. by मिता. on या III. 263 and परा सा II part I p. 243 (which reads मासमेकं निरन्तरम्। माजापत्यं पराको वा)

drinking *surā* and a *sūdra* drinking *pañcagavya* both went to hell (Mahāraurava, according to Visnu), yet Devala (verse 61) and Parāśara XI 3 and 27 and medieval works like the Pr M. (p 13) and Śūdrakamalakara (p. 42) allowed *sūdras* to take *pañcagavya* without Vedic *mantras*. And women of all *varnas*, being treated like *sūdras* for certain purposes, were also allowed optionally to do the same.

PATRAKROCCHRA—Vide Parna-kūrca below.

PARAKA—Manu XI 215 (= Baud. Dh S IV. 5.16), Yāj. III 320 (= Śankha 18 5 = Atri 128), Agnipurāṇa 171, 10, Visnu Dh. S. 46. 18 and Br. ³²⁵ prescribe that this penance is constituted by not taking any food for twelve days, while the performer controls his senses and remains vigilant, and that this penance removes all sins.

PARNAKŪRCA—This is a more severe type of *patra-krocchra* Yāj. III 316 (= Devala 83) and Śankha-Likhita ³²⁶ define Parnakrocchra as one where the leaves of *palāśa*, *udumbara*, *lotus*, and *bilva* are boiled separately on each day in succession and the decoction of each is drunk on each day separately and then water in which *kūśas* have been dipped is drunk. Thus parnakrocchra is a penance of five days. The Mit. on Yāj. III 316 quotes a verse of Yama to the effect that when a sinner fasts for three days and nights and thereafter he drinks together the decoctions of all the four and *kūśa* water on the same day then the penance is called parnakūrca. The Par M (II part 2 p 181)³²⁷ regards Parnakūrca as a variety of Parnakrocchra. Vasistha, Jābali and Atri (116–117) make Parnakrocchra a penance of six days by adding the leaves of *Āśvattha* to the five mentioned above. Visnu Dh S 46 23 mentions another variety of Parnakrocchra for seven days ³²⁸

325. जपहोमरत कुर्याद् द्वादशाहमभोजनम् । पराक एष विष्णुपातः सर्वपापमोक्षणः ॥
इह प by प्राप वि p 515.

326. शङ्खलिखितौ—पद्मविल्वपलाशोदुम्बरकुशोदकान्येकैकमभ्यस्तानि पर्णकृच्छ्रं । मद्
पा p 733, दीपकलिका on पा III. 317, while अपराकं p 1234 reads
एकैकमभ्यस्तानि पर्णकृच्छ्रं. समस्तान्येतानि त्रिरात्रेणोपयुक्तानि च पर्णकृच्छ्रं. (0 कृच्छ्रं)
The मद् पा p 734 reads पर्णकृच्छ्रं

327. तथा वसिष्ठ । पद्मोदुम्बरपलाशविल्वान्श्वत्थकुशानामुदकं पीत्वा षड्रात्रेणैव
सुध्याति । प्रा प्रक p. 128.

328. कुशपलाशोदुम्बरपद्मशङ्खपुष्पीवटमहासुवर्चलानां पत्रैः कथितरयाम्भस्तः प्रत्येक
(प्रत्यहं) पानेन पर्णकृच्छ्रः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46 23 चालम्भही on पा III 316
remarks on this 'इति विष्णुना समाहृताध्य उक्तः.', मद् पा p 733 explains 'शङ्खपुष्पी
लताविशेषः । महासुवर्चला जाह्नवीविशेषः.' ।

PARṆAKṚCCHRA—Vide Parnakūrcā above.

PADAKṚCCHRA—According to Yāj. III. 318 (=Devala 85) this is defined as a penance where a sinner takes food one day only once by day, only once by night, then once only (by day or night) but without asking for it from any one (a stranger, a servant or even his own wife) and observes a total fast for one day. Thus this penance lasts for four days. There was difference of view as to the number of mouthfuls to be eaten, Āpastamba (q by Mit. on Yāj. III. 318) saying that the mouthfuls are respectively 22, 26 and 24 when food is taken only once in the evening or morning or without asking for it, while Parāśara states the number of mouthfuls to be 12, 15 or 24 respectively when food is taken only at night or in the morning or without asking for it. The Caturvimsātimata (q. by Par. M. II part 2 p. 172) puts them as 12, 15 and 10 respectively.

PADONAKṚCCHRA—This lasts for nine days³²⁹ only instead of the 12 days of the Prajāpatya and in it one eats by day only for three days, eats food once only for three days without asking for it from any one and observes a complete fast for three days (i. e. three days when food is eaten by night only are omitted here).

PUSPAKṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa 171. 12 and the Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 (quoting Markandeyapurāṇa) this penance is constituted by drinking for a month the decoction of flowers boiled in water.³³⁰

PRASRTA-YĀVAKA or **PRASRTIYĀVAKA**—Visnu Dh. S. chap. 48 and Baud. Dh. S. III. 6 contain elaborate descriptions (which agree with each other in many respects almost *verbatim*) and so does Hārta (q. by Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 192-194) who has many sūtras and verses in common with Visnu and Baud. Prasrti means the hand with all fingers stretched out, the palm being hollowed. The yavas taken out were as many as could be placed on the palm of the hand thus stretched

329 मासं मातृविनार्थं स्वात्पादोन नक्तवर्जितम् । आपस्तम्बस्मृति I. 14, q by मिता on या III. 318, मास सार p. 172, परा मा. II part 2 p. 173

330 यथाह मार्कण्डेय । फलेर्मसिन् कथितः फलकृच्छ्रो मनीषिभिः । श्रीकृच्छ्रं श्रीफले मोक्ष पद्माक्षरपरस्तथा । मसिनामलकैरेवं श्रीकृच्छ्रमपरं स्मृतम् । पत्रैर्मत पत्रकृच्छ्रं शुभैस्तत्कृच्छ्रं उच्यते । मूलकृच्छ्रं स्मृतो मूलैस्तत्पत्रकृच्छ्रो जलेन तु ॥ मिता. on या III. 316, मद पा p. 234 We should read कथित for कथितः as मद पा does, which remarks 'शरीरयात्रामात्रमुक्तफलानि मासं भक्षयेत् तत्र सर्वव्रतसाधारणतिकर्तव्यतापि कर्तव्या । तानि च फलानि कानीत्याकाङ्क्षायामाह श्रीकृच्छ्रः'.

out and hollowed. Some passages from Baud who is probably the oldest of the three authors may be set out here.³³¹ "Now if a man feels his conscience heavy with bad actions committed by himself, let him boil for himself, when the stars have risen, a handful of barley and prepare gruel with that. Let him not perform (the Vaiśvadeva) offering with (a part of) that nor a *Bali*³³² offering. Let him consecrate the barley before it has been placed on fire, when it is being boiled and after it has been boiled with the following mantras 'thou art barley, the king of grains, thou art sacred to Varuna and mixed with honey, the sages have declared thee to be an expeller of all sins and a means of purification' Then there are five verses more invoking the barley grains to purify the performer from all sins whether due to deeds, words, or thoughts, to destroy distress and evil fortune, to free him from the food of *ganas* (guilds or multitudes of men), harlots, *sūdras*, or food offered at *śrāddhas* by persons in impurity due to birth or death, food of a thief, food at *navasrāddha* (i.e. on 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th days after death) or from dreadful mortal sins or from guilt against children and guilt due to serving in a royal court, from sin of stealing gold, sin of the violation of a *vata* or sacrificing for an unworthy person and sin of speaking ill of *brāhmanas*. Then Baud proceeds "while the barley is being boiled he should guard it and recite 'Adoration to Rudra, lord of created beings; pacified

331 अथ कर्मभिरात्मकृतैर्गुणमिवात्मानं मन्येतात्माथे प्रसूतयावक अपयेदुदितेषु नक्षत्रेषु । न ततोऽग्नीं छुहृयात् । न चात्र बलिर्कर्म । अहृत अप्यमार्गं हृत चाभिमन्त्रयेत् । यवोसि धान्यराजोसि वारुणो मधुससृत । निर्णोदि सर्वपापानां पवित्रवृषिभि स्मृतम् ॥ सर्व पुनथ मे यवा ॥ इति । अप्यमाणे रक्षा कुर्यात् । ननो वज्राय भूताधिपतये द्यौ ज्ञान्ता कृष्णं पात्रं प्रसितं न पृथ्वीमित्येतेनाहवाकेन । ये देवा हर सदोऽग्निभिर्वा रक्षोहन इति पञ्चभि पर्यापि । मानस्तोके ब्रह्मा देवानामिति ह्याभ्याम् । हृतं च लृष्वदनीयात्पथ पात्रे निदिश्य । ये देवा मनो-जाता मनोयुजः सुरक्षा दक्षपितरस्ते न पाप्मन्ते ते नोऽबन्तु तेभ्यो नमस्तेभ्य स्वाहेति । आत्मानि छुहृयात् विरात्र मेधाधीं पद्भ्यान् पीत्वा पापकृच्छ्रं भवति । सतरात्र पीत्वा ब्रह्महन्तश्चतस्र-गमने ध्रुवर्णस्तैश्च सुरापानमिति च पुनाति । एकादशरात्र पीत्वा पूर्वपुदपकृतमपि पात्रं निर्दुष्टति । अपि वा गोनिष्क्रातानां यवानामेकविंशतिरात्र पीत्वा गणाव्ययति गणाधिपति पश्यति विद्यां पश्यति विद्याधिपति पश्यतीत्याह भगवान् बोधायनः । बो ध सू III, 6. The verses eulogising yava (यवोसि) are Band. III 6, 5-10, Visnu Dh S 48 17-22 and Hārīta (q. in Par M. II. part, 2 p 193) with some variations and omissions. As to the rest Hārīta agrees closely with Baud while Visnu differs a good deal from Baud. as to the mantras. Visnu has a verse referring to food licked by dogs and pigs and food defiled by leavings and the sin of disobeying parents, but omits two verses that occur in Baud about *mahāpātakas* Visnu 48 6 prescribes Rg IX 96 6 (ब्रह्मा देवानां) as the mantra to be recited at the time of guarding the grains that are being cooked

332. For Vaiśvadeva and Bali, vide H. of Dh II pp. 741-747

is the sky'. He should recite the text beginning with 'Kṛnuṣva pājah' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1), the five sentences beginning with 'Ye deva' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 1), the two texts 'mā nastoke' (Rg. I. 114. 8 and Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2) and 'Brahmā devānām' (Rg. IX. 96. 6, Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2) "Then having sipped water he should eat a little of the boiled food after pouring it into another vessel. Let him offer it as a sacrifice to the soul reciting 'ye deva' (Tai. S. I. 2. 3. 1)."

Then Baud. prescribes: "one desirous of wisdom must perform this rite for three days and nights. A sinner who drinks it during six days becomes pure, he who drinks this during seven days becomes purified from the mahāpātakas, he who drinks during eleven days removes even the sins committed by his ancestors. But he who during 21 days drinks gruel of barley grains which have passed through a cow (i. e. cowdung) sees the *Ganas*, the lord of the *Ganas*, the goddess of learning and the lord of learning."

PRĀJAPATYA—Vide under *Krochra* above where it is shown that the word *Krochra* without any qualifying epithet means *Prājapatya*. *Manu* XI. 211, *Yaj.* III. 319, *Visnu Dh. S.* 46. 10, *Ātri* 119-120, *Śankha* 18. 3, *Baud. Dh. S.* IV. 5. 6 mention the word *Prājapatya* and define it. This *Prājapatya* has several varieties. The first is that described by *Manu* XI. 211 and *Vas.* 21. 20 viz. four periods of three days each following one another in which there is respectively eating once only by day, once only by night, eating once only without asking for it and complete fast. The second is that described by *Vas.* 23. 43, where on the first day food is taken only by day, on the 2nd only at night, on the 3rd day food got without asking for it is taken and on the 4th a complete fast is observed and where the same process is repeated for two periods of four days each. The first³³³ is called *Prājapatya* by 'sthānavivṛddhi' and the 2nd is called 'Dandakalita'. Further, both these are said to be made 'ānulomyena' (by the proper and straightforward order). If the sequence described above is reversed i. e. if for three days there is first a total fast, then subsisting for 3 days on food got without asking for it, then for three days eating at night only

333. अयमेव पादकुच्छः यथाकथञ्चिद्वृद्धकालितवदाहृत्या स्वस्थानविवृद्ध्या वा, तत्राप्यालुल्यमेव मातिलेभ्येन वा तथा वक्ष्यमाणजपादियुक्तं तद्वह्निं वा त्रिरयस्ते. प्राजाप-
त्योऽभिधीयते । मिता on या III. 319 The मद् पा p 710 explains 'तत्रार्थं पक्षमाह
मनु —अयद् मतः' ॥ अत्रैकमक्तादीनां स्वस्थान एवामिद्विद्वत्त्वत् स्वस्थानवृद्धिः ।

and for three days eating by day only, it is *Prājāpatya* by 'prātilomya'. Further it may be performed with recitation of Vedic texts or without (for women and *sūdras*)³³⁴

PHALAKRCCHRA—Subsisting on fruits alone for a month. Vide the passage from *Mārkaṇḍeya* quoted above (n 330). *Śrīkrcchra* mentioned below will be also *phalakrcchra*. The fruits of *Bilva* and of *Āmalaka* and lotus seeds were the only fruits to be employed and they were to be eaten only for bare subsistence.

BĀLAKRCCHRA—See *Śisukrcchra*

BRHAD-YĀVAKA—The Pr. Pr. (folio 49 a) quoting *Brahmapurāṇa* describes it as follows—One should feed cows on plenty of *yavas* anointed with clarified butter. Then he should mix water with the dung of those cows and take out the grains of barley which are voided by them after eating them. He should then dry them in the sun, should grind them on a clean stone and cook them mixed with sesame and anointed with ghee in cow's urine on a fire brought on an altar. He should place the boiled holy grains in a vessel of gold or in a cup made of *palāśa* leaves and present them to the gods and *manes* and he may eat them. He should carry this on for twelve, twenty-four or thirty-six years for the removal of all sins. This is prescribed as a penance for killing one's *guru*, brother, friend or a near relative &c.

BRAHMAKŪRCA—The Mit³³⁵ on *Yajñavalkya* III 314 states that when a man fasts on one day and on the next day mixes up the ingredients of *pañcagavya* with Vedic *mantras* and drinks it with *mantras* it is called *Brahmakūrcā*. According to *Śaṅkha* cow's urine is taken with the *Gāyatrī* (Rg. III. 62 10), crowding with the mantra '*Gandhadvāram*' (Tai. Ā. X. 1), milk with '*āpyāyasya*' (Rg I 91.16), curds with '*dadhīkrāvano*' (Rg. IV. 39. 6), ghee with '*Tejosi*' (Vāj. S. 22. 1) and *Kuśa* water with '*devasya tvā*' (Vāj. S. 22 1, Ait. Br. 37. 3 &c.). *Jābāla*³³⁶

334 तस्माच्छूद्रं समासाद्य सदा धर्मेपथे स्थितम् । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं जपहोमविर्जितम् ॥ अङ्गिरस्य ५ by the *mita* on या III. 319 and *महार्णवः* folio 182 a

335. यदा पुन पूर्वैर्दुग्धपोष्यापरेद्युः समन्त्रकं सयुज्य समन्त्रकमेव पञ्चगव्यं पीयते तदा ब्रह्मकूर्चं इत्याख्यायते । *mita* on या III 314. Vide लघुशास्त्रतत्त्व 156-166 for *ब्रह्मकूर्चं*, which is the penance for all sins where no specific penance is prescribed

336. अहोरात्रोषितो भूत्वा पौर्णमास्या विशेषतः । पञ्चगव्यं पिबेत् प्रातर्नक्षत्रकूर्चविधिः स्मृतः ॥ जाबाल ५. by मा वि p. 515, मा. प्रकाश folio 50a and प्राय न p 22

prescribes that when a man observes a fast for the whole day and night on a day and particularly on a Full Moon day, and then drinks pañcagavya the next morning this is called the rite of Brahmakūrca. Parāśara (XI. 27-28) appears to hold that Pañcagavya and Brahmakūrca are synonyms. The Madana-pārijāta p. 729 and Pt. Sāra. p. 189 state that the Śāntapana described by Yāj. (III. 314) is styled Brahmakūrca.³³⁷

BRAHMAKŪRCHA—Vide Hemādri's work on Prāyascitta p. 964 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeya. It is a penance for 12 days on each of which one has to drink in the noon Pañcagavya in a temple or cowpen after offering it with mantras in fire; one has to contemplate on Viṣṇu till the evening and should sleep near an idol and give up tāmbūla and unguents.

MAHĀTAPTAKRŪCHRA—Vide Taptakrūchra.

MAHĀŚĀNTAPANA—Śāntapana, according to Yāj. III. 314, Menu XI 212 (=Baud. Dh. S.IV. 5.11 = Śāṅkha 18.8 = Brhad-Yama I. 13), Atri 117-118, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.20, lasts for two days; on the first the sinner drinks together cow's urine, dung, milk, curds, ghee and kuśa water and on the second day he fasts altogether. Mahāśāntapana penance consists, according to Lau-gakṣigṛhya VII. 3, Yāj. III. 315 (=Devala 82 = Atri. 118-119), in drinking separately for six days in succession the six ingredients mentioned above and fasting on the next day (i.e. it lasts for 7 days) According to Śāṅkha 18.9, Baud Dh. S.IV.5.17 and Jābala³³⁸ the Mahāśāntapana lasts for 21 days, each of the six ingredients referred to above being taken for three days and a fast being observed for three days. Yama speaks³³⁹ of a mahāśāntapana for 15 days viz when each of cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee is taken as subsistence for three days consecutively.

337. तप्तश्च योगीश्वरमिहितं शान्तपनमेव ब्रह्मकूर्चं इत्युच्यते । स एव ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवास इति । या सार p. 189, vide also मह. या. p. 729. The reference is to the verse 'पञ्चमाद्यंगतं पयं देहं तिष्ठति मानवे । ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवासस्तु दहत्यग्निरिवेन्धनम् ।' cited as पराशर's in या सार p. 189, while पराशर (XI. 37-38 reads) यत्त्वं देहिनाम् । ब्रह्मकूर्चो देहेत्सर्वं यदीति शिरिवेन्धनम् ॥

338. पण्यमेकैकमेतेषां त्रिरात्रमुपयोजयेत् । इयं चोपवसेदन्त्यं महाशान्तपनं विदुः ॥ जायत q, by अपराक p. 1234, परा सा. II. part I p. 31.

339. इयं पिबेत् गोमूत्रं इयं वै गोमयं पिबेत् । इयं दधि इयं क्षीरं इयं सर्पिस्ततः शुचिः ॥ महाशान्तपनमेतत्सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् । यम q. by सित्त. on या. III. 315, या सार p. 191, परा सा. II part I p. 31.

MAHEŚVARA KRCCHRA—Vide Hemādri (on *Prāyaścitta*) p. 961, which sets out a passage from Devala, that states that Brahmā prescribed it for Maheśvara on the burning of Madana. In this penance in the after-noon one should carry a broken jar (*kapāla*) and beg at three houses of learned brāhmanas for vegetables, offer them to God and eat them and should sleep in the evening near an idol. After getting up the next day he should donate a cow and drink *pañcagavya*.

MŪLAKRCCHRA—Visnu Dh. S. 46 15³⁴⁰ states that it is so called when one subsists on lotus stalks alone and the Mit. on Yāj III. 316 quotes Mārkaṇḍeya to the effect that one must subsist on *mūlas* (edible roots) alone.

MAITRAKRCCHRA—The Pr. Prakasa (folio³⁴¹ 53 a) mentions it. Its peculiarity is that in the *Sāntapana* on the third day milk of a *kapilā* (tawny) cow is to be partaken of. The same work notes that the *Kalpataru* states that this is a *sāntapana* in which on the first day all the six ingredients (cow's urine &c) are taken followed by two days of fasting.

YAJÑAKRCCHRA—This is a penance for one day laid down by Angiras (q. by Pr. Sāra p. 183, *Smṛti-muktāphala* p. 939) as follows: The sinner should bathe thrice, should be self-controlled and silent; and after the morning bath he should recite the sacred *Gāyatrī* 1008 times together with *om* and the *Vyāhrtis* at the beginning. When reciting he should be in the *Virāsana*³⁴² posture. He should drink cow's milk only once either sitting down or standing or curds of cow's milk (if he cannot secure cow's milk) or butter-milk or barley gruel mixed with cow's urine (in the absence of milk, curds or butter milk). This one-day penance called *Yajña-krccra* removes all sins.

340 विसाम्यवहारेण मूलकृच्छ्रः । विष्णुषू च 46 15

341 द्वितीयसान्तपने तृतीयदिने कपिलाक्षीरपाननाधिकम् । एष नैवकृच्छ्रेषीति भाष्य-
श्रित्तत्त्विके । कल्पतरौ तु गोमूत्रादिकमेकस्मिन्दिने द्वावुपसाधयितुं दिनत्रयसाध्यं सान्तपन-
मिति यज्ञस्वामी । या प्रकाशः folio 53a, कपिलायास्तु दुग्धाया धारोष्णं तु पयः पिबेत् ।
एष नैवकृच्छ्रः कृच्छ्रः सर्वपापमोक्षकः । यन् in भाष्य. वि. p. 513; the words द्वितीयसान्तपने .
कृच्छ्रेषीति (in या प्रकाशः) are taken from भाष्य. वि. p. 513

342 वीरासनं निराश्रयमुपवेशनम् । तथा विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । उच्यते तु दिवा तिष्ठेदुपविष्ट-
स्तथा निशि । एतद्वीरासनं नाम महापातकनाशनम् ॥ भाष्य. वि. pp. 197-198. The word
occurs in several *smṛtis* such as *Saṅkha* 18.2, *Laghu-Viṣṇu* III 9, *The Agni-*
purāṇa (171 3-4) defines it in the same way.

YATICĀNDRĀYANA—Manu XI 218 (= Baud Dh. S. IV. 5.20), Agnipurāṇa 171. 4, Visnu Dh. S. 47. 7 define ³⁴³ it as a penance where the sinner eats only eight mouthfuls of sacrificial food only once in the noon for a month and exercises control over himself.

• **YATISĀNTAPANA**—When the ingredients ³⁴⁴ of Pañca-gavya are mixed together (with kuśa water) and drunk for three consecutive days it is Yati-sāntapana according to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 314. The Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 128 adds that the three days must be followed by a fast for one day.

YAMYA.—According to Visnudharmottara-purāṇa quoted by Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) this consists in subsisting for a month on *saktu* grains found in cowdung.

YĀVAKA.—Śaṅkha ³⁴⁵ (18.10-11) states that partaking of boiled yavas obtained from cowdung for a month is the Yāvaka penance for destroying all sins. The Par. M. and Pr. Prakāśa quote a prose passage from Devala, ³⁴⁶ according to which the penance may last for seven days, a fortnight or a month and which states that the procedure of Prājāpatya will apply to this penance.

VAJRA.—Atri 164 defines ³⁴⁷ it as a penance, where barley grains fried in clarified butter and mixed with cow's urine are partaken of.

343 अष्टौ यासान् प्रतिदिवसं मासमश्नीयात् स यतिश्चान्द्रायणः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 47. 7, q as बृहद्विष्णु by मा. प्रकरण p 131. As to हविष्य food, vide कात्यायन 'हविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तद्वद्ध ब्रीह्यः स्मृताः । अभावे ब्रीहियवयोर्द्वैध्यापि पयसापि वा । तदभावे यवाग्वा वा खड्गुयादुदकेन वा । q. by स्मृतिश्च I p 163 गोभिलस्मृति I. 131 has हविष्येषु.. स्मृताः । and then adds 'माषकोद्भवगौरादि सर्वालाभे विवर्जयेत् । and गोभिल III. 114 has the verse अभावे ब्रीहिः. On आश्व य. I 9 6 (हौम्यं च मांसवर्जम्) हरदत्त quotes 'पयो दधि यवाग्लव्य सर्पिरोदनतण्डुलाः । सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापश्चैव दक्षैव तु ।'. Vide कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 400 and निर्याचारपद्धति (p 320) for this last verse and further details about हविष्यान्न.

344. यदा खेतदेव मिश्रितं पञ्चगव्यं त्रिरात्रमभ्यस्यते तदा यतिसान्तपनसंज्ञा लभते । एतदेव व्यवहृत्यस्तं यतिसान्तपनं स्मृतम्-इति शङ्खस्मरणात् । मित्ता. on या. III. 314.

345 गोपुरीपाशानो भूत्वा मासं नित्यं समाहितः । व्रतं तु यावत् कुर्यात् सर्वपापपुञ्जत्तये ॥ शङ्ख. 18.10-11 q. by परा० मा. II. part 2 p 192 (reads=रीयवाम्यासो) and प्राय. सार p 199, मद. पा. p 746 (reads=रीपाद्यवाकं च)

346 देवलोऽपि । यवानामण्डु साधिताना सप्तरात्रं पक्षं मासं वा पाशनं यावकः । एतेन यावत्कपायसौदकानि व्याख्यातानि । q by परा. मा III. part 2 p 192 and मा. प्रकाश folio 49 a

347. गोमूत्रेण तु संयुक्तं यावकं घृतपाचितम् । एतद्व्रतमिति श्रोकं भगवानजिरजवीत् ॥ अत्रि 164.

VĀYAVYA-KRCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa³⁴⁸ and Viṣṇudharmottara this penance consists in subsisting for a month every day on food that will just fill the extended palm.

VRDDHAKRCCHRA—VRDDHI-KRCCHRA—This is a penance for eight days, according to Śaṅkha-Likhita³⁴⁹ and Yama, in which one takes food only by day for two days, only by night for two days, without asking for food for two days and fasts for two days

VYASAKRCCHRA—This is the same as Maitra-krochra,³⁵⁰ for which see above p 148.

ŚISUKRCCHRA—also called Bālakrochra by Śaṅkha-Likhita and Pādakrochra by Devala and Prāyaścittamuktāvali (folio 10 a) and is the same as Laghu-krochra³⁵¹ It lasts for four days, eating once only in the day, eating once only by night, eating food got without asking for it only once on one day and fast on one day. Vide Vas 23.43 (q by Haradatta on Gaut. 26.5), Baud Dh. S II 1. 92, Yāj. III 318

ŚISU-CĀNDRAYANA—Manu XI 219, Baud Dh. S IV. 5 19, Agnipurāṇa 171.5 state that when a brāhmana eats (for a month) four mouthfuls in the morning and four after sun-set, that is Śisu-cāndrayana (cāndrayana for boys, old men &c.).

ŚITAKRCCHRA—This is the reverse of Taptakrochra, as here all the articles are to be taken when they are cold³⁵² and not hot (as in Tapta-krochra). Vide Viṣṇu Dh S 46 12, Agnipurāṇa 171 7 and Mit on Yāj. III 317 According to Viṣṇu quoted by Pr Sāra (p. 185) and Madana-pārijāta (p. 736) this is a penance for 10 days (and not for twelve days as the Mit. states), viz cold water, cold milk and cold ghee are drunk three days each and there is a total fast for one day

348 मास वायव्यकुच्छं स्वात्पाणिपूराक्षभोजनात् । अग्निपु. 171. 14, वायव्य कुच्छसुक्तं तु पाणिपूराक्षभोजनम् । मासेनैकेन धर्मज्ञ सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q by मा प्रकाश (folio 48 a

349 तत्र शङ्खलिखितौ । प्रातः सायमयाचितसुषवासस्रयह इत्यहमिति प्राजापत्यं द्वचह द्वचहमिति वृद्धकुच्छः, एकैकमिति बालकुच्छः । प्राय. वि. p. 511. The प्राय सार p 177 quotes a verse of यम to the same effect.

350 The मा प्रकाश (folio 56b) cites a verse of अङ्गिरस् which is कपिलाया ..एष व्यासकृतः कुच्छः स्वपाकमपि शोधयेत् ॥

351. लघुकुच्छस्यैव शिशुकुच्छ इति नामान्तरम् । प्राय म p. 21.

351a. यदा तु शीतं क्षीरादि पीयते तदा शीतकुच्छः । इयह शीत विवेत्तोय इयह शीत पय विवेत् । इयह शीत घृतं पीत्वा बाहुभक्ष परं इयहम् ॥ इति यमस्मरणात् । मिता. on या III. 317.

ŚRĪKRCCHRA—According to Visnu Dh. S. 46.16, Agni-purāṇa³⁵² 171.12 and Mit. on Yāj III. 316 (quoting Mārkaṇḍeya) this is constituted by subsisting on Bilva fruit or lotus seeds or amalaka fruit for a month. The Madanapārijāta (p. 737) quotes a verse of Śaṅkha to the same effect.

SANTAPANA—Vide Mahāsantapana and Atisāntapana above. It is of five kinds, viz the first for two days, the 2nd for seven days, the third for twelve (Atisāntapana), the 4th for 15 days and the fifth for 21 days.

SURACĀNDRĀYANA—The Agnipurāṇa defines it as one where somehow or other (and not in a rising or falling scale) a man partakes of 240 morsels of food in a month. Yāj. III. 324 speaks of it as a variety of Cāndrāyana. Visnu. Dh. S. (47. 9) calls it 'sāmānyacāndrāyana'.³⁵³

SUVARNA-KROCCHRA—Vide Hemādri on Prāyaścitta pp 969-972 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in which a *varāha* or a half of it or quarter of it had to be donated. A *Varāha* was equal to nine *rūpakas* and a *rūpaka* was one *māsa* of five *guṇas* (of silver it seems). For killing a *brāhmana* secretly or for the guilt of incest one had to perform ten thousand or 40 thousand *suvarṇa-krocchras* and a lesser number for various other lapses.

SOMAYANA—According to the *Madanapārijāta* pp. 744-746 (quoting *Hārītadharmaśūtra* and *Mārkaṇḍeya*) and *Prakāśa* (folio 60b) the penance lasts for thirty days divided into five periods of 7, 7, 7, 6, 3 days, in which the milk of all the four udders of a cow, of three udders, of two udders and of one udder is respectively drunk and for the last three days there is a complete fast. There is another variety which lasts for 24 days from the 4th tithi of the dark half of a month to the 12th of the bright half of the next fortnight, the 24 days are divided into eight periods of three days each; in the first four

352 बिल्वाभ्यवहारण श्रीफलकृच्छ्रः पद्माक्षौर्वा । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.16 ; फलैर्नासं फलं
कृच्छ्रं विवै । श्रीकृच्छ्र ईरित । पद्माक्षः स्यादामलकैः पुष्पकृच्छ्रं तु पुष्पकैः । अग्निपु
171 12 Vide note 330 above for मार्कण्डेयम् ।

353. यथा कथं चित्पिण्डानां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् । मासेन भक्षयेद्वैतत्तुरचान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ अग्निपु 171 5-6 या III 324 reads the 2nd half as मासेनैवोपशुजीत चान्द्रायणमथारम् ॥ The Mit explains यथाकथंचित् as 'प्रतिदिनं मध्याह्नेऽहो यासान्, अथवा सप्तदिनयोश्चतुरश्वतरो वा, अथैकस्मिंश्चतुरोऽपरस्मिन्द्वादश वा तथेकरात्रमुपोष्यापरस्मिन्पौनःपुन्यदिपकाराणामन्यतमेन शक्याद्यपेक्षया शुजीत', यथाकथंचित्वेवद्यत्रोना त्रिंशतीं मासेनाश्नीयास्त सामान्यचान्द्रायणम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 47.9

periods of three days each the milk of a cow's four udders, three udders, two udders and one udder is respectively drunk and then in the next four periods of three days each the milk of one udder, two, three and four udders is respectively drunk Vide also *Prāyaścittendu-śekhara* p 12

SAUMYAKRCCRA—According to Yaj III 321 this penance lasts for six days, in the first five of which one subsists in succession upon oilcake alone, foamy scum of boiled rice alone, butter-milk alone, water alone and *saktus* (barley) alone and on the last day a total fast is observed The Mit, Madanapārijāta p 717, Pr Sāra p 178 and other digests state that one has to partake of the five ingredients in quantities just sufficient to keep body and soul together. Jābala (quoted by the Mit, Par M. II part 2 p 183 and others) makes it a penance of four days' duration, in the first three of which one partakes successively of oilcake, *saktus* and butter-milk and observes a fast on the 4th day. Atri (128-129) also mentions it. The Pr. Prakāśa (quoting Brahmapurāṇa) speaks³⁵⁴ of another variety of six days' duration, on the first of which there is a complete fast and on the last of which the sinner subsists on *saktus* alone and in the intervening four days he subsists on the thick gruel of barley cooked in cow's urine.

354 प्रकारान्तरेण षडह सौम्यकृच्छ्र उक्तो ब्रह्मपुराणे । प्रथमेऽहनि नाशनीयास्तौम्य-
कृच्छ्रेऽपि सर्वदा । गोमूत्रयावकाहार षष्ठे सक्तून् तत्समाचरेत् ॥ इति । मा. प्रकाश folio 46b

CHAPTER VI

CONSEQUENCES OF NOT UNDERGOING PENANCES

If a sinner did not undergo a *prāyaścitta*, the *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas*, medieval digests declared that he had to suffer dire and far-reaching consequences. *Yāj.* III. 221 declares that men addicted to sins, who feel no repentance and who (therefore) do not undergo the proper penances, fall into painful and horrible hells. *Manu* XII. 54 ff and *Yāj.* III. 206 ff provide that those guilty of grave (and other) sins after having passed numbers of years in hells and suffered the tortures of horrible hells are born again in this world because of (the remnants of their) evil actions in different forms such as lower animals, insects, trees and shrubs &c. *Manu* XI. 53 ordains that one should always perform penance in order to free oneself from sins, since those who have not destroyed their sins (by means of *prāyaścittas*) are born again endowed with disgraceful marks (such as having bad nails, black teeth &c.). *Manu* XI. 48 also emphasizes that wicked men suffer mal-formations owing to their wicked deeds committed in this very life or in a former life. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*³⁵⁵ echoes the words of *Yāj.* III. 221. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* declares³⁵⁶ that those (sinners) who do not undergo penances nor are punished by the king fall into hell and are born also as lower animals and even after attaining human bodies they become marked (with bodily defects). *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* (44. 1-10) prescribes³⁵⁷ that evil-doers, having experienced the horrors of hell pass into animal bodies and that those guilty of *atipātakas*, *mahāpātakas*, *anupātakas*, *upapātakas*, *jāti-*

355. पापकृत्याति नरक प्रायश्चित्तपरान्तः । विष्णुपुराण IV. 5 21. q by परा मा II. part 2 p 209

356. पापश्चित्तविहीना ये राजमिश्राप्यवासिता । नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च ॥ मातृभ्रमपि चासाद्य भवन्तीह तथाङ्किता । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 4-5 q. by परा मा. II. part 2 p. 210 and माय वि. p. 120 (both of which read अदृष्टिता: for अवा-सिता: of the printed ed.).

357. अथ पापात्मना नरकेष्वनुसृतुं खाना तिर्यग्योनयो भवन्ति । अतिपातकिनां पद्या-येण सर्वाः स्थावरयोनयः । महापातकिना च कृमियोनयः । अनुपातकिनां पक्षियोनयः । उप-पातकिना जलयोनयः । कृतजालिभक्षकराणां जलचरयोनयः । कृतसङ्करीकरणकर्मणां दृग्यो-नयः । कृतपात्राङ्गीकरणकर्मणां पशुयोनयः । कृतमालिनीकरणकर्मणां मनुष्येष्वस्पृश्ययोनयः । प्रकीर्णेषु प्रकीर्णां हिंसा. क्रव्यादा भवन्ति । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 44. 1-10.

bhramśa-kara actions, sankarīkarana, apatrikarana, malinīkarana and miscellaneous sins, respectively enter the bodies of all plants, of worms (or insects), of birds, of aquatic animals, of animals roving in waters, of deer, of cattle, of untouchables among men, of miscellaneous and cruel carnivorous animals (like tigers). Visnu Dh. S. 45.1 provides³⁵⁸ that sinners, after having undergone the horrors of hells and after having passed through the bodies of lower animals, are born as human beings with certain marks (indicative of their sins) So the teaching of these and other authorities comes to this that sins when not expiated by penances or by State punishment, lead to hell, that then, owing to some remnants of the evil deeds, to birth as lower animals and then as decrepit or diseased human beings.

It is now necessary at this stage to enter upon a historical though brief account of the idea of Hell and of its opposite Heaven³⁵⁹ There are in the Rgveda hardly any clear or express references to Hell In Rg II. 29.6 the sage prays to the Visve-Devas 'save me from the pit, from falling down into it' (trādhvam kartād-avapado yajatrāh). In Rg IV 5 5 it is said³⁶⁰ that those men who are bereft of *rta* and *satya*, being sinful, create a deep place for themselves. In Rg. VII. 104.3 the poet calls upon Indra and Soma to strike down³⁶¹ into bottomless darkness evil-doers, and in VII. 104.11 the poet prays that whatever enemy desires to harm the poet by day or night may be deprived of his body and progeny and may be hurled below the three earths Indra is implored in Rg X. 152.4 by the sage to send down into darkness whoever attacks him and his people. In Rg. IX. 73.8 Soma is said to throw down in a pit those who do not observe Soma's ordinances and who are disliked by him. From these passages what emerges is that the sages of the Rgveda had some faint glimmerings of (or belief in) the idea of a dark

358 अथ नरकामिधृतदुःखानां तिर्यक्त्वसुक्षीर्णानां मनुष्येषु दृक्षणानि भवन्ति । विष्णु धर्मसूत्र 45 1.

359 Vide for 'Heaven' and 'Hell' in Vedic Literature 'Vedic Mythology' by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, pp 167-170, 'The religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads' by Prof. Keith pp 405-410, Journal of American Oriental Society, Vol. 13 pp ciii ff, Vol. 61 pp 76-80, Vol 62 pp 150-156,

360. पापास सन्तो अहृता असत्या दृढे पद्मजनता गभीरम् ॥ क्र. IV 5 5.

361 इन्द्रासोमा दुःकृतो वज्रे अन्तरारम्भणे तमसि म विध्यतम् । क्र VII 104. 3; पर सो अस्तु तन्वा तना च तिस्र पृथ्वीरपो अस्तु विश्वा । क्र VII. 104. 11. यो अस्य अभिदासत्यधरं गमया तमः । क्र X. 152 4. विद्वांस विश्वा शुवनामिषदयथाऽनुदाय विध्यति कर्ते अवतान् । क्र IX 73.8.

deep pit below the earth to which wicked persons were relegated by the gods. But there is no mention in the R̥gveda of the tortures of Hell. It is in the Atharvaveda that we find the clearest references to Hell (Naraka). Sorcerers and demons dwell in a house below (the earth), according to A. V. II. 14. 3. Atharvaveda V. 30. 11 asks a man to come out from death, from the deep and black darkness. In Atharvaveda ³⁶² V. 19. 3 it is asserted that those who spat in the face of a brāhmana or who imposed a levy of money on him remain biting hair in the midst of a river of blood. Atharvaveda XII. 4. 36 mentions 'Nāraka-loka'. In the Vaj. S. XXX. 5 the *Virahan* ³⁶³ (i. e. one who gives up or extinguishes the consecrated Vedic fires) is relegated to *nāraka* (nārakāya virahanam). A *virahan* may also mean 'one who kills a valiant man' but that does not seem to be a proper sense in this passage of the Vaj. S. In the Śat. Br. XI. 6. 1. 4 we find a reference to torments of Hell, viz. men cutting up the limbs of others one by one for crimes committed. The Tai. Ā. I. 19 speaks of four *narakas* called Visarpin, Avisarpin, Visādin and Avisādin in the south-east, south-west, north-west and north-east. From the Kathopaniṣad it appears that at that time there was a belief that those foolish men who do not know the Reality and who only believe in the existence of the mundane world alone have to be born again and again and fall into the hands of Yama ³⁶⁴ (II. 5-6). The same Upaniṣad (V. 7) states that after the death (of the body) some enter the womb in accordance with their actions and knowledge to have an embodied existence, while others go into fixed matter (the form of trees and the like). But that Upaniṣad says nothing about the torments of Hell. They were therefore probably not believed to exist in those days, at least, to the same degree as in the days of the Epics and Purāṇas. The very words at the beginning of the Katha Up. (I. 21 'devair-atrāpi vicikitsitam') indicate that there were even then various views about the fate of the departed. The Kausītaki Br. (XI. 3) propounds the remarkable proposition that

362 ये ब्राह्मण प्रत्यङ्मित्रे वास्मिन् शुल्कमीषिरे । अस्मत्ते मध्ये कुल्याया' केशान् खादन्त आसते ॥ अथर्व. V. 19. 3

363 अपाहुर्नरकं लोकं निरन्यासस्य याचिताम् । अथर्ववेद XII. 4. 36, वीरहा वा एष देवानां योऽसिद्धास्यते । तै. स. II. 2. 5. 5

364. न सांस्वराय प्रतिभाति बालं प्रमाद्यन्तं वित्तमोहेन मूढम् । अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी पुनः पुनर्विज्ञापयति मे ॥ कठोप. II, 6, vidē n. 94 above for कठोप. V. 7.

just as men in this world eat the (flesh of) beasts, so in the next world the beasts eat men.³⁶⁵

As regards the opposite idea of *svarga* (Heaven) the matter is much clearer. In certain Rk verses there are said to be three heavens (e g Rg I 35 6, VIII 5 8, VIII 41 9, IX, 113, 9). The generous donor or worshipper is said to occupy heaven and to mix among gods; and gods like Mitra and Varuna are implored to give the worshipper immortality³⁶⁶ (Rg I, 125, 5, V. 63. 2, X 107 2). Life in heaven is full of joys and delights and the denizen of heaven has all his desires fulfilled (Rg. IX, 113 10-11).³⁶⁷ In Rg IX, 113 8 the poet prays 'make me immortal (in heaven) where dwells king Varivasvata, where the sun is confined (i e. where it never sets) and where the divine waters flow'. A person who neither offers sacrifices to gods, nor worships, and observes ordinances other than those of Indra is thrown down from Heaven³⁶⁸. A sage exultingly addresses Soma 'we have drunk soma, we have become immortal, we have reached Light (Heaven) and we have known the gods; what will an enemy or harmful person do to us who have been mortals so far?'³⁶⁹ The pious dead become united in Heaven with their *Istāpūta* (merit due to sacrifices and charitable acts) and with their fore-fathers and become endowed with a refulgent body (Rg X 148). Those who practise *tapas* or those who perform sacrifices in which the fees run to thousands (of cows) reach Heaven (Rg X, 154, 1-3)³⁷⁰, and Soma, ghee and honey flow for them there. Heaven is said to be the abode of Yama and there resounds the sound of flutes and of songs³⁷¹. The Atharvaveda, being more popular in

365. तद्यथा इ वा अस्मिँल्लोके मनुष्या पशून्हनन्ति यथेभिर्भुजत एवमेवाहुर्मिहोके पशवो मनुष्यान्हनन्त्येवमेभिर्भुजते। कौपी भा XI 3

366. नाकस्य वृष्टे अधि तिष्ठति अतो यः पृणति स ह देवेषु गच्छति। क्र I 125 5, उतो अस्मानमृतत्वे दधातन। क्र V 55. 4, वृष्टिं वा राधो अमृतत्वमीमहे। क्र V 12 2, उज्जा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदा सह ते क्षुर्येण। क्र X. 107 2.

367. यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदाश्च सुदं प्रसुदं आसते। कामस्य यत्राता कामास्तत्र माममृतं कृषीन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्रव। क्र. IX, 113 11

368. अन्यन्नतममाहुपमयज्जानमदेवयुम्। अव स्य सखा दुषुवीत पर्वतं सुभ्याय दस्यु पर्वतं॥ क्र. VIII. 70 11.

369. अपाम सोमममृता अधूमागन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान्। किं सून्मस्मान्कृणवदराति किञ्च धूर्तिरमृत मर्त्यस्य॥ क्र VIII. 48 3.

370. ये युध्यन्ते प्रधनेषु शूरासो ये तदृत्यज । ये वा सहस्रदाक्षिणास्तार्थिदेवाणि गच्छताम्॥ क्र X. 154 3

371. इदं यमस्य सादनं देवमानं यदुच्यते। इयमस्य धम्यते नाळीरय गीर्षिः परिकृत॥ क्र. X. 135. 7,

character, contains much more information about Heaven. In Atharvaveda III. 29.3 it is said that a donor goes to Heaven where a weak man has not to render to the strong any contribution.³⁷² In Atharvaveda IV. 34.2, 5-6 it is stated that in the heavenly world there are beves of women (for the denizens), that there the dwellers get many edible plants and flowers and that there are ponds of ghee, streams of milk and honey, wine flows like water and lotus lakes surround the denizens. In Heaven the meritorious enjoy delight, their bodies being free from disease.³⁷³ Atharvaveda VI. 120.3 and other verses express a yearning to meet one's parents, wife and sons (vide Atharva XII. 3.17).³⁷⁴ The Tai. S. is full of references to Heaven and so no quotation is cited here except one where it is said that he who offers the Adābhya cup in Jyotistoma goes to heaven while still living in this world.³⁷⁵ The Tai. Br. appears to hold that those who offer sacrifices become shining stars in the firmament (I. 5. 2. 5-6).^{375a} The Sat. Br. (XI 1. 8. 6) states 'that sacrificer who offers a sacrifice as this redemption is born in the next world (Heaven) with his body entire'.³⁷⁶ Survival of the soul after death is emphatically asserted in the Tai. Br. III. 10. 11. These passages are enough to establish that the state of the pious after death and of heroes killed in battle was one of happiness in heaven, that there the food and material things (such as honey, ghee) that a person required in this world were also available in greater perfection and abundance. The remark of Macdonell 'Heaven is a glorified world of material joys as pictured by the imagination not of warriors but of priests' (Vedic Mythology p. 168) is not (in view of Rg. X. 154.3) quite accurate or justified. There is nothing to show

372. स नाकमन्यारोहति यत्र ह्युत्की न क्षियते अमलेन वलीयसे ॥ अथर्व III. 29. 3.

373. नैवा शिष्टं प्रदहति जातेवदा स्वर्गे लोके बहु ज्ञेयमेवम् ॥ यत्तद्ददा मनुकुलाः सुप्रोदकाः क्षीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन वृक्षाः । एतास्त्वा धारा उप पशु सर्वा स्वर्गे लोके मधुमत्पिबन्मना । उप त्वा विदन्तु शुक्ररिप्ताः समन्ताः ॥ अथर्व IV. 34.2 and 6

374. यथा सुहार्दः सुकृतो मयन्ति निहाय रोगं तन्मः स्वाया । अश्लोणा अङ्गैरद्भुताः स्वर्गे तत्र परयेन पितरौ च पुत्रात् ॥ अथर्व VI. 120. 3, स्वर्गे लोकमानि नो नयासि सं जायया सह श्वैः स्याम ॥ अथर्व XII. 3. 17.

375. किं तद्यज्ञे यजमानः कुरुते येन जीवन्मुवर्गे लोकमेतीति जीवग्रहो वा एष यद्वाम्योऽनभिपुत्रस्य यद्वाति जीवन्तमेवैवं सुवर्गे लोकं गमयति ॥ तै सं VI. 6. 9. 2.

375a. 'यो वा इह यजते अहं स लोकं नक्षते ... देवग्रहा वै नक्षत्राणि । तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 5-6

376. स ह सर्वतद्वरे यजमानोऽसुप्तिर्लोकं सम्भवति य एवं विद्वान् निष्कृत्या यजते । शतपथ. XI. 1. 8. 6.

that the warriors of Vedic times did not believe what the priests believed. In later times (as in the Bhagavadgītā II 37 'hato vā prāpsyasi svargam' or in the Raghuvamśa VII. 51) warriors killed in battle were supposed to go to heaven and were privileged to have the company of beautiful damsels. Heaven as a place or state of eternal bliss to which the spirits of the religious or meritorious people or warriors go, is an idea common to most ancient peoples and was probably based on the idea that the Earth was flat and the sky was a dome carrying various celestial objects. In the Brhadāranyaka Up (IV 3 33) and Tai Up. (II. 8) it is³⁷⁷ stated that the joys of the world of gods are hundreds of times more delightful than those of the mortal world³⁷⁸. In the Kathopanishad (I 12) it is stated by Yama himself that in Heaven there is no fear and no old age, that the denizen of Heaven is beyond hunger, thirst and sorrow and is in the midst of all delights. The Kausītaki Br Up as quoted by Śaṅkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra I. 1 28 contains the statement that the abode of sinners is below this world or³⁷⁹ the earth. The Chāndogya Up in one place remarks³⁸⁰ 'those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmana or a ksatriya or vaiśya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a cāṇḍāla'.

We have here a complicated blending of two theories. The original theory of early Vedic times was that of Heaven and Hell which is also that of most religions. Later on when the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* came to be universally believed in India the theory of Heaven and Hell came to be modified by holding that the pleasures of heaven and the torments of Hell both came to an end some time or other and the author of sins was born again as an animal or a tree or a human being suffering from diseases and defects.

377 तस्यैवं पृथिवी सर्वा वित्तस्य पूर्णा स्यात् । स एको मातृष आनन्द । ते ये ज्ञात मातृषा आनन्दा स एको मनुष्यगन्धर्वानामानन्द । ..ते ये ज्ञात देवानामानन्दा स एक इन्द्रस्यानन्द । ते उप. II. 8.

378. स्वर्गे लोके न भय किञ्च नास्ति न तत्र त्व न जरया विभेति । उभे तीर्त्वाश्नाया-पिपासे शोकातिगी मोदते स्वर्गलोके ॥ कठोप I. 12

379 एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति त यमेभ्यो लोकैभ्योऽधो निनीयते । कौ. ब्रा. उ III 9.

380 तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीया योनिमापद्येरन्माह्वणयोनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वा । अथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूया योनिमापद्येरन्श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा । छान्दोग्योप V. 10.7.

The fate of the departed soul after the death of the body will be touched upon in the section on Antyesti and Śrāddha, but in connection with the doctrine of Hell it is necessary to say something about Yama. In Rg. X. 58. 1 Yama is called Vaivasvata (son of Vivasvat, the Sun). Yama is at least an Indo-Iranian deity. Yama is eulogised in Rg. X. 14. He is called a king and is credited with the task of gathering together people (X. 14. 1); he is said to have been the first to make a way (to Heaven) which was followed by former ancestors of mankind (X. 14. 2 'Yamo no gatum prathamam viveda. yatra nah pūrve pitarah parayuh'). The soul when departing from this world is told that when he follows the paths of the ancient ancestors he would see the two kings Yama and Varuna. In Rg. X. 14. 13-15 the priests are asked to press Soma for Yama, to offer oblations to him and it is said that *yajña* reaches Yama, Agni being the messenger. In Rg. X. 135. 1 Yama is stated to drink in the company of gods, he is the lord of men. Yama owns two dogs each having four eyes who guard the way, who are the spies of Yama and who move among men and mark their doings. In Rg. X. 97. 16 the sage prays 'May the plants release me from the (effects of the) violation of oaths, from the violation of the ordinances of Varuna, from the fetters which Yama claps on the feet of sinners and from all sins against the gods'.³⁸¹ In Rg. X. 165. 4 Yama is identified with Mrtyu (death) and the owl (an evil omen) or a *kapota* is said to be the *dūta* (harbinger) of Yama. Rg. I. 38. 5 (addressed to the Maruts) appears to crave for something which is opposed to what other references to Yama state 'May not the singer of your praises go by the path of Yama'.³⁸² Thus, though in the Rgveda, Yama is a god and mostly a beneficent ruler of men, there is an element of fear associated with him as the two prying dogs that guard the way to heaven and his being called Mrtyu would suggest. The Atharvaveda refers to Yama in several places in the same strain as in the Rg. In A. V. 18. 3. 13 it is said³⁸³ 'serve the king Yama with offering, who was the first to die among men, who was the first to depart from this world and who, the son of Vivasvat, is the gatherer of men'. In Tai. S. V. I. 82 and V. 2. 3. 1 it is stated that Yama is the lord of all mortals and of

381. सुञ्जन्तु मा शपथ्यादथो वदय्याहुत। अथो यमस्य पङ्कजीशात् सर्वस्मादेवकिल्बिषात्॥ ऋ X 97.16.

382. मा वो ह्यगो न यक्से जतिता भूदलोभ्यः। पथा यमस्य गाहुष॥ ऋ I 38.5.

383. यो ममार प्रथमो मर्त्याना यः प्रेयाय प्रथमो लोकेमेतम्। वैवस्वतं सङ्गमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा सपर्यत॥ अथर्व 18.3.13.

the whole extent of the earth. In Tai S III. 3 8 3-4 it is declared ³⁸⁴ 'Yama is indeed Agni and this (earth and altar) is Yami. When a sacrificer strews *Oṣadhi*s on the Veda it is indeed tantamount to taking up a debt from Yama. If he (the sacrificer) were to go from this world without burning them they (Yama's men) might take him to the next world with fetters round his neck' In Rg X. 14. 10³⁸⁵ the *pitṛs* are said to enjoy delights in the company of Yama. In the Ait Br ^{385a} (XII 3) Mṛtyu is credited with having fetters (*pūṣas*) and wooden maces (*sthānu*) for catching erring men. It has already been seen how Yama is said to have within his powers again and again foolish men who believe in the existence of this world alone and deny the existence of the next. Thus, from being a beneficent ruler of the departed souls in the very early Vedic times, Yama came gradually to be looked upon as a dreadful punisher of men.³⁸⁶ The Purāṇas contain graphic descriptions of Yama's abode and of his assistants, chief among whom is Citragupta. For example, the Varāhapurāṇa ^{386a} chap 205 contains a dialogue between Yama and Citragupta, in which the latter recommends the fate that a dead person deserves for his actions. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 371. 12 states that a sinner falls into horrible hells that are declared by Citragupta at the order of Yama.

384. अग्निर्वा यम इयं यमी कुसीरं वा एतयमस्य यजमान आदत्ते यदोषधीभिर्वेदै स्तृणाति यद्वह्मपौष्य प्रपापाद् वीरयद्धनेनमहर्निहोक्ति नेनीयेरत् । तै तं. III 3 8 3-4.

385. अधा पितृन्नुषिदत्रो उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं नवन्ति । ऋ X 14 10

385a स सर्वान्पाशान्स्तरात्रि स्थाण्डिलं सुत्योरविमुच्य स्वस्त्येषोद्वह्यत । ऐ वा XII 3

386. Vide an article in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. IV pp 19-46 on 'Yama and the Pitṛs' (where Vedic, Avestic and Norse evidence is led and a naturalistic explanation is given such as Yama being the light of dawns, pitṛs as 'rays of light' and *saramā* 'light of twilight') Vide Dr R. N. Dandekar in B C Law Presentation vol I pp 194-209, where most of the theories of Western scholars about Yama are presented and examined. The naturalistic explanations have been in vogue from very ancient times, as the Kāṭhaka Samhitā VII 10 implies 'अहर्वासासीक रात्री सा यमी भ्रातरं नृत पादृच्यत तां पदृच्छन् यमि कर्हि ते भ्रातादृतेत्येत्येवावबोत्'.

386 a. अयं वृक्षस्त्वयं तिर्यग्यं मोक्षं ब्रजेक्षर ॥ 2 अपमानोघने झवुं हत्वा ह्य निधन गतः । आह्मणार्थं यवार्थं वा राह्मार्थं निधनं गत । शक्रस्य ह्यमरावत्पां निवेदयत ना बिरत् । verses 9-10 of chap 205 of वराहपुराण; अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते पातनीय स्वकर्मणि । हुंकेय पापकृदुःखं सुखं धनार्थं सङ्गत् ॥ यमाज्ञति किङ्करीस्तु पात्यते नरकेषु च । अग्निः. 203 4-5; दृष्ट्वाति नत्स्याद्योगे जरीरं चातिबाहिकम् । आकाशपादुवेजोति विग्रहादूर्ध्वगतानि । . यम इह्वा यमोकेन चित्रयुगेन चेरितात् । भगोति नरकान्प्रोदान् पर्मा शुभपर्यादिवम् । अग्निः 371. 9 and 12.

We must now turn to the ideas of Heaven and Hell contained in the post-Vedic Literature, sūtras, smritis, purāṇas and digests. The Nir. (I 11) quotes³⁸⁷ a quarter of a Vedic verse which means 'for fear that if we (women) acted crookedly (towards our husbands) we might fall into Hell'. The word Naraka is derived by it in two ways (*na + aka*), viz. as meaning 'going below' (the earth) or (*na + ka*) 'where there is not the slightest place for joy'. In another place, while deriving the word 'putra' (son) the Nir. (II 11) declares that the son is called *putra* because he saves (the father) from the hell called *put*. The same derivation of the word *putra* is offered by Manu IX 138 (= Ādiparva 229.14 = Viṣṇudharmasūtra 15.44). Gautama (13.7) promises³⁸⁸ heaven to the witnesses in a cause if they speak the truth, but Hell (*naraka*) if they tell the opposite (of truth). After defining *patana* as loss of the capacity to perform the privileged acts of twice-born classes (such as Veda study &c) and stating that by being guilty of *śūla* a man does not in the next world reap the fruits of his good actions, Gautama states the striking view of other sages that *naraka* is nothing more than this loss of capacity and of the fruits of good acts, his own view however being that *naraka* is a particular place where a man has to dwell solely in distress and sorrow. It was the emphatic view of Gautama that men of the several *varṇas* and *āśramas* that are devoted to the actions prescribed as peculiar to each, enjoy after departing from this body, the fruits of their actions and then owing to some remainder of their total actions are born in bodies in appropriate circumstances as to the country, caste, family, appearance, length of life, learning, conduct, wealth, happiness and intelligence, while those who act contrariwise

387. अथापि न हृत्पदं हृत् हृत्पदेन ह्ययुज्यते परिमये नेज्जिह्वायन्त्यो नरकं पतन् इति। नरकं स्वरक नीचैर्मनसं नास्तिन्मरणं स्थानमल्पमप्यस्तीति वा। निरुक्त I. 11. Some editions give the whole verse हृत्पिभिरके स्वरितः सचन्ते सुवन्त एके सवनेषु सोमम्। शचीर्मेदन्त उत दुःखिणामिने। This is a śloka verse after Rg X. 106.1. विश्वरूप on p. III 217 quotes नेज्जि and explains 'जिह्वायन्त्यः कौटिल्येन यदुक्ता कामकारमृत्ता इति यावत्। अतश्चकामकृते नैव नरकप्राप्तिः'; पुनः पुनः प्रापते निपरणाद्या शुव नरकं ततश्चापत इति वा। निरुक्त II. 11.

388. स्वर्गः सत्यवचने विपर्यये नरकः। शौ 13.7. द्विजातिकर्मभ्यो हानिः पतनम् तथा परत्र चासिद्धिः। तमेकं नरकम्। शौ. 21. 4-6, on the last of which हरदत्त remarks 'स्वमतं तु विशिष्टे देशे दुःखकालानस्य वासो नरक इति'; vide also अपराकं p. 1045 for the view of Gautama.

pass into all sorts of births and are ruined³⁸⁹. Āp. Dh. S. holds that a man becomes fit for Naraka if he follows activities solely dictated by sensual pleasures.³⁹⁰ In another place Āp. Dh. S. affirms that *Naraka* is indeed one's lot when one transgresses one's *dharma*. It also states that rewards without end are denominated *svargya*. The Vedāntasūtra III 1.13 makes it³⁹¹ clear that after enjoying the fruits of one's actions in the abode of Yama (*Samyamana*) evil-doers ascend to this mortal world. In Vedāntasūtra III 1.15 the *narakas*³⁹² are said to be seven. Pāṇini VI 2 38 teaches the accent of *mahāraurava*. In the *Kāśikā* com on Pāṇini III 2.88 a vedic verse is cited according to which one who kills his mother enters the 7th *naraka*. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* I. 6.41 names seven hells, *Tāmisra*, *Andhatāmisra*, *Mahāraurava*, *Raurava*, *Asipatravana*, *Kālasūtra* and *Avīci* and (in II. 6 2-5) names 26 *narakas*. Śāṅkha-Likhita as quoted by the *Madanapārijāta* pp 694-695 mentions in detail the torments that evil-doers undergo in the hells called *Kumbhipāka*, *Raurava*, *Mahāraurava* &c. *Manu* IV. 88-90, *Yaj.* III. 222-224, *Viṣṇu* Dh. S. 43. 2-22, *Agnipurāṇa* 371. 20-22, *Nārada* (*prākīrṇaka* 44) enumerate 21 *narakas*. The names are almost the same in all these works, the variations being due mostly to the scribes having read certain letters differently. The 21 names are generally significant and may be set out from *Manu* as follows: *Tāmisra* (darkness), *Andhatāmisra* (blinding darkness), *Mahāraurava*, *Raurava* (abounding in paths with heated surfaces, according to Pr. V. p. 15), *Kālasūtra* (like the thread on the wheel with which the potter cuts off a raw earthen pot in two), *Mahānaraka*, *Sañjivana* (where one is made to revive and is again killed), *Mahāvīci* (where one is submerged in surging waves), *Tapana* (as burning hot as fire), *Sampratāpana* (same as *Kumbhipāka*, according to Pr. V. p. 15), *Saṅghāta* (making many stay in a small place like the legendary Black-

389. वर्णाश्रिता स्वस्वधर्मनिष्ठा मेव कर्मफलमनुभूय तत क्षेपेण विजिह्वदेशजाति-
कुलरूपाश्च श्रुतवृत्तवित्तसुखमेधसो जन्म प्रतिपद्यन्ते। विष्वक्त्रो विपरीता नश्यन्ति।
गी XI. 29-30, q by शाङ्कर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1 8

390. तदनुवर्तमानो नरकाय राध्यति। आप. ध. सू. I 4 12 12, हृद्यो वर्पति ह्यो
धर्ममतिक्रामति धर्मातिक्रमे खलु पुनर्नरकः। आप. ध. सू. I 4 13 4, तत. परमनन्त्य फल
स्वर्ग्यशब्दं श्रूयते। आप. ध. सू. II 9.23.12.

391. संयमने त्वदुभयेतरेषामारोहावरोहौ तद्गतिदृशनात्। वेदान्तसूत्र III 1 13 शाङ्कर
in his भाष्य relies on Kathopaniṣad II. 6 and Rg. X.14.1 (both quoted above)
in support

392. अपि च सप्त। वेदान्तसूत्र III.1.15; अपि च सप्त नरका रौरवमुखता दुष्कृतफलो
पमोगभूमित्वेन स्मर्यन्ते पौराणिके.। शाङ्करभाष्य.

hole of Calcutta), Kākola (where one is preyed on by crows), Kṛdmala (where one is bound with ropes into a bundle, which looks like a closed bud), Pūtimṛtika (where the clay has a putrid smell), Lohaśaṅku (piercing one with iron nails), Rjisa (where boiled flour is thrown about), Panthāḥ (where one is made to walk constantly to and fro), Śālmali (where one is struck with thorns like those of the silk-cotton tree), Nadi (i. e. where one is carried away by a river such as the Vaitaraṇī), Asipatravana (where one is cut up by a forest of sword blades), Lohadāraka (which cuts up limbs with iron). Manu (XII 75-76) again mentions the Tāmisa, Asipatravana and Kumbhipāka narakas and Manu III 249 Kālasūtra. Kullūka (on Manu, IV. 88-90). Pr. V. (p. 16), the Dipakalika (on Yāj. III. 222-224) and other commentaries say that the conditions in the hells may be read in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and other works. Vide Agnipurāṇa 303 and 371 (where Hells are said to be 144), Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 22 (which names 25 narakas and states what sinners fall into which of them), chap. 214 (verses 14-17 of which speak of 22 narakas and verses 51-103 contain harrowing descriptions of the horrible torments of hell), chap. 215. 83. ff. (for names and descriptions of several narakas).³⁹³

Brahma-vaivarta (praktikhaṇḍa chap. 29 which names 86 *narakakūṇḍas*³⁹⁴ and chap. 33), Nārada-purāṇa, pūrvārḍha 15.1-20 (for narakas and torments), Padmapurāṇa (Uttara, chap. 227 for 140 narakas and Pāṭalakhṇḍa chap. 48 for several narakas), Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (Brahmaparva, chap. 192.11-27 for torments of Hell and Uttaraparva Chap. 5-6 for sins and narakas). The Bhāgavata-purāṇa V 28.6 states that there are 28 narakas, though according to some there are 21. Vide also Viṣṇu-purāṇa

393. Yāj and Viṣṇu read 'avīci' 'for mahāvīci. Yāj. reads Sampratāpa (throwing down in a pit) for Sampratāpaṇa and adds Kumbhipāka separately, which latter means 'heating after placing inside a jar'. The printed Manusmṛti reads 'Pratimūrtikam', which is a misreading of some mss. Some Mss read 'Lohacāraka' which may mean 'being made to walk over red hot iron' or 'being fettered with irons' (Pr. V. p. 16) All the names are explained by Pr. V. (pp. 15-16) and by some of the commentators of Manu. According to Jamadagni quoted in Pr. V p. 16 Vaitaraṇī is a river in the nether regions which is full of foul smell and blood, which has hot water, is very rapid and has on the crest of its waves bones and hair. Śaṅkha-Likhita (q. by Madanapārijāta p. 695) describes Vaitaraṇī as 'taptadaktā' (having hot water).

394. नरकानां च कुण्डानि सन्ति नानाविधानि च। नानापुराणभेदेन नामभेदानि तानि च।...पञ्चविंश कुण्डानि सौमनस्यो वसन्ति च। अङ्गवैत, अद्वैतसूत्र 29. 4-6,

V. 6.2-5, Skandapurāṇa I, chap. 39 and VI 226-227. In the Markandeyapurāṇa (chap 12) we have a description of several narakas like the Raurava, Mahāraurava, Asipatravana &c and chap 14 (verses 39-94) mentions the punishments meted out to perpetrators of various sins. In the Mahābhārata also narakas and the torments thereof are frequently referred to. For example, Śāntiparva 321-32 speaks of Vaitarani and Asipatravana, Anuśāsana (23 60-82) speaks of the actions that lead to hell* (each verse having the refrain *te vai nraya-gāminah*). Anuśāsana 145.10-13, Svargārohanika-parva (2 16-26) describes the several horrible sights and torments of such hells as 'Asipatravana' (named in verse 23) and Kūṭasālmali (named in Svargārohanika 34). The Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti (IX, 167-171) mentions almost the same 21 narakas as the Manusmṛti does. The craze for multiplying narakas went so far that the Brahmapurāṇa, the Visnudharmottara³⁹⁵, the Garuda-purāṇa and others declared that there were thousands, lakhs and crores of narakas.

The Visnu Dh. S. (46. 23-29) provides that those guilty of atipātakas, anupātakas, sankarīkarana, who have not undergone prāyaścittas suffer respectively for one Kalpa,^{395a} for one Manvantara, for four Yugas, for a thousand years in the 21 narakas in rotation and the other sinners for many years. Yama quoted by the Madanapārijāta p. 696 says that those guilty of Mahāpātakas stay in Hell with face downwards for a yuga and Yama has numerous other verses stating what sinners undergo which horrors of Hell.

Buddhists appear to have borrowed the doctrine about hells from Brahmanical writers. Vide Dr B. O. Law's monograph on 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist perspective' (1925), pages 111-113, which refer to eight Mahānirayas and there are other lesser Hells. The eight Mahānirayas are Sañjīva, Kālasutta, Sanghāta, Roruva, Mahāroruva, Tapa, Mahātapa and Avīci. It will be noticed how those names agree closely with Manu's list

395. ब्रह्मसूत्रनिपातैश्च भिद्यन्ते पापकारिणः । नरकाणां सहस्रेषु लक्षकोटिभिरपि स्वकर्मोपाजितैर्दोषैः पीडयन्ते यमाकिङ्करैः । ब्रह्मपुराण 215 82-83. अष्टाविंशतिकोऽप्यस्युर्ध्वोराणि नरकाणि वै । महापातकिनश्चात्र सर्वे स्थिरनरकाधिपु ॥ आचन्द्रतारकं यावत्पीडयन्ते विविधैर्वेधैः । अतिपातकिनश्चान्ये निरयार्णवकोटिषु । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर ५. 10 स्मृतिषु (भा) p 859, गरुडपुराण (प्रितखण्ड) chap 3 3 नरकाणां सहस्राणि वर्तन्ते ह्यरुणाहज ।

395a For Kalpa, Manvantara and Yuga, vide H of Dh vol. III pp. 690-691.

of hells. For the gruesome details of Hell and torments therein in ancient Jain works, vide *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (S.B.E. vol. 45 pp 93-97) and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* I 5 (S.B.E. vol. 45 pp. 279-286). Similarly, for the ideas of Heaven and Hell in Zoroastrianism, vide Mr. S. N. Kanga's 'Heaven and Hell and their location in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas' (1933).

The Buddhists held their penitential meetings (*Pātimokkha*), for which see S. B. E. vol. XIII pp 1-69 and for the 92 *pācittiya* (*Prāyaścittiya*) rules, vide pp. 32-55 of the same volume.

There are very glowing descriptions of Heaven (*svarga*) in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and other works. We have already seen how Heaven was supposed to be a place of delights in the *Rgveda* and even in the *Upanisads* like *Katha* (I 12-13 and 18 'śotatigo modate svargaloke'). *Rg. X. 107.2* affirms that those who give (large) *dakṣiṇā* stand high in the Heavens (as stars), those that donate horses go in the company of the Sun and those that donate gold become immortal. An³⁹⁶ echo of this is found in *Vanaparva* 186.9. The *Kaus Up* 1.3 speaks of several worlds (*lokas*) of the gods such as those of *Agni*, *Vāyu*, *Varuṇa*, *Āditya*, *Indra*, *Prajāpati*, *Brahmā* and a similar gradation of higher worlds is described in *Br. Up. III.6* (such as *Devaloka*, *Indraloka*, *Prajāpatiloka*, *Brahmaloka*). The *Br. Up. I.5. 16* speaks of *manuṣyaloka*, *pitṛloka* and *devaloka* and holds that *devaloka* is the best of all worlds³⁹⁷. *Kaus. Up. 1.4* implies that in the heavenly world divine nymphs, garlands, collyrium, fragrant powder, garments wait upon the fortunate denizens. Śāṅkara on *Vedānta-sūtra* (IV. 3.4) says that the word 'loka' means 'a place for enjoying the fruits of one's actions' (*bhogaṃyātana*) and that *Hiranyagarbha* is the *adhyakṣa* of *Brahmaloka* (on *Vedānta-sūtra* IV. 3.10). In the *Vanaparva* (54. 17-19) it is stated that *svarga* is the place for those who die in battle. How *svarga* is like and what the pleasures of heaven are is described in *Vanaparva*, chap. 186.6-7, viz. that there are extensive lakes full of golden lotus flowers and fish and devoid of mud, that on the banks of those lakes dwell the meritorious honoured by *Apsarasas* who apply fragrant cosmetics to their

396 परं लोकं गोमदास्त्वान्नुवन्ति दत्त्वानहुर्हं स्वर्गलोकं व्रजन्ति । वासो दत्त्वा चाङ्ग-
मसं तु लोकं दत्त्वा हिरण्यममरत्वमेति । वनपर्व 186.9.

397 अथो वाव लोका मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रैर्गैव
अथो नान्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यथ देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठः । बृह. उप.
1.5.16.

bodies, wear ornaments and have brilliant golden complexions. Similar pleasures enjoyed in the Nandana park are promised in Brahmapurāṇa, 225. 5-6. Vanaparva (chap. 261 verses 28-29) says that there is one great draw-back in going to heaven, viz. that there one simply enjoys the rewards of one's good actions, no new merit is accumulated there, one simply subsists on the accumulated principal or store of merit and that when that store is exhausted one has to fall down, the only good point about this being that one is born a man and that too in such a way that he enjoys³⁹⁸ happiness. Anuśāsana (23. 84-102) sets out numerous actions whereby a man attains heaven (each verse having the refrain '*te narāḥ svarga-gāminah*') Similarly, in Brahmapurāṇa 224. 9-14, 18-25 and 30-37 we have the same refrain. Vide also Anuśāsana chapters 144 (verses 5-15, 19-26, 31-39) and 145 Śānti (99. 4-5) states that svarga is full of those fallen in battle, there are Gandharva damsels there for the brave (and there is hell for the coward) and that svarga yields all desires that one may entertain. The Śāntiparva (192. 8 and 21) states that svarga was in the North, that (Śānti 191 13, 193 27) there was neither hunger nor thirst nor weariness nor old age nor sin (in Heaven), that good men (Śānti 271. 24) are seen as stars (or become stars). In the Matsyapurāṇa (276 17) it is³⁹⁹ stated that he who performs Brahmāṇḍa-dāna (one of the 16 mahādānas) reaches the world of Viṣṇu and delights in the company of Apsarases. The Brahmapurāṇa (225. 6-7) assures us that a generous donor goes to heaven where he enjoys the best pleasures in the company of Apsarases and in the heavenly garden called Nandana and when he falls down from heaven he is born as a mortal in a rich and noble family. Vide also Garuḍapurāṇa II. 3.86-89. It is not necessary to multiply passages. There are two matters to be noted in connection with Heaven and its pleasures. One is the calculating or bargaining spirit which the smṛtis and purāṇas display viz. make this or that gift and then there is so much delight to be enjoyed in heaven, a sort of profit and loss account; and the second is that the highest

398. कृतस्य कर्मणस्तत्र भुज्यते यत्फलं दिशि। न ज्ञान्यत् कियते कर्म मूलच्छेदेन भुज्यते ॥ सोऽत्र दोषो नम मत्तस्तरयान्ते पतने च यत्। सुखव्याप्तमनस्कां पतनं यच्च सुहृत् ॥ अयं लक्ष्म्यो युग। श्रेष्ठः च्युतानां स्वर्गतो ह्यने। शुभाशुश्रूषयोगेन मनुष्ये रूपजायते। तत्रापि स महाभागः सुखभागमिजायते। वनपर्व 261 28-29 and 33.

399 इत्थं च एतदखिलं पुरुषोऽत्र कुर्याद् ब्रह्माण्डदानमधिगम्य महाहिमान् । निर्धूलकल्मषविशुद्धतत्त्वसुरोरोरानन्दकृत्यदुष्येति सहाप्सरोभि ॥ मत्स्यसु 276.17 q. by अपरार्क p 323.

pleasures of Heaven have a time limit, i. e. they are to come to an end one day and the meritorious have to be born again in mortal bodies. The doctrine was gradually evolved that there is no final release from the cycle of births and deaths by the performance of meritorious deeds alone

It is not necessary to set out at length the gruesome torments of Hell described in great detail in several *smṛtis* and *purāṇas*. By way of a sample, the following description taken from a *Dharmaśāstra* work (viz. *Visnu Dh.* S. 43.32-45) will be quite enough. "Sinners guilty of having committed (one or more of the nine kinds of) sins have to endure terrible sufferings when they have left this life and reached the path of Yama. Being dragged hither and thither by the fierce servants of Yama they are led (to hell) by them with frightening gestures. (In Hell) they are devoured by dogs, jackals, crows, herons, cranes and other birds eating raw flesh, by snakes and scorpions that have fire in their mouths (i. e. that emit stinging poison). They are scorched by fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws and oppressed by thirst. They are afflicted with hunger and by terrible hordes of tigers and they faint away at every step on account of the stinking smell of pus and blood. Desiring to secure the food and drink of others they are beaten by the servants (of Yama) whose faces are similar to those of such horrible animals as crows, herons and cranes. In some places they are boiled in oil, in others they are pounded with pestles or ground down in iron or stone vessels. In some places they (have to) eat what is vomitted or pus or blood or excrements, and hideous meat smelling like pus. In one place they have to stay in terrible darkness, and are devoured by horrible worms having flames in their mouths. In some places they are overwhelmed by cold or have to pass through the midst of unclean things and in other places the departed devour each other, thus becoming most horrible. In some places they are beaten on account of their former deeds and are suspended in other places (from trees &c.) or are struck with heaps of arrows or are cut into pieces. In other places they have to tread upon thorns and they are encircled by the hoods of serpents, they are tormented with machines and are dragged by their knees. Their backs, heads and necks are fractured, they become terrible (to look at), their throats being reduced to the size fit for a cave shelter and they become unable to bear torments. Sinners are being tormented in this way and having suffered intense

pain undergo various further sufferings in their passage through animal bodies (in which they are thereafter born) ”

That *naraka* is a place below the earth is frequently stated in the Purāṇas. For example, in the Garuda and Brahmāṇḍa purāṇas all Hells such as Raurava are stated to be situated below the earth. Vide Visṇupurāṇa II. 6. 1 also. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa states that Hells are below the earth and above water to the south of the three worlds and hang without support, in which dwell the troupes of pitrs called *Agnisvāta* and others.⁴⁰⁰ The Agnipurāṇa (371 13-14) avers that the 28 groups of *narakas* are below the earth and even below the 7th *Pātāla*.

We come across Vedic passages such as these ‘This sacrificer who is possessed of the utensils of *yajña* directly reaches Heaven’ (Śat. Br. XII 5 2 8)⁴⁰¹, ‘one who desires Heaven should offer the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice’, ‘one desirous of attaining heaven should perform the Jyotistoma sacrifice’. What is meant by *svarga* or *naraka* has given rise to hot discussions from very ancient times. The popular view as reflected even in the Vedas, the smṛtis and purāṇas was that *svarga* was a place above the earth and *naraka* was a place of actual torments below the earth. Even ancient astronomical works located *svarga* thousands of *yojanas* above the earth. Parāśara,⁴⁰² an astronomer and a predecessor of Varāha-mihira quoted by Utpala on Br. Saṁ I. 11, stated ‘Bhū (the earth) is 67080 crores of *yojanas* and it is the expanse of the earth; beyond it there is impenetrable darkness, in the midst of which there is the golden

400 दूमेरधस्ताते सर्वे रौरवाद्याः मकीर्तिता । गरुड (मित्रबन्ध) 3. 55, ब्रह्माण्ड, उप-संहारपाद chap 2 52, ततश्च नरकाश्च विमं ह्युयोऽथ सलिलरूपं च । पापिनी येषु पाप्यन्ते तान् शृणुष्व महासुने ॥ ब्रह्मसूत्राय 22 6. 1. राजीवाश्च । नरका नाम भगवन् किं देशविशेषा अथवा बहिर्बिलोक्या आहोस्विदन्तराल इति । नारिकेलश्च । अन्तराल एव विजगत्पञ्च दिशि दक्षिणस्यामधस्ताच्छूमेरुपरिष्ठाच्च जलाद्यस्यामग्निष्वात्तादपि पितृगणाः निवसन्ति । भागवत पुराण V 26 3-4

401 Vide H. of Dh. Vol II p 985 note of 2233 for enumeration of the ten *yajñayudhas* from Tai. S. I. 6. 8 2-3 and Śat. Br. I. 1. 1. 22

स एष यज्ञायुधी यजनानोऽञ्जसा स्वर्गं लोकं याति । शतपथब्रा. XII 5 2 8 quoted by शबर on जै. I. 1. 5 in the पूर्वपक्ष; ‘दर्शपूर्णमास्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत’ q. by शबर on जै. II. 1. 1.

402 सप्तषट्सिद्धसाध्यज्ञीतियोजनकोट्यो भूयःपृथिवीमण्डलं परस्मादगम्यं तम । तन्मध्ये हिरण्ययो मेरुश्चतुरङ्गीतियोजनसहस्रोच्छिन्नो पादशः चाधस्तात् । त्रिषण्विस्तारपातो यं स्वर्गमाचक्षते तन्मध्येनार्कचन्द्रौ ज्योतिश्चक्रं च पर्येति । पराहार q. by उत्पल on बृ. सं. I. 11.

mountain Meru, 84000 *yojanas* high and sixteen below and brice as much in length and width, which is called svarga. But it would be far from the truth to say that all eminent writers were agreed on the actual existence of svarga and naraka as *places*. It has already been shown how several centuries before Christ Gautama refers to the view of some predecessors of his that naraka is *not a place*, but simply means the loss of the capacity to perform the peculiar actions of one's *guna*. There were others who argued in the same strain. Śabara (on Jai IV. 3. 27-28) quotes a Vedic passage where the view of the sage appears to be that sacrifices yield the reward promised by *śruti* in the next life and where Kumārila ⁴⁰³ in his brief comment propounds the view that the injunctive passage (*vidu*) of the Veda only promises a reward but does not state that it follows immediately in this life, that svarga which means unsurpassed joy, can happen only in another life. On Jaimini VI. 1. 1. Śabara first puts forward the *prima facie* view that *svarga* ⁴⁰⁴ imports in popular language such things (*dravya*) as fine silken clothes, sandalwood paste, young damsels only 16 years old and that the word *svarga* is also popularly applied to a particular *place* where there is neither heat nor cold, neither hunger nor thirst, neither distress nor fatigue and where only those that have done meritorious deeds can reach and not others. Śabara refutes this view and holds that the primary meaning of the word *svarga* is joy ⁴⁰⁵ or delight and not a thing (*dravya*) which brings joy.

There is a well-known and oft quoted verse which defines *svarga* as follows: ⁴⁰⁶ that happiness which is not mixed up with

403. फलं भवतीत्येतावति विधिः शब्दोऽस्ति । न त्वनन्तरत्वे । तस्मादनिवयः । स्वर्गस्तु जन्मान्तर एव । स हि निरतिशया मीतिः कर्माहुरस्या चेति न शक्येह जन्मन्यहमवितुम् । यमो-
रिर्महोके क्षणेक्षणे सुखदुःखे अहमवन्ति । ... देहान्तरं तु निरतिशयमीत्यहमवनामान्यथा-
पक्षेण कल्पयते । तन्नामृतस्य न भवतीत्यतो जन्मान्तरे स्वर्गः । हुपुटीका on जै IV. 3. 27-28.

404. सर्वेषामेव शब्दानामर्थज्ञाने लौकिके प्रयोगोऽनुपायः । तस्मिंश्च लौकिके प्रयोगे
द्रव्यवचनः स्वर्गशब्दो लक्ष्यते । कौशेयानि सूत्राणि वासति स्वर्गः, चन्दनानि स्वर्गः, ब्रह्मचर्याः
स्वर्गः इति । यद्यत् मीतिमद् द्रव्यं तत्तत्स्वर्गशब्देनोच्यते । ... ननु स्वर्गशब्दो लोके प्रसिद्धो
विशिष्टे देशे यस्मिन्निष्पन्नं न शीतं न शुद्धं न तृष्णा वारतिर्न ग्लानिः सुखकृत एव प्रेत्य तत्र
गच्छन्ति नान्ये । शबर on जै VI. 1. 1.

405. तत एतत्तावद्वर्णयन्ति । मीतिः स्वर्ग इति । कुतः । एवमुक्तं भवता मीतिविशिष्टे द्रव्ये
स्वर्गशब्दो वर्तते इति । यद्येवं पूर्वं तर्हि मीतो वर्तितुमर्हति । तां हि स न व्यभिचरति । व्यभिचरति
शुनर्द्रव्यम् । शबर on जै VI. 1. 2. On जै VI. 1. 1 the हुपुटीका remarks 'एकस्य (सिद्धान्त-
वादिन) मीतिः स्वर्गशब्दवाच्या, अपरस्य (पूर्वपक्षवादिन) मीतिमद्द्रव्यम् । विशिष्टो देशो उभ-
योरप्यवाच्यः । किं कारणं, तस्याप्यत्यक्षत्वेन व्यवहारभावः । तेन व्यवहारभावात्स्वयंभावात् ।',

406. यच्च दुःखेन सम्मिश्रं न च अस्मन्मन्तरम् । अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत्सुखं
स्व.पक्षायदम्॥

pain, which is not immediately afterwards overwhelmed (by pain) and which is present whenever desired, is denoted by the word *svah* (or *svarga*). The Prakaraṇa-pañcika of Śālika-nātha,⁴⁰⁶ one of the early works of the Prabhākara Mīmāṃsā school, affirms that in such sentences as 'one desirous of heaven should perform the Jyotistoma' the rite is simply commended by Vedic passages, which are no more than *arthavādas*, as a means of securing long-enduring happiness which is free from the taint of all kinds of sorrow and which is present at the mere desire of the enjoyer. The Śāntiparva expressly states 'The wise do not regard the other world as directly seen by anyone; one has to entertain faith (in the existence of the other world) because otherwise one may run counter to the Vedas.'⁴⁰⁷ The Brāhmapurāṇa and the Viṣṇupurāṇa speak in the same strain as Śābara that *svarga* is what causes happiness to the mind, that *naraka* is the opposite of it and that meritorious deeds and wicked deeds are designated as *svarga* and *naraka* respectively and that *svarga* and *naraka* are really states of the mind characterised by happiness and pain respectively.⁴⁰⁸

One need not wonder at the crude ideas of *naraka* and *svarga* entertained by most ancient Indian writers and works. The same ideas were prevalent among peoples of all religions all the world over. For example, The Egyptians whose dynastic history covers a period of about 5000 years had very remarkable beliefs about Heaven and Hell which were illustrated with pictorial representations copiously (as no other nation had ever done), although the oldest Books of the Dead are without illustrations of any sort (vide E. A. W. Budge's 'Egyptian Heaven and Hell', 1905 p. XI and 2). Sheol was the name the Hebrews gave to the gloomy abode of the dead in the lowest parts of the earth and it was a land of darkness, which was appointed as the house for all living (Job 10. 21-22 and 30, 23). The Greek Hades closely resembles the Hebrew Sheol in its chief characteristics. In the New Testament also Hell is a land of everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels and it is a place where the wicked go into everlasting torment

406 a योतिद्योमेन स्वर्गकानो यजेतेत्येवमादिसामान्यां सकलदुःखसम्भवरहिताभिलाषोपनीतदीर्घतरसुखसाधनत्वैतार्थवादैः स्तुयमानं कर्म दृश्यते । प्रकरणपञ्चिका (p 102).

407. न हृदयपूर्वं प्रत्यक्ष परलोकं विदुर्बुधा । आगमास्त्वनतिक्रम्य अद्भुतस्य बुधसूत्रता ॥ शान्ति 28 42.

408. मनःश्रुतिकरं स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्ययः । नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पापदुष्पे द्विजोत्तमा ॥ ब्रह्मसू. 22.44, विष्णुसू. II.6.46. मनसः परिणामोऽयं सुखदुःखादिलक्षणः । ब्रह्मसू. 22 47,

and punishment, while the righteous attain life eternal (Matthew 25. 41 and 46, Luke 16.23). The words of the New Testament are plain enough that Heaven was supposed to be a place above the earth and the clouds and that Hell was a place below the earth full of darkness and torments. Vide Luke 23. 43, Ephesians I 3 and 20, II. Cor. 12. 4, Rev. 2. 7; and Luke 12.5 and 16.23; II. Peter 2.4 and Rev. 6 8, 20. 13-14. Bloomfield in his 'Religion of the Veda' p. 257 remarks 'In later Hindu times Hell is filled out with the usual gruesome stage-setting in the style of Dante's Inferno or the wall painting in the *campo santo* at Pisa'. Even men of genius like Shakespeare and most Christian theologians⁴⁰⁹ down even to modern times believed in a literal interpretation of passages from the Bible which speak of Heaven and Hell as places. It is only recently that many Christians have begun to hold that the language of the Bible about Heaven and Hell is purely symbolical in character⁴¹⁰.

409. Vide William James in 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 264, where he says that the fear of the old-fashioned Hell fire was employed by Christianity to extract from it fruits for repentance and conversion value and Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of Immortality' pp. 15-19. Vide for the Quranic ideas of Hell, SBE. vol IX p. 317 'Hell is a reward for the outrageous to tarry therein for ages. They shall not taste therein cool nor drink but only boiling water and pus'. Vide also SBE. vol. VI p 247 (Hell contains seven divisions), vol. VI p. 165 (for the misbeliever is the torment of hell fire), vol. XIV p. 317 and p. 340 (for boiling water, pus and fire). In the Quran Heaven was supposed to consist of seven divisions viz Garden of Eternity, Abode of peace, Abode of rest, Garden of Eden, Garden of Resort, Garden of pleasure, the Garden of the most High, the Garden of Paradise.

410. The Report on the 'Doctrine of the Church of England' published in 1938 by a Commission consisting of some of the highest dignitaries of the English Church makes interesting reading, though to a non-christian the language appears rather full of circumlocution and far from clear and definite. On p. 206 the Report states "The drama of the Last Things as set forth in the medieval 'Doom' pictures rests on a tradition which makes use of a more or less literal conception of heaven and hell as specific 'places', of which a picture was formed by drawing upon traditional material, more especially the imagery of the Book of Revelation, which is itself largely drawn from Jewish and other pre-christian sources... ..A quasi-literal interpretation of the imagery has in fact generally prevailed among Christians and has been wide-spread even in educated circles almost down to the present day.' On p. 219 the above Report remarks "As the essence of Hell is exclusion from the fellowship of God, so the essence of Heaven is that fellowship. It is not a selfish happiness offered in reward for

(Continued on the next page)

The Smṛtis had evolved the doctrine, as stated above, that if a sinner did not undergo *prāyaścitta*, he had to suffer torments in hell, thereafter he became born as some insect or lower animal or a tree on account of some remnants of his sins and that he was born as a human being afflicted with certain diseases or with defects.⁴¹¹ These last two consequences are described under the title *karmavipāka* (the fruition of evil deeds). Śātaṭapa (I, 1-5) asserts that men guilty of grave

(Continued from the last page)

self suppression at an earlier time, it is fellowship with God who is love ... This is *infinite bliss* to the soul which is purged of self-interest. Heaven is also a fellowship of finite spirits " It will be patent how modern European minds have begun to think of Heaven and Hell in terms analogous to those in which some of the best minds of India thought of them centuries before and after the Christian era In spite of the glowing pictures of the pleasures of Heaven and terrifying descriptions of the torments of Hell detailed in many of the sacred and popular works in Sanskrit and other Indian languages people have gone on committing all sorts of sins. The ancient machinery of Heavens and Hells must be deemed to have largely failed of its purpose in these days. Large masses of men appear to be slipping into an abyss of despair, misery, hardness of heart, wanton brutality and lawlessness. The lurid accounts of bombings and night raids on big cities, the reports of the bloody battles for six years in the World War No 2, the harrowing tales of tortures in such prisoners' camps as at Belsen, the phenomenal rise in the prices of all necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter), frequent strikes and struggles between the employed and the industrialists, growing indiscipline, arson, plunder and bestial treatment of human beings on the ground of race or religion have produced hardness of heart and debased large masses of Indian people. It is a very difficult question for our leaders how to revive among the common people of India, (whom Westerners dubbed mild Hindus) the old characteristics of tolerance, peacefulness, goodwill and respect for human life and property, how to build up a new fabric of society, a new civilization and culture on the ancient Upanisadic foundations of the pursuit of Reality, brotherhood of man, the unity of all life, and love of mankind even without pressing into service the ancient and mediæval literal conceptions of Heaven and Hell,

411 प्रायश्चित्तविहीनाना महापातकिना वृणाय । नरकान्ते भवेज्जन्म चिह्नाङ्कित-
शरीरिणाम् ॥ मतिजन्म भवेत्तेषां चिह्नं तरपापसूचकम् । प्रायश्चित्ते कृते याति पञ्चात्तापवता
धनः ॥ महापातकजं चिह्नं सप्त जन्मनि जायते । उपपापीन्द्रश्च पञ्च त्रीणि पापसहस्रवम् ॥ दुष्टकर्मजा
वृणां रोगा यान्ति चोपक्रमे क्षमम् । जाप्ये क्षुराचवेहोमैदनिस्तेषां क्षमो भवेत् ॥ शातातप
I 1-4. The verses 5-10 (about the diseases) and the following verses about
the gift of cows, bulls, land and gold are quoted in the महर्णवकर्म्मविपाक of
मान्धातृ (folio 4a and 4b) as from शातातपीयकर्मविपाक The माय वि प 106 remarks
'पूर्वजन्मकृतयो सुवर्णपहारक्षुरापानपापयोर्नरकोपभोगक्षान्तयोरपि सुवर्णचौरः कौनख्यं
क्षुराप' इत्यादन्तताम् (मनु ११ ४९) -इत्युक्तमितयो' किञ्चित्सावशिष्टत्वादल्पप्रायश्चित्तमाह
वसिष्ठ (20 6) ।'

sins that have not undergone *prāyaścitta* are, after undergoing the torments of Hell, born with bodies marked with certain condemned signs. One guilty of grave sins bears such signs for seven births, one guilty of *upapātaka* for five births and one guilty of *pāpa* for three births. These marks indicative of their having committed a particular sin are observed in each life and only disappear after they repent and perform *prāyaścitta*. Similarly, the diseases arising from sinful deeds subside by adopting the remedies of the recitation of Vedic texts, worship of gods, homas and gifts. Verses 6-10 specify the diseases that arise in consequence of sins such as leprosy, tuberculosis, gonorrhoea, dysentery, kidney trouble, stone in the bladder, cough, fistula &c. A man may commit sins of three kinds viz. by the body, in words and mentally (Manu XII 3). Really speaking, it is the mind that is the spring of all actions (Manu XII 4), but for the sake of convenience, this threefold division is made. Coveting another's wealth by unfair means, desiring that evil should befall another and persistence in false ideas (such as the one that there is no soul, but that the body is the soul)—these three are mental sins (Manu XII 5). Harshness of speech, falsehood, backbiting and irrelevant prattling—these four are vocal sins (*ibid* XII 6). Appropriating to oneself another's wealth without his consent, injury to sentient beings against the injunctions of *śāstra*, sexual intercourse with another's wife—these three are bodily sins (*ibid* XII 7). Manu provides that bodily sins reduce a man to the state of a fixed object (tree &c.), vocal sins reduce him to the state of birds and beasts and mental sins to the lowest castes (Cāṇḍāla and the like). *Hārta* (q. by Par. M)⁴¹² speaks of 18 evil actions that lead to hell, of which six are mental, four vocal and the rest are bodily sins. Manu XII. 54-59 and 62-68, Yāj. III. 131, 135-136, 207-208 and 213-215, Viṣṇu Dh. S. Chap. 44, Atri Chap. 45-46, 17-44 (in prose) state into what animals, trees and creepers sinners are born after undergoing hell torments. The statements of Yāj being concise are set out here. "This soul enters into hundreds of bodies in this *samsāra*, viz. as one of the lowest castes, bird or fixed object (tree &c) on account of his lapses springing from the mind, speech and body (Yāj. III 131); a man who

412. सर्वभक्ष्यभक्षणमभोज्यभोजनमपेयपानमगन्धयोगमनमयाज्ययाजनमस्तत्प्रातिग्रहणं पर-
क्षाभिगमनं द्रव्यापहरणं प्राणिहिंसा चेति शारिताणि । पादमयमद्वतं विनादं क्षति-
विक्रयश्चेति वाचिकानि । परीपतायनं पराभिदोहः क्रोधो लोभो मोहोऽहङ्कारश्चेति मानसानि ।
तदेतान्यष्टादश त्रैयणि कर्माणि... । हारितं q. by परा. भा II part 2 pp 212-213.

tells lies, who is a back-biter, whose speech is harsh and who babbles what is irrelevant is reduced to being a bird or a beast (*ibid* III. 135); one who is addicted to misappropriating another's wealth and to sexual intercourse with another's wife, who injures another against *śāstric* rules is born as a fixed object; the murderer of a brāhmana becomes born in the body of a beast (deer &c), a dog, a pig or a camel; the drinker of *surā* is born as an ass, a *pulkasa* (one born from *śūdra* woman of a *nisāda*), or a *vena* (one born of an Ambastha woman from a *vaidehaka*); the thief of gold reaches the state of a worm, an insect (an ant &c) or a moth and one guilty of incest becomes grass, a bush or a creeper (Yāj. III. 207-208). On stealing leafy vegetables one is born as a peacock, on stealing perfumes one is born a *chuchundarī* (musk-rat), the thief of corn, of a vehicle, fruits, water, milk, domestic utensils (like pestle), honey, flesh, a cow, fire, cloth, juice (of sugarcane or the like) and salt is born respectively as a mouse, a camel, a monkey, a *plava* (duck), a crow, a sparrow, bee, vulture, *godhā* (iguana), crane, a man suffering from white leprosy, a dog, *chī* (cricket bird). The Brahmapurāṇa (chap 217 verses 37-110) contains a long disquisition on the different kinds of animal births that sinners of various kinds have to undergo. Vide also Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa) 260-88, Agni 371 30-32 (which latter states that the murderer of a brāhmana is born as a beast or deer or a dog, hog, or camel, the drinker of wine as an ass or *pukkasa* or *mleccha*, the thief of gold as a worm or pest or moth, one guilty of incest as grass or a bush).

It was believed in very ancient times that diseases were the consequences of sins⁴¹³. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 7.3 plants are said to have destroyed from each limb the disease due to sin⁴¹⁴. Manu XI. 49-52, Vas. 20 44, Yāj. III. 209-211, Visnu Dh. S Chap 45, Śatātapa I. 3-11 and II. 1, 30, 32, 47, Gautama-smṛti in verse chap 20 and Gautama (in prose q by the Mit on Yāj. III. 216) or Vrddha-Gautama (according to Smṛtimuktāphala

413 This belief is not confined to India. In the Gospel of St John (9 1-3) when a man blind from birth came before Jesus the disciples asked him 'who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind'. Jesus is said to have rejected that idea and performed a miracle by restoring to him his sight after applying to the man's eyes clay mixed with the spittle of Jesus and washing his eyes in a pool.

414. आपो अत्र दिव्या औषधयः । तास्ते यक्षमेनस्त्वमङ्गादङ्गादङ्गीनशत् ॥ अथर्व. VIII. 7.3.

p. 861), Yama (q by Pr. M. p 9), Śaṅkha (q. by the Mitaksarā on Yāj. III. 216), Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 99-100 state the diseases and bodily defects from which sinners suffer after they are born as men. As a sample Yāj. III. 209-211 may be cited here; the murderer of a brāhmana suffers from Tuberculosis, a drinker of *surā* has black teeth, the thief of brāhmana's gold has diseased nails, one guilty of incest suffers from leprosy; the thief of food suffers from dyspepsia, one who stealthily learns without permission (or one guilty of plagiarism) is born dumb, one who mixes up inferior corn with superior corn is born with excessive limbs (with six fingers &c.), a backbiter is born with pus in the nose; a thief of oil is born as *tlapāyī* and one who falsely reports faults in others has a foetid breath. Yāj. III. 217 states that after reaping the consequences of their (evil) deeds (by falling into Hell and) by reaching the state of lower animals, sinners are born as human beings of a low order, poor and with condemned marks on the body; even medical works like the Carakasamhitā held the belief that diseases were the consequences of actions done in past lives (vide Sūtrasthāna, Chap. I 116),

The smṛtis are not in complete agreement about the diseases or bodily defects that sinners of various grades suffer. For example, though Vas 20 44 and Śaṅkha (q by Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) state that the murderer of a brāhmana suffers from leprosy, Manu XI. 49, Yāj III. 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S 45. 3, Agni. 371. 32 aver that he suffers from phthisis. For want of space the long lists of the births as lower animals and the diseases and deformities from which sinners suffer contained in Śaṅkha, Hārta, Gautama, Yama and the Purāṇas quoted by the Mit. on Yāj III. 216, the Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 230-240, 242-272, Madanapārijāta pp 701-702, the Mahānava-karmavipāka are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S (II. 1. 2. 6-7) states that a brāhmana, ksatriya or vaiśya sinner guilty of brāhmana murder, after undergoing the torments of Hell is born again respectively as a Cāṇḍāla, Paukasa and Vaina and that other sinners who have become outcasts by their sins are born on account of these as certain animals (like pigs) Similarly, Manu XII. 61 provides that one who from greed steals precious stones, pearls, corals and jewels of various kinds is born as a goldsmith.

Although the word *Karman* is ordinarily employed to denote good as well as evil actions still in the section on penances the word 'Karman' prominently presents to the mind the idea of evil deeds. Hence *Karmavipāka* means the ripening (or fruition) of evil actions or sins. This fruition takes three forms, as stated in the *Yogasūtra*⁴¹⁵ II 13, viz *jāti* (birth as a worm or animal &c), *āyuh* (life i. e. living for a short period such as five or ten years) and *bhoga* (experiencing the torments of Hell &c). The word *Karmavipāka* appears to have been known to Yāj. III 131 (*vipākaḥ karmanām pretya keśām oīd-iha jāyate*) and it occurs frequently in the *Purāṇas* (e. g. in *Brahma-purāṇa* 224 41, 225 43 and 59, *Matsya* 115 14 &c). The *Pr. Sāra* pp. 219-231 contains probably the longest treatment of *Karmavipāka*. The doctrine of *Karmavipāka* was well known to the Buddhist philosopher *Nāgārjuna*, who in his *Ratnāvalī* refers to it⁴¹⁶. The Buddhist *Avadānaśatakas* also refer to the doctrine of *Karmavipāka*. Vide also *Suttanipāṭa* (S. B. E. vol 10 part 2) p. 38 and S. B. E. vol 21 p. 130 (*Saddharma-pundarika*). In some medical works also such as the *Hārītasambhita* it is said that the murderer of a *brāhmana* suffers from white leprosy and the killer of a cow from black leprosy; a regicide suffers from phthisis, and the destroyer of a park from dysentery &c.⁴¹⁷. In the *Vivāgasuyam* (*Vipākaśrutam*), which is the 11th *āṅga* of the *Jaina-āgama* and an edition of which was brought out by Dr. P. L. Vaidya (in 1933) we have stories of persons who suffered from evil diseases owing to their committing evil deeds in former lives and other stories of the fruits of good deeds.

The doctrine based upon the implications of *Manu* XII⁴¹⁸, 3, 9 and 54 and Yāj. III. 206 was that it is human beings alone (and not lower animals like tigers &c.) that have to experi-

415 सति मूले तद्विपाको जात्याद्युर्भोगः । योगसूत्र II 13. The ब्रह्मसूत्राण 217 40 illustrates both *jāti* and *āyuh* viz. 'एतितं राजयित्वा तु कुमियोनि प्रजायते । तत्र जीवति वर्षाणि दश पञ्च च भो हिजा ॥'

416. Vide JRAS for 1934 p 307 at p 311 for the views of नागार्जुन on कर्मविपाक Verse 14 is हिंसया जायतेऽप्यायुर्भेदाबाधो विहिंसया । चौर्येण भोगस्यसनी सशत्रु परदारिकः ॥

417. Vide Journal Asiatique (Paris) for 1934, pp 125-139 for the text of the हारीतसंहिता 'ब्रह्मघ्नो जायते पाण्डु छुष्टी गोवधकारकः । राजघ्नो राजयक्ष्मी स्यादारामघ्नोऽस्तिशारवान् ॥ स्वाभ्यङ्गनाभिगमने मेहरोग भवन्ति हि । शुक्रायापसङ्गेन मूत्ररोगोऽस्मरीरोगः ॥ स्वकुलजामसङ्गेन जायते च भगन्दर । शूली परोपतापी च पैशुन्याच्छ्वास-कासिनः ॥ verses 12-14 at p 134.

418. कर्मजा गतयो नृणामुत्तमाधममध्यमा ॥ मनु XII, 3, शरीरज्ञैः कर्मदेवैर्यति श्वाव्रता नरः । मनु XII, 9,

ence in Heaven and Hell the consequences of their deeds. The Viṣṇudharmottara explicitly states so⁴¹⁹.

The Mīt. (on Yāj. III. 216), the Smṛtyarthasāra, Par. M., Pr. Sāra and other works state that the disquisition on Karmavipāka⁴²⁰ is merely an *arthavāda*, that it is not to be taken literally, but is meant to induce sinners to undergo such *prāyaścittas* as *Prājāpatya* which entail great worry and trouble and which no one might willingly undertake. The Mīt points out that the description of the diseases (like pthisis) is not intended for requiring those who suffer from them to undergo the penances for twelve years or the like nor for inducing people to avoid contact with such persons, that śiṣtas do not avoid contact with those who have bad nails, that in the case of such persons the disease or defect is the last result of what little sin remained attached to them and that by the very fact of their having the disease or defect mentioned in the texts they become free from the last remnants of their sins and therefore they do not stand in need of any further penance and as their sin is finally removed by suffering the disease or defect their fitness for being allowed to mix among people is established.

The teaching of the works on Karmavipāka, though dismal and terrifying, comes to this that no soul need be without hope provided it is prepared to wait and undergo torments for its misdeeds, that it need not be appalled by the numerous existences foreshadowed in those works and that the soul may in its long passage and evolution be ultimately able to discover its true greatness and realize eternal peace and perfection.

Manu XII. 69 (almost the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 44.45 and Garuḍapurāṇa II. 2. 89) states that women guilty of the sin of theft become the wives of men who are guilty of the same offences.

VĀMANAPURĀṆA, chap. 12 is called *Karmavipāka* and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa chap. 15 treats of the same subject. The

419 'मनुष्या' प्रतिपद्यन्ते स्वर्गे नरकमेव वा । नैकान्ये मणिनः केचित्सर्वे ते फलभोजिनः ॥ शुभाशमशुभानां च कर्मणां भुगुनन्दन । सञ्जय, क्रियते लोके मनुष्यैरेव केवलम् ॥ तस्मान् मनुष्यस्तु भुतो यमलोके प्रपद्यते । मान्य प्राणी महाभाग फलयोनी व्यवस्थितः ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-पुराण II, 102 4-6 q. by परा सा. II, part 2 pp. 208-209, या. सार p. 215 (after affirming मनुष्याणामेव शुभाशुभकर्मफलोपभोगः).

420. इदानीन्तनपापिनां प्रायश्चित्तोन्मुखत्वायै पूर्वजन्मकर्मविपाका दर्शिताः । स्तुत्यर्थ-कार p. 100; ननु नार्य विपाको विधातुं प्रतिषेद्धं वा शक्यतेऽननुष्ठेयत्वाद्बर्जनीयत्वाच्च । अतः श्रुतेस्तस्मिन्निधिवेधये शास्त्रे तन्निरूपणमनुक्तम् । नार्य दोषः । प्रायश्चित्तायैवाद्दत्त्वेन तदुपयो-पाद् ..अत्र च प्राजापत्याद्युद्धानरूपस्य प्रायश्चित्तरस्य कैशात्मकत्वाद्वागतः प्रवृत्तिर्न सम्भवतीति तत्र प्रवृत्तिरुद्धये प्रतीचना कर्तव्या । परा सा. II. part 2 pp. 206-207,

Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 203 21 ff) expatiates at length upon the topic how sinners endure torments in Hell for innumerable years, how after their evil deeds have been almost wiped out they become human beings suffering from various diseases or deformities.

In the Mahārṇava-karmavipāka of Māṇḍhātṛ it is stated that there are two means of destroying the consequences of (evil) actions, viz kṛcchra (penances) and the reversal (or remedies) against diseases⁴²¹. The latter consists in making golden images of the sun (as the superintending deity of good health) and of the deity of a disease and offering worship to both these in a *mandapa* on a raised *vedikā* (platform). The work expatiates at length on the Vedic verses employed according to Āśvalāyana and the Taittirīya Śākhā for *ghosa-śānti* (propitiatory ceremonies with loud recitation of Vedic mantras); the worship of the sun with Vedic mantras and of the planets, the offerings of *āhuts*, the Rudrakāśāśni, Mahārudra (11 times as many as the preceding) and Atirudra, repeating the thousand names of Viṣṇu, Vināyaka-śānti (as laid down by Yāj. I. 271-294), Navagraha-yajña in which it assigns each planet to some country and some gotra⁴²². It also prescribes how for the removal of particular diseases particular *dānas* may be given (such as *Kadalidāna* i. e. manufacturing a kadali plant from one *pala* of gold and donating it). It deals with the gifts of the images of all diseases supposed to be incurable and quotes Śatātapa II. 47-48 in connection with the removal of *rājayaksmā* (phthisis). It deals at length with fevers and other diseases and bodily defects such as greenish or cat-like eyes, deafness &c. But the detailed treatment of all these matters is passed over here from considerations of space, and also for the reason that these prescriptions are now either hardly believed in by people or hardly ever performed.

421. अथ कर्मक्षयोपायौ कुच्छव्याधिर्विपर्ययौ। तत्राय व्याधिविपर्यय इत्यनेन व्याधि प्रतिकृतिदानं वक्ष्यत इति।.. प्रतिमा द्विमकारा अधिदेवता देवतात्मिका च। आतङ्को देवता तत्र तत्र पूज्याधिदेवता मायेण सूर्यं सर्वथा रोगाणामधिदेवता-आरोग्य भास्कराविच्छेत् इति प्ररूपा क्षतिं सृष्टिः। तत्र व्याधिप्रतिमायामातङ्कनाम्नी देवता भवति। महापर्व folios 33b and 34a, रोगप्रतिमादाने सर्वत्र सूर्यं एवाधिदेवता व्याधिदेवता च भिन्ना व्याधीना भिन्नत्वात्। अतश्च अलरोगादिषु वरूणादयो देवता भवन्तीति। *ibid* folio 44a

422. 'ओं धूर्ध्वं स्व कलिङ्गदेशोद्भव काश्यपसगोत्र सूर्यं इहागच्छेत्यावाह्य इह तिष्ठेति एकपुण्याक्षतैः स्थापयेत्। ओं धूर्ध्वं स्व, अवन्तीसमुद्भव भरद्वाजसगोत्र भौम इहागच्छेत्यावाह्य..स्थापयेत्। ओं स्व मागधदेशोद्भव आत्रेयसगोत्र इध इहागच्छे...। महापर्व, folio 157 b.

SECTION II

ANTYEŠTI (rites after death), *ŠUDDHI* (purification from impurity due to death, birth and other causes)

CHAPTER VII

ESCHATOLOGY

What happens after death to a human being (which is the subject matter of Eschatology) has been a great mystery that has intrigued and baffled mankind in all ages and was a question of vital importance among almost all ancient peoples such as the Indians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Persians. The word Eschatology is derived from a Greek term meaning 'last things' and is applied to the study of opinions that men have held from time to time concerning the future, including such matters as the state of man after life on this earth and the end of the world. It exercises a great fascination over most people and speculation on it can be carried on endlessly. Every religion has its own eschatology. There are two aspects of Eschatology; one is concerned with the destiny of the individual after death, immortality of the soul, sin and punishment, the meaning and content of 'Heaven' and 'Hell'; the other aspect of eschatology has relation to the whole universe, its creation, destination and renovation, and the ultimate end of all things. The first aspect and matters relevant to it from the ancient Indian point of view will be dealt with in this section and the second aspect of Eschatology is reserved for treatment in a later section. In ancient works far more emphasis was laid on the first than on the second, while modern men with a more or less scientific outlook and attitude are inclined to think more of the second aspect.

Death has been generally looked upon with feelings of awe and terror, though there were men (often philosophically minded) who looked upon it as a blessing and as a release of the spirit from the shackles imposed upon the latter by the body. The terror of death was in many cases due not so much to the pain

caused at the time of death but rather to the mystery that surrounds what happens after death and to the thoughts about what the survivors would have to undergo. It is said by C. E. Vulliamy in his work 'Immortal man' (p. 2): 'although the idea of that life (ghostly life) ranges from the most dismal and horrible fantasies to the most sublime imaginations, the fundamental thought is always the same, the body dies but not the spirit'. There were several attitudes adopted by primitive as well as civilized people towards death. In the Kathopanishad we read (I.1.20) 'When a man dies there is a doubt, some saying that there is survival after the death of the body and some denying any survival' and Naciketas requests the dreaded God Yama to solve this doubt. There are several beliefs^{422a} even among those who hold that there is survival after death. Some say that there is a world of the dead to which whatever survives goes after death. Others believe that the surviving part goes to Heaven or Hell according as the man has been virtuous or sinful in his life on earth. Others believe in transmigration and re-incarnation. Several of the great writers in ancient Greece believed in this last doctrine, as Pindar (in second Olympian Ode), Plato (in Phaedrus and Timaeus) and Herodotus (II. 123) indicate.

The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 214 verses 34-39) sets out the persons to whom death is happy and easy and not a source of misery and sorrow. A few may be mentioned here. - 'He who did not tell lies, he who did not prove false to affection or friendship, who is an *āstika* (a believer in God and the life to come), who is devoted to the worship of gods and the honouring of brāhmanas, he who does not bear malice to anyone—these have a happy death.' Similarly, the Anusāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 104. 11-12, chap. 144 49-60) states at length the causes of premature death and of long life. Some of them may be translated here. 'Those who are atheists, do not perform the acts (or sacrifices) proper for them, violate the (dictates of) elders and of śāstras, who do not know what *dharma* is and are evil-doers are short-lived. Those who have no character, who always break all rules of conduct, who have promiscuous sexual intercourse become short-lived and go to Hell. One who is not irritable by temper, speaks the truth, does not cause injury to beings, who bears no malice to any one and who is not crooked—these live for a hundred years' (104. 11-12 and 14).

^{422a}. Compare C. E. Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (p. 11).

Several works specify the signs indicative of the approach of death. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 318. 9-17), Devala quoted in the Moksakāṇḍa of the Kalpataru (pp. 248-250, about 20 verses), the Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 19 verses 1-32), the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 43. 1-33 (chap. 40 verses 1-33, Venkatesvara Press ed.), Lingapurāṇa (pūrvārdha chap. 91) and other Purāṇas contain long lists of the signs of approaching death. It is impossible for want of space to set out in detail these signs. But the gist of a few verses is mentioned by way of sample. The Śāntiparva (chap. 318) states that a man who is not able to see the star of Arundhatī which he could formerly see, nor the pole-star nor the full moon, nor his own reflection in another man's eye has only one year to live; he has only a span of six months of life left to him who sees the orb of the moon with a hole in it; a man has only seven days left of life who sees a hole pierced in the orb of the Sun, who smells the odour of a corpse when fragrant substances are near; when the nose and ears bend down, when his teeth and eyes become discoloured, when there is loss of consciousness, and loss of bodily heat, when smoke emerges from the crown of the head, when the left eye begins to ooze moisture all of a sudden—these are indications of the immediate approach of death. Devala states indications that prognosticate life for only one year, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 months, one month, half a month, 12 days, 4 days, 3 days, 2 days and winds up by saying that one who cannot hear the humming sound in his ear (when closed with fingers) or cannot see the light in the eye is going to die immediately. The Vāyupurāṇa (19.28) and Lingapurāṇa 91.30 regard the last two as the worst indications of approaching death⁴²³. The Lingapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga chap. 91.24) states that he who cannot see his own reflection in another's eye will not live. There is an interesting paper by Dr R.G. Harshe in the Munshi Diamond Jubilee volume (pp. 246-268) where the learned writer gives the text of two mss. on the prognostications derived from dreams e. g. if a man sees an ass in a dream he is sure to die, or if he sees an old maid then it is an indication of danger, disease and death (p. 251) or if he sees a trident death is indicated (p. 254).

423. हे खात्र परमेऽरिष्टे एतद्भयं परं भवेत् । घोषं न शृणुयात्कर्णे ज्योतिर्नेत्रे न पश्यति ॥ वायुपुराण 19.27 ; नर्गं वा अनर्गं दृष्ट्वा विद्यान्मृत्युदुःखपरिभवम् । लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वभाग 91 19).

When a man is sinking and is almost on the point of death it was and even now is the practice in many parts of India to take the dying man down from the bedstead and place him on a bed spread on the earth⁴²⁴. For example, the Kausika-sūtra (80 3) prescribes⁴²⁵: When the man is losing all strength, he (the son or other attending relative) spreads *kuśas* on the grass growing in the shed and takes him down (from the bedstead) with the *mantra* 'syonāsmāi bhava' (mayst thou be good to this man, Oh Earth). The Baud P S III 1 18 says that sand should be spread on the ground in the sacrificial shed when it is feared that the sacrificer is dying and *darbha* grass should be strewn on the sand with the sharp ends turned to the south and the dying man should be placed thereon and one (son or the like) should repeat in his right ear the *anuvāka* beginning with 'āyusah prānam santanu'. The Gobhīlasmṛti III 22 and later works like the Pitrdayita provide the same procedure.

Medieval digests like the Śuddhiprakāśa (pp 151-152) state that when a person is moribund, has half closed his eyes and is taken down on the ground (from a bedstead), his son or other relative should make him give one or more of ten gifts viz of cows,⁴²⁶ land, sesame, gold, clarified butter, clothes, grain, jaggery, silver, salt. These gifts are superior even to a śrāddha performed at Gāyā or to even hundreds of Āśvamedhas. The

424. In Europe a very widespread custom is to take a dying man out of bed and to lay him on the earth or on straw. Vide Prof Edgerton's very exhaustive article on 'the Hour of Death' in Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, vol. VIII pp 219-249.

425. दुर्बलीममृतं कालातुगेषु दुर्भान्तास्तीर्थं स्थोनास्मै भवेत्स्वरोहयति। मन्त्रोक्तावधु-
मन्त्रयते। यत्ते कृष्णेस्वर्दीपयति। कौशिक 80 3-5. अथर्व 18.2-19 is 'स्थोनास्मै भव
पुष्टिपदक्षरा निवेदानी। यच्छास्मै शर्म समया' ॥ ऋ I 22 15 and वाज सं 36 13 are
almost the same, reading स्थोना पृथिवि भवाद्दक्षरा and स्थोना पृथिवि नो भवा-
respectively; vide निरुक्त 9.32 for explanation of this verse. The मितृदयिता
(p 74) states यदा कण्ठस्थानगतजीवा विद्वली देही भवति तदा बहिर्गोमयेनोपलिताया भूमौ
कुशादक्षिणाद्यानास्तीर्थं तदुपरि दक्षिणशिरसि स्थापयित्वा सुवर्णरजतगोभूमिदीपतिलपात्राणि
वापयेत्। गोभिलस्मृति III 22 'दुर्बल स्नापयित्वा तु शुद्धचैलाभिसहृतम्। दक्षिणाशिरसि
भूमौ बहिष्मत्वा निवेशयेत्' ॥

426 दानानि च जातुकर्ण्य आह। उत्कान्तिवैतरण्यौ च दश दानानि चैव हि। प्रेतस्य
कृत्वा तं प्रेत शवधर्मेण दाहयेत्। दश दानानि च तेनैकैकानि। गोभूतिलहिरण्यावसीधान्य-
शुक्लानि च। रूपं लवणनिर्याहुर्दश दानान्यष्टकमात् ॥ शुद्धिप्रकाश p 152, for a similar
verse about ten dānas vide गर्वदग्ध. (प्रेतखण्ड) 44. An Inscription of
Vikramāditya, a chief-tan under the Kalachuri king Sankama (published in
E I vol XIX pp 230) records the gifts of land, coins, house and gold on
the occasion of the prāyāścitta in honour of his deceased father.

saukalpa (verbal declaration of the gift) is made in the words 'I shall make ten gifts for the attainment of heaven (*abhyudaya*), or for the removal of all sins'. After the ten *dānas*, a cow with a calf should be donated if possible ⁴²⁷ (this cow being called *utkrānti-dhenu* 'a cow donated in view of death') and then another cow called *Vaitaraṇī* with gold (or two pieces of cloth &c) should be donated. The *Antyestipaddhati* and the *Sūddhi-prakāśa* (pp. 152-153) set out all the mantras (not vedic) that are to be recited at the time of making the several gifts, which (mantras) are passed over here for want of space. The *Antyestipaddhati*, the *Antyakarmadipaka* and other works prescribe that when a person is near death, his son or other relative should make him perform *Vratodyāpana*, *sarvaprāyaścitta* and the gift of ten *dānas* or if the dying man is unable to do these himself, the son or the other relative should perform these and give the merit thereof to the dying man. A person often resolves upon observing certain *vratas*, but fails to carry out all the details of those *vratas* to the end. The *Vratodyāpana* for the dying man is meant to cure all such unfinished *vratas*. The A. K. D. (pp. 3-4) has a long note about the performance of *vratodyāpana*. Briefly it comes to this. The son or other relative having brought about the purity of the dying man's body by a bath or by sprinkling it with holy water (*mārjana*) or by making him drink Ganges water, having himself taken a bath and performed his daily duties (of *sandhyā*), having lighted a lamp, having bowed to Ganeśa and prayed to god Viṣṇu, having placed before him the materials of worship and having repeated the usual *saukalpa* (see note ⁴²⁸), he should honour a *brāhmaṇa*

427 आसन्नमृत्युना देया गोः सवस्ता तु पूर्ववत् । तदभावे तु गौरेव नरकोत्तरणाय वै । तदा यदि न शक्नोति दातुं वैतरणीं तु गाय । शक्नोत्यथोऽन्यत् तदा दत्त्वा दद्याच्छेवो सुतरस्य च ॥ *न्यास. q.* by *सुद्धितत्व* p 300, *सुद्धिमकारा* p 153. अ. क. दी. p 7. पूर्ववत् means हेमकृष्णदिना. The गण्डपुराण (मैत्रेय) 4 6 says 'नदीं वैतरणीं तद्धृद्व्याद्वैतरणीं च गाय । कुण्डलसनी सक्तुणाद्वी सा वै वैतरणी स्मृता ॥' The idea was that at the door of यम there was a river called वैतरणी, full of blood and sharp weapons and that there those who donated a cow at the time of death cross that terrible river by holding the cow's tail, vide स्कन्दपुराण VI 226 32-33 for वैतरणी and verse 34 is 'मृत्युकाले प्रपच्छन्ति ये धेनुं नाह्वयन्ति वै ॥ तस्या. पुच्छं समाश्रित्व ते तरन्ति च तां हृष ॥'. The *आह्वयन* of लक्ष्मीपति prescribes two mantras at the time of donating the वैतरणी cow, one of which is उच्छेदं वर्धति शीते वा मारुते धाति वा शुश्रूष । दातारं प्रापते यस्मात्तस्माद्वैतरणी स्मृता ॥.

428. अत्र शुषिण्या जम्बूद्वीपे भरतखण्डे आर्यावर्तकदेशे विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीयपरार्धे...अशुकातिथौ अशुकगोत्रः...अशुकशर्महं ममालन. (मम पित्रादेः)

(Continued on the next page)

already invited and should give to him the gold (or silver) set apart for the purpose and the brāhmana should pronounce the words "May all vratas be fulfilled! May there be the attainment of the fruits of *udyāpana* (accomplishment of vrata)". In the *sarvaprāyaścitta* the son approaches 4 or 3 learned men or one man knowing *adhyātma* (metaphysics) and offers the substitutes (of gold &c.) for sins that involve penances for 6, 3 or 1½ years or makes a declaration and performs the *prāyaścitta*, after the days of impurity.

The *sarvaprāyaścitta* was to be performed by the dying man or by his son or other relative who was to shave himself, take a bath, drink *pañcagavya*, honour a brāhmana with sandal paste and other things; after having honoured the cow or the money to be paid in lieu of it, and after referring to the several kinds of sins that one may be guilty of (vide note 429) he is to make a gift of a cow (with a calf) to the brāhmana or in lieu of it, of some money. After *sarvaprāyaścitta* come the ten *dānas* stated above. In the *dānas* the *Kāmastuti* 430 as studied by the followers of each veda was to be recited. The *Garudapurāṇa* (II. 4. 7-9) further prescribes other *dānas* called *mahā-dānas* viz., of sesame, iron, gold, cotton, salt, seven kinds of corn, land and cows when a man is dying and also other gifts called *padādānas* such as of umbrella, sandals, ring, water-jar, seat, food. The *Garudapurāṇa* (II 4 37) further provides that if a man about to die takes *sannyāsa* according to the rules laid

(Continued from the last page)

अतमव्ययविवसादरम्य अद्य पावकलाभिलाषादिशुहीतानां निष्कान्ततया गृहीतानां च
अमुकाशुक्रवतानामकुतोपापनक्षोपपरिहारार्थं क्षुतिरुत्तिष्ठतामोक्ततद्भूतजन्मसाक्षिकलभापयर्थं
विष्णुर्वाणीनां तत्तत्त्वानां मितये इदं सुवर्णमग्निदेवतं (तदभावे इदं रजतं चन्द्रदेवतं) अमुक-
गोत्रायासुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय क्षारये ओ तत्सद् न मन इति सकृत्कृत्य etc. अ. क. खी p 4 -

429 देशकालौ संकीर्त्य मम (सन्निवादेर्वा) ज्ञाताज्ञातकामाकामसकृद्वसकृत्कृतकाचि-
कवाचिकमानसिकसंसारिकसृष्टासृष्टशुक्लाशुक्लपितापीतसकलपातकानुपातकोपपातकलज्जपातक-
सङ्करीकरणमलिनोकरणापात्रीकरणजातिभ्रंशकरपकीर्णकादिनानाविधपातकानां निरासेन देहा-
वसानकाले देहछुद्भिद्वारा औपरनेश्वरमीत्यर्थमिमा सर्वमायश्चित्तमर्यान्मायधृतां यथाशक्यपल-
कृतां सर्वसां गो ब्रह्मदेवताममुकगोत्रायासुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय हुन्ममहं संमहदे ओ तत्सद् न
मम। अ. क. खी p 5 अन्येष्वपि of नारायण has also the words ज्ञाताज्ञात पातकानां
निरासार्थं.

430. क इदं कस्मा अवात्काम कामायावाद्। कामो ज्ञाता काम मतिमहीतः। काम-
सङ्ग्रहमाविशे। कामेन त्वा मतिरुह्नामि कामैतत्से। अथर्ववेद III. 29.7, ते आ II. 2 5.9
(where this *Kāmastuti* is explained) and Tai. A III. 10. This *Kāmastuti* occurs in many ceremonies (such as marriage, adoption etc.). Vide H. of
Dh. vol. II p. 1069, and आश्व. श्रौ. V. 13, 15 (which reads कामं सकृद्ग्रहाविशं) and
आप. श्रौ. 14. 11. 2.

down for what is called *āturasannyāsa* he never returns to the cycle of births and deaths.

From ancient times it was a firmly held belief that the thoughts that a dying man entertains at the time of death determine what will happen to his spirit after physical death (this is expressed in the well-known words 'ante matih sā gatiḥ'), that therefore a man should, when death approaches, give up all thoughts of mundane affairs and all earthly attachments, should think of his favourite deity (Hari or Śiva), should inaudibly recite such *mantras* as 'om namo Vāsudevāya'. Several texts insist on making the dying man listen to holy Vedic texts. The Gautamapitr-medhasūtra (I. 1-8) prescribes that one should at the time when one's father, mother, brother, teacher or a brāhmaṇa friend is on his death-bed make the dying man hear the first and last verses of the Veda and certain *sāmāns* and should mutter in the dying man's right ear (one *sāman*). The R̥gvidhāna provides that one should repeat at the time of death the *sūkta* beginning with 'trātāram' ⁴³¹ (?)

The Hir. P. S. I. 1 provides that when it is thought that the *āhūtāgṇi* is going to die, he (the son or the like) should mutter in the dying man's ear (if he is a knower of Brahma) the two *anuvākas* of the Tai. Up. II. 1 (beginning with 'brahmavidāpnoti param') and III. 1 (beginning with 'Bhrgurvai vāruniḥ'). The A. K. D. (p. 18) says ⁴³² that if the dying man is unable to engage in *japa* he should revolve in his mind the benign form of Viṣṇu or Śiva and should listen to the thousand names (of Viṣṇu or Śiva), the Bhagavadgītā, the Bhāgavata, Bhārata, Rāmāyana, the Upanisads like Īśāvāsya and hymns to Soma.

431. त्रातारमिति सूक्तं तु अन्तकाले सदा पठेत् । जपत्वा चैव परं स्थानममृतत्वाय कल्पते । ऋग्विधान ५ in शुद्धिक्रांश p 154 The अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of वाराणसीमठ (Nir. edition, pothi size p. 163 b) reads नानानमिति : स्थानममृतत्वं स गच्छतीति ऋग्विधानवचनात् ॥ The R̥gvidhāna edited by Jagadīśh Shastri reads (III. 19-20) नानानमिति सूक्तानि अन्तकाले जपेत्सकृत् । नानान is the first verse of Rg IX 112. It is likely that the editor of शुद्धिक्रांश misreads नानानमिति as त्रातारमिति, since त्रातारम् is not a sūkta (hymn) but only one stanza in a hymn.

432. जपेऽसमर्थश्चेद् द्वये चतुर्थे च शङ्खचक्रगदापद्मधर पीताम्बरकिरीटकेयूरकौस्तुभ-वनमालाधरे रत्नपीयरूपे विष्णुं विशुद्धमरुधर चन्द्रचूडे विनेत्रं गङ्गाधरे शिवे वा भावयन् सहस्रनामगीताभागवतभारतारामायणेशावास्याद्युपनिषदः पाठमानादीनि सूक्तानि च यथासम्भवं श्रेयसात् । अ. क. वी. p 18. For विष्णुसहस्रनाम vide अनुशासनपर्व 149 14-120 and अनुशासन 17.31-153 for 1008 names of शिव, vide also शान्तिपर्व 285, 74 ff.

The germs of this idea are found even in the Upanisads. The Chāndogya Up. (in the famous Śāndilya-vidyā, III, 14, 1) remarks 'All this is Brahman. A man should meditate on that (all this) as beginning, ending and subsisting in it (Brahman). Now man is a creature of his will. According to whatever is his will (or thought) in this world, so will he become after departing from this world.'⁴³³ The Prasna Up. III, 10 contains a similar idea. It is here asserted that it is thought power or the will that raises the soul higher and higher, and that the human mind should try to realize the idea that behind all physical transformations the Universe is one and is informed by one all-pervading Essence. Similarly, the Bhagavadgītā puts this idea in a much more clear way. 'The man, who remembering me alone in his last moments, departs from this life, comes to me, there is no doubt about this' (8. 5). But in order to guard against the possible inference that it is only the thoughts at the approach of death that matter whatever the past life led by a dying man may have been, the next verse emphasizes that a man's spirit is engrossed by the thoughts that he has entertained throughout life and that a man can think of spiritual matters or about God at the time of death only if he has been thinking about such matters or about God throughout his life. That verse (8.6) is 'whichever form (or thing) a man remembers when he leaves the body at death, to that alone he goes, having been always (throughout his life) engrossed in meditating over it'

Some of the digests, on the authority of several Purāṇas, prescribe that the dying man should be taken, if possible, near a holy place (*tiṛtha*) such as the Ganges. For example, the Suddhitattva⁴³⁴ (p. 299) quotes a passage from the Kūrmapurāṇa to this effect: 'a man attains *mokṣa* (final release from *samsāra*) by dying in the waters of the Ganges, on land or in water at

433. सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति ज्ञानं उपासीताय खलु क्रतुमयः पुरुषो यथाकतस्मिँल्लोकि पुरुषो भवति तथैव मेव भवति स क्रतुः कुर्वति । छा. उप. III. 14. 1. अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन्मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् । य. प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ य बापि स्मरन्भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरम् । स तमेवेति कीन्तेय सदा तद्भावंभावित ॥ भगवद्गीता 8.5-6, vide शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 2. 1 for the explanation of तज्जलान् and on वे. सू. IV. 1. 12 for quoting the छा. उप. and भगवद्गीता 8. 5-6.

434. कूर्मपुराणम् । गङ्गाया च जले मोक्षो वारणस्या जले स्थले । जले स्थले चान्तरिक्षे गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ॥ तथा (स्कन्दे) । तीराद्व्यूतिमात्रं तु परितः क्षेत्रमुच्यते । अत्र ज्ञानं जपो हीनो गङ्गाया नाम संशयः । अवस्थास्त्रिविधा यान्ति ये मृदा न पुनर्भवाः । अद्वितीयत्वं pp. 299, 300, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 155, गच्छति is equal to two क्रोशः.

Vārānasi (Benares) and at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea either on land, in water or in the air.' Another passage to the same effect is quoted from the 'Skanda-purāṇa and it is further said in the same Purāṇa that for one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is a *kṣetra* (holy place): 'gifts, *japa* (muttering of sacred texts), *homa* performed within this extent is equal to doing the same on the Ganges itself, those who die within this *kṣetra* go to heaven and are not born again.' In the Pujāratnākara⁴³⁵ it is said: 'Hari is present wherever there is the Śālagrāma stone; one dying near a Śālagrāma stone reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu'. It was said that a person (even a non-Aryan) dying within one krosa of a Śālagrāma reaches Vaikuntha (world of Viṣṇu). Similarly, one dying in a garden of *tulasi* (Basil) plants or with Tulasi leaf placed in his mouth at the time of death attains *mokṣa* even if guilty of crores of sins. These are popular notions held even up to this day among common people, not thoroughly affected by modern ideas.

There are also dicta about the time when it is best to die. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata states 'he who dies after the sun has gone to the northern direction (i. e. when the apparent motion of the sun towards the north begins) and on any auspicious *nakṣatra* and *muhūrta* is really one who has a store of merit (with him)'⁴³⁶. This is based on the ideas of death in *Uttarāyana* and *Dakṣiṇāyana* found in the Upanisads. For example, the Chāndogya Up. (IV. 15. 5-6) states 'Now (if one who knows this dies) whether people perform obsequies for him or not he goes to light (*arcas*), from light to day, from day to the bright half of the moon, from thence to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to

435. पूजार्त्नाकरे । शालग्रामशिला यत्र तत्र संनिहितो हरिः । तत्सन्निधौ त्यजेत् प्राणांश्च याति विष्णोः परं पदम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराणे । शालग्रामसमीपे तु कौशमात्रं समन्ततः । कीकटेषु सुतो याति वैकुण्ठभवनं नरः ॥ वैष्णवाभ्युते व्यासः । तुलसीकामने जन्तोर्वादि मृत्युभवेत् कश्चित् । स निर्मल्यं नरं पापी ह्रीलयैव हरिं विज्ञेत् ॥ मयागकाले यस्यास्ये दीयते तुलसीदलम् । निर्वाणं याति पक्षीन्द्र पापकोटिदुतोपि सः ॥ छुद्धितत्त्व p. 299, छुद्धिप्रकाश p. 155. कीकट is the country of Magadha, which was regarded as a land beyond the pale of Aryanism in the Rgveda (III 53.14). Vide Nir VI 32 where the country of कीकट is said to be अनार्यनिवास. The छुद्धिप्रकाश reads कीटकीदपि (even a worm) for कीकटेषु, which is better, but might be an emendation.

436. आपञ्चे तुलारं काष्ठा सूयं यो निधनं ब्रजेत् । नक्षत्रे च सुहर्ते च पुण्ये राजर्षसु सुपक्वम् ॥ शान्तिपर्वे 298.23 q. by the सोक्षकाण्ड of कल्पतर्क p. 254.

lightning. There is a person who is not human that leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the Devas, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man, yes, *they do not return*'. There is a similar passage in Chāndogya Up. V. 10.1-2 where it is said that even householders who know the doctrine of the five fires (*Pañcāgni-vidyā*) and those who in the forest follow the path of faith and austerities (i. e. *vānaprasthas* and *parivrājakas* who do not yet know Highest Brahman) go by the path called Devayāna, while (V. 10. 3-7) those, who, living in a village, practise . sacrifices, works of public utility and alms, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from thence to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from thence to the worlds of the fathers, from thence to ether (*ākāśa*) and to the moon, where they consume their works and return again the way they came. The Chān Up. (V. 10. 8) refers to a third place where small creatures (like flies, worms &c.) are continually going and returning. The Br. Up. (VI 2. 15-16) contains similar passages about Devaloka, Pitrloka and the third world of worms, birds and creeping beings. The Bhagavadgītā, basing itself on these Upaniṣad passages, puts the matter succinctly (in 8 23-25) as follows:—'I shall state the times at which devotees departing from this world go, never to return or to return. The fire, the flame, the day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern (apparent) motion of the sun; departing from the world in these those who know the Brahman go to Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern (apparent) motion of the sun; dying in these the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world. By the one a man goes never to return, by the other he comes back'. The Vedāntasūtra (IV. 3 4-6) explains that the words 'light' 'day' and others are not to be taken in their literal sense (i. e. as signposts or stages on the paths) but they are to be understood as referring to superintending deities that help the spirits and lead them on the path to the worlds of the Devas or of Pitr̥s (i. e. they are *ātīvāhikas* and *abhyūnidevatās*). Śāṅkara on Vedāntasūtra IV. 2. 20 (*ataścāyanepi daksine*) explains that the waiting for the day of Uttarāyana on the part of Bhisma (narrated in the Mahābhārata) is only meant as a eulogy of the path called 'arcirādi', that one who has realized Brahma, even if he dies in dakṣiṇāyana, does secure the fruits of his knowledge (viz.

teaching Brahma), that Bhīṣma waited for the beginning of *uttarāyana* to abide by popular ideas and practices and to show that he possessed the power to depart from the world at his will owing to the boon conferred on him by his father. The Yājñavalkya-smṛti refers to the path (devayāna) ⁴³⁷ that leads to Devaloka (in III. 193-194, where it reads 'mānasah' for 'amānavah' of the Ch. Up.) and the Pitryāna (in III. 195-196). In spite of the interpretations of the Vedāntasūtra (and of Śāṅkara) the popular belief that death in Uttarāyana is best persisted and still persists. For example, the Baud. P.S. (II. 7. 21) remarks '(the sages) provide that death during the northern path of the sun, in the bright half of a month, during the day and at the end of a Śrauta sacrifice is best⁴³⁸.' The G. P. S. (II. 7.1-2) remarks: 'It is desirable to avoid dying in the dark half of a month or at night and the following sūtras provide for the offering of certain oblations if the death occurs in the dark half or at night.

FUNERAL RITES (antyeṣṭi) are a *samśkāra*. Antyeṣṭi is one of the 16 (or more) *samśkāras* of a twice-born person

437. The words 'devayāna' and 'pitryāna' are a legacy from the hoary past. Even in the Rg. there are frequent references to them. In Rg. III. 58 5 the Aśvins are addressed a prayer 'may you come here (to this sacrifice) by the paths leading to the abode of the gods' (eha yātam pathibhurddevayānāḥ). Rg. VII 38 8 also has a similar idea 'may you, being gratified, go by the devayāna paths' (īrptā yātam pathibhur-devayānāḥ). In Rg. VII 76.2 (addressed to Uśas) the sage Vasistha exclaims that he has seen the Devayāna paths when the dawn shone in the East (pra me panthā devayānā ādrāṇ). Agni is asked to make the devayāna paths easily accessible, and to carry the offerings in a pleased mood (Rg. X 51.5, sugāṇ pathaḥ kṛnuhi devayānān vaha havyāni sumanasyamānāḥ). Rg. X 98 11 describes Agni as knowing the *devayāna* paths according to the seasons and a prayer is offered to him to place Aulāna (son of Śantānu) in heaven among the gods (vidvān patha ṛtuo devayānān-apyaulānaṁ divi devesu dhehi). In Rg. X 18.1 it is stated that the path of Death is different from devayāna (param mṛtyo anu pareḥ panthām yaste sva itaro devayānāt). In Rg. X 2.7 Agni is said to know the pitryāna path (panthāmanu pra vidvān pitryānām). In the Tai. Br. II 6 3 5 it is said 'I have heard of two paths of the Fathers; I have heard about the paths of the gods and mortals' (dve śrutī aśnavām pitṛāṁ aham devānām-uta martyānām). The Śat. Br. I 9.3 2 remarks 'this is the path called Devayāna or Pitryāna.' In the Br. Up. I.5.16 it is said 'there are indeed three worlds, viz. the world of men, the world of *pitṛs* and the world of gods'.

438 उद्वगपन्ते आर्घ्यमाणपक्षे दिवा कृत्वन्ते अथो मरणमित्युपदिशन्ति ॥ श्रौ. पि. ब्र. II 7 21 (ed. by Dr. Shamsastri, Mysore).

performed with Vedic mantras according to Manu II. 16, Yāj. I. 10, Jātukarṇya⁴³⁹. These saṃskāras were formerly performed for women also (Āśv. gr. I. 15.12, I. 16.6, I. 17-11, Manu II. 66) but without Vedic mantras (except in marriage) and for sūdras also (Manu X. 127, Yāj. I. 10) but without Vedic mantras. The Baud. P. S. III. 1.4 states that there are two saṃskāras of every human being and they are like a debt i. e. they must be performed, just as a debt must be discharged viz the saṃskāra on birth and the one on death (mṛtasamskāra). Funeral rites and rites after death varied according as the deceased was an ahiṭāgni (one who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or one who had only kindled the smārta fire, or one who had neither the śrauta fires nor the smārta fire, or a woman, a child, an ascetic (*parivrājaka*), or one dying in a distant land or one dying by accident or committing suicide &c. The śrauta and grhya-sūtras differ among themselves in many details even on the same topic and the procedure becomes more elaborate in medieval and later times. It would be impossible to state all the differences on each topic in this section. A separate volume would have to be written for the purpose of setting out all the variations and additions from ancient times to modern times, to discuss why and how they arose or were made, to compare the various sūtras and to compare these again with the purāṇas and medieval digests, and to appraise their worth or usefulness. All that can be attempted here is to give the bare outlines of the procedure in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests by way of sample in a chronological order. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 569) expressly says that the last rites differ in each Śākha, though certain things are common to all ^{439a}. Chronological conclusions have been drawn about the relative ages of the sūtras (as Dr. Caland does), of the smṛtis, purāṇas and nibandhas from the presence or absence of this or that detail or the elaboration of this or that ritual. But with all respect to the industrious scholars of the West such conclusions are often tentative or misleading and are purely subjective in many cases and are often due to ignorance or loss of ancient works.

439. निवेकादिस्मशानान्तो मन्त्रैर्यस्योदितो विधिः । तस्य शास्त्रेयिकापोऽस्मिन्त्रेयो नाम्नस्य कस्यचित् ॥ मनु II. 16, ब्रह्मसंहिताविद्भूषा वर्णास्त्राचार्यो हिजा । निवेकाद्याः स्मशानान्तास्तेषां वै मन्त्रतः क्रियाः ॥ या I. 10, आधानयुससीमन्तजातनामाश्चोदकाः । मोक्षी व्रतानि गोदानं समावर्तविवाहकाः ॥ अन्त्यं चैतानि कर्माणि शोच्यन्ते षोडशैव तु ॥ आदिकर्ण्य q. in संस्कारमहाकाश p. 135 and अन्त्यकर्मदीपक p. 1

439 a. अविशालं भिक्षेप्यन्त्यकर्मणि साधारणं किञ्चिदुच्यते । निर्णयः p. 569.

Before setting out the rites of cremation contained in the Śrauta sūtras, Grhya sūtras and later works, it would be best to give here a translation of the five hymns from the Rg. (X. 14-18) ⁴⁴⁰. The verses in these hymns are employed by most of the sūtras and are used even now in the cremation rites and most of them occur in the other Vedic Samhitās. Varying interpretations have been given of some of these stanzas by Indian and Western commentators and critics. Only a few of these have been mentioned in the notes. Besides some stanzas are employed for different details of the cremation rites by the different sūtras. All such differences cannot be set out for want of space. The five hymns are so placed that they follow the order of the stages in which the funeral ritual proceeded in fact and is performed even now to a great extent. Vide Appendix for the text of the Rgveda hymns without accents. ⁴⁴¹

X. 14. 1 (O! sacrificer!) worship with an offering Yama, king (of pitrs), son of Vivasvat, the gatherer of men (that are dead), who sought out the way for many (men who do meritorious acts) and who passed along great (non-terrestrial) heights ⁴⁴². 2. Yama was the first to know (find out) the path for us men; that is a pasture (abode) that cannot be taken away (by anybody), that is (an abode) where our ancient

⁴⁴⁰. The work of Bertram S. Puckle on 'Funeral customs' (London, 1926) is a very interesting and instructive one. It describes at great length funeral customs in various parts of England, France and other countries in Europe and among Jews and also in other parts of the world. Many of the customs and beliefs that he records bear a close resemblance to customs and beliefs in ancient and modern India, such as, for example, the alighting of a raven or other black feathered bird on a cottage where a man is very ill as a death warning (p. 17), washing and anointing of dead bodies before burial (pp. 34, 36), the hiring of professional women for wailing and shrieking for the dead (p. 67), condemning burial at night (p. 77), the cutting of the hair as a sign of mourning (p. 91), placing meat and drink on the grave for the spirit of the departed (pp. 99-100), refusal of burial in the churchyard by the Church for unbaptised children, suicides, lunatics, and those excommunicated (p. 143).

⁴⁴¹. Vide Appendix.

⁴⁴². X.14.1. This verse is explained in Nir X 20. 'Pareyivāmsam' may also be taken with 'panthām'. The meaning of 'pravataḥ' is rather uncertain. The Tāi. Ā. VI 1.1, Sat. Śr. 28 1 20, Baud. P. S. (I.2), Vaik. Śr. S. 20.22 (p. 311) read 'pareyuvāmsam'.

ancestors went, each knowing his own way thereto⁴⁴³. 3. Mātali (Indra's charioteer or Indra himself) with the (pitrs) called *kāvya*, Yama with the Angirases and Brhaspati with the Rkvas become prosperous (or increase in strength); whom (the pitrs) the gods support and who support the gods; some of them (the gods, Indra and others) are delighted by *svāhā* (by offerings given after uttering that word) and others (pitrs) are delighted by *svadhā*⁴⁴⁴. 4. O Yama! Being of one mind with the pitrs called Angirases come to this (sacrifice) and sit down on the seat (of kuśas). May the *mantras* recited by the wise (priests) bring you (here). May you (O king) delight yourself with this offering! 5. O Yama! (come with the adorable) Angirases and Vairūpas and delight (or exhilarate) yourself. I invoke Viśvasvat, your father; (May he delight himself) after sitting on the kuśa grass (spread) in this sacrifice⁴⁴⁵. 6. The Angirases, the Navagvas,⁴⁴⁶ the Atharvans, the Bhrgus are our pitrs and love soma (drink). May we secure the good will of those adorable ones! May we be in their gracious favour also! 7. Hasten, hasten⁴⁴⁷ by the ancient paths (to that place) where

443 It is quite possible to understand 'eva jāññāh' as meaning 'being thus born' (like ourselves), 'eva' being taken adverbially and 'jāññāh' from 'jan' (to be born). Compare A V 18.3.13 *यो सप्तार यमो मत्पुत्रो य देवाय यमो लोकसेवकः*. The Parsi scriptures also speak of Yama (Yima) as the first mortal and as the son of Vivanghat Vide Vendidad, Far. and II 1, p. 11. (SBE. vol. IV)

444. *Kāvyas*, Angirases and Rkvas are different classes of Pitrs. In Rg VII 10.4 the Rkvas (singers) are associated with Brhaspati. In other places they are associated with Viśnu, Aja-Ekapāt and Soma also. The exclamation *svāhā* is uttered when making an offering to Gods and *svadhā* when making an offering to pitrs

445. 'Nisadya' is really a gerund and not a finite verb. We have to supply some verb like 'mādyatām' understood from the preceding half. Vairūpas are a subdivision of the Angiras group

446 Navagvas seem to be a subdivision of Angirases, just as 'daśagvas' are, as in Rg III 29.5, IV 51.4, V 29.12, X 62.6. The late Mr Tilak in his 'Arctic home in the Vedas' (pp 162-169) gave a somewhat far-fetched interpretation of these two words which can hardly be accepted as satisfactory in the presence of words like 'atithigva' (Rg. I 53.8, I 30.7, II 14.7, IV 26.3, VIII 68.17), 'abhiyugvan' (Rg VI 45.15), 'etagva' (Rg. VIII 70.7). This verse is explained in Nir XI 19.

447. This and the following three stanzas are addressed to the departed man. For the meaning and history of the word *Itāpūṛta*, vide H. of Dh. vol II, pp. 843-845. It means 'the cumulative spiritual result or merit due to the performance of sacrifices and charitable acts'.

our forefathers that went before us passed. May you (the departed) see the two kings Yama and god Varuna rejoicing as they will. 8. (O departed one!) be united in the highest heaven with the pitrs, with Yama and with your *istūpūrta*; leaving here blamable acts (sins), come back to your home! Being endowed with bright lustre, be united with a (new) ⁴⁴⁸ body! 9. (Ye evil spirits!) Go away, depart, move aside from this place (the cemetery), the pitrs made (or assigned) for him (the departed person) this abode Yama gives to him (this) resting place characterized by waters, days and nights. 10. (O departed!) proceeding by a good path, hurry on past the two dappled dogs (of Yama), offspring of Saramā, each having four eyes. Thus approach the pitrs who will recognize ⁴⁴⁹ you and who enjoy delight in the company of Yama. 11. O king Yama! Give him (the departed one) in charge of those two dogs of yours, who are guards, having four eyes each, who guard the path (to pitr-loka) and who watch men. May you bestow on him happiness and health! 12. The two messengers of Yama, that have wide nostrils, that are very strong, that are satisfied with difficulty, move among the people. May those two (messengers) restore to us to-day auspicious life in order that we may see the Sun! ⁴⁵⁰ 13. Extract Soma juice for Yama (O priests!), offer oblation to Yama, ⁴⁵¹ Sacrifice, in which Agni is messenger (carrier) to the gods and which is well prepared reaches Yama. 14. (O priests) offer oblation sprinkled with ghee to Yama and then start. May he keep us (tied) to the 'worship of gods, ⁴⁵² so that we may live a long life! 15. Offer to king Yama an oblation which is extremely sweet. Here is salutation to the sages who were born before us and who made the path for us,

448 This appears to postulate the acquisition of a new ethereal body for the departed enabling him to enjoy the pleasures of pitrloka.

449. 'Suvidatrān'—who will know or recognize you. The Nir. VI.14 explains 'suvidatrāḥ kalyāṇavidyāḥ'.

450. The life implored for here is that of the persons related to the deceased who are left behind on the earth. 'Asutṛpa' according to Sāyana and Oldenberg means 'who steal away the lives of men'. This is a good meaning in view of what is stated in the last *pāda* of the verse. In translating as done above the word is taken as 'a + su + trpa', while Sāyana takes it as 'asu + trpa'.

451. This and the following two verses are addressed to the priests.

452. 'Sa no deveśvāyamad'—For the translation of these words given above, compare Rg. IX. 44 5,

16. The one great (Br̥hat-sāman) passes in three sacrifices (called Jyotir-gaur-ayuh) to the six wide expanses⁴⁵³. Tristubh, Gāyatrī and the metres are all centered in Yama.

X. 15. 1. May the Soma—loving⁴⁵⁴ pitrs, whether of the lower, middling or higher grade, come forward, those pitrs that attained life (an eternal life or a life of spirit) being kind-hearted and knowing *ṛta* (the rule of right)! May those pitrs protect us when invoked! 2. Today may this be our salutation to the pitrs who went (died) before (the birth of this departed one) or who went after (the birth of the departed⁴⁵⁵), also (those pitrs) that are seated in this world or those who have places among the powerful people. 3. I have known the pitrs as those who will recognize (me, their descendant) and I have known the stride of Viṣṇu and the child (viz. Agni), the pitrs who sit on kuśa grass and partake of food and Soma offering at their will, repeatedly come here.⁴⁵⁶ 4. O pitrs, that occupy kuśa grass! (come) down towards us with your protection, we have prepared for you these offerings; accept them. May you come with very blissful protection and then may grant us happiness that is free from trouble (or evil)!⁴⁵⁷ 5. May the Soma-loving pitrs invited by us to the dear treasures (offerings) placed on the kuśa grass come! May they hear (our prayers) here! May they speak

453 This is rather a very obscure stanza. The A. V. reads 'pavate' for 'patati'. 'Trikadruka' occurs frequently in connection with Soma (as in Rg II 22 1; VIII 92, 21). Sāyana explains that for the performance of Trikadruka sacrifices Yama gives protection and that he comes to the six wide ones for supervising over what was done or not done. The six are mentioned in Śat Br I.5 1, 22 as fire, earth, water, wind, day and night. The six wide ones are referred to in Rg VI 47 3. The conception is rather vague. The meaning probably is that in the Trikadruka sacrifices the Br̥hatsāma is sung and it reverberates throughout the universe (symbolized as the six wide ones) and that all the verses recited in the several metres do the same.

454. X 15. 1. This and the following seven stanzas were employed as mantras in offering oblations to pitrs in the rite performed on the day previous to the day (8th tithi) of Astakā-śrāddha, vide Āśv. gr. II. 46.

455 X 15. 2. 'Purvāsah' and 'uparāsah' may simply mean 'ancient and modern'. 'Pārthive rajasi'—here probably means 'the regions contiguous to or just above the earth'.

456. X. 15 3. 'Nāpātām' is difficult to construe: probably it refers to Agni who is often addressed as 'ūrjo nāpāt' (Rg. I. 58.8, II. 6.2, VI. 48.2).

457. X. 15.4. 'Sam yoh' is explained by the Nir. IV. 21 as समं च श्रेयसां यवनं च भयानाद् and यः in अरयः as meaning पाप.

in favour of us and may they protect us! 6. O Fathers! May you all, bending your knee and sitting to the right side (of the offering) commend our sacrifice; whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men, do not injure us for the sake of that. 7. O Fathers! sitting in front of (in the lap of) brilliant (flames) may you bestow wealth on (me) the mortal sacrificer! May you give wealth to the sons (of the deceased mortal) and may you impart vigour (to them)! 8. May Yama desiring offerings and enjoying the company of our ancient and rich pitrs, who came to (or valued) Soma drinks one after another, who were glorious and in whose company Yama (the king of pitrs) found great delight, partake of (eat) the offerings (given by us) according to his liking⁴⁵⁸ 9. O Agni! come down towards us with the pitrs that were thirsting and gaping (to reach the world of the gods), that knew about sacrifice and that were authors of *stomas* by means of prayers (that they offered), that know us well, that are unfailing (in responding to our call), that partake of the *kavya* offering and that sit round the heated milk. 10. O Agni! come with the pitrs earlier and later (in time) that are unfailing, that partake of the offerings (presented to them), that drink the offerings, that are seated in the same chariot with Indra and the gods, that make obeisances to the gods in their thousands, that sit round the hot milk. 11. O pitrs called Agnisvāta⁴⁵⁹, that are good guides! Come (to this rite) and sit down each on his proper seat. Eat (partake of) the pure offerings (offered) on the sacred kuśa grass and then bestow wealth (or prosperity) together with all heroic sons. 12. O Agni Jātavedas! when praised (by us) you, having made the oblations savoury, have carried them and presented (them to the pitrs). May they eat them as is their wont (or as they are offered with the word *svadhā*)! O God! May you eat (partake of) the pure offerings! 13. O Jātavedas! you know how many (pitrs) are there, viz. those who are here (near us), those who are not here, those whom we know and those whom we do not know (because they are remote ancestors). Be gracious to accept as is your habit this

458 X. 15. 8.—अनुहिरे is perfect of either बहु with अहु or of ऊहु with अनु. वसिष्ठाः may be taken as meaning 'Vasistha, his descendants and others' and as the worshippers of Pitrs or simply means 'rich or dressed in rich clothes.'

459. X. 15 11. अग्निष्वात् = अग्नि + स्वात् (from स्वद्) means 'tasted or licked by Agni'.

sacrifice which is well prepared. 14. (O Agni) Resplendent (or self-ruling) along with those (pitrs) who (whose bodies) were burnt by fire and also whose bodies were not burnt and who enjoy delight (on account of offerings made) with *svadhā* (or as is their wont) in the midst of the heavens. May you arrange a body as (the deceased) desires that will inspire him to a (new) life (in heaven)!

X. 16. 1. O Agni! Do not burn out this (departed person?), do not singe him all round, do not throw here and there (parts of) of his skin or his body, O Jātavedas (fire)! when you burn him completely, may you send him (the deceased) on to the pitrs! 2. O Jātavedas! When you thoroughly burn this (departed person), then may you hand him over to the pitrs! When he (the dead person) follows this (path) that leads on to a (new) life, may he become one that carries out the wishes of the gods⁴⁶⁰! 3. May your eye (of the deceased) go to the Sun, your breath to the wind, may you go to Heaven and earth by your merit or you may go to the waters if you find pleasure there (or if that be your lot)! May you rest (stand) with all your limbs in the herbs! 4. O Jātavedas! May you burn by your heat the goat that is your share! May your flame, may your bright light burn that goat, ⁴⁶¹ carry this (departed) to the world of those who do good deeds by means of your beneficent bodies (flames). 5. O Agni! discharge again towards the pitrs (this deceased) who being offered on to you moves about (or wanders) as is his habit. O Jātavedas! may he take on (a new) life and increase his offerings and be united with a new (ethereal) body.⁴⁶² 6. (O dead man!) May Agni who consumes all make free from blemish that limb of yours which the dark bird (crow) has pierced or an ant or a snake or a wild beast struck at and may Soma that entered into the brāhmanas do the same⁴⁶³.

460 X. 16. 2. The words अनुनीतिमेता have in view the words अनुनीतिमेता यथावत् तन्वं कल्पयस्व in X 15 14 above.

461. X 16. 4 अजो भान्—This refers to the goat that was optionally carried with the dead body. Vide note 486 below and Rg. X 16.7 where the cow is mentioned as being burnt with the dead body.

462. X 16 5. For the meaning of शेषश्च, compare Rg. VII 4.7 (न शेषो अग्ने अन्वजातमस्ति).

463. X 16 6—For सोम ..अविवेक्ष, compare 'सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा' शतपथब्रा V. 4.2 3 and 'स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां भक्ष' ऐ. मा. 35 3 In X.16.7 the idea seems to be that when the corpse is covered with the parts of a slaughtered animal the corpse may not be burnt too quickly.

7. (O deceased) put on (yourself) with cows an armour (i e. against fire flames) of Agni (i e. with the skin of the cow) and surround yourself with the thick fat (of the cow), so that (Agni) that overwhelms with his lustre, that takes delight (in destroying things), that is bold and seeks to burn completely may not scatter (all your parts). 8. O Agni! do not destroy this cup that is dear to the gods and the Soma-loving (pitrs). In this cup from which the gods drink, the immortal gods take delight⁴⁶⁴. 9. I send far away the fire that eats raw flesh: may Agni that carries evil (or sins) go (to regions) where Yama reigns! The other Agni (Jātavedas), knowing everything, may take even here the offering to the gods. 10. I, observing the other Agni (Jātavedas) for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to the pitrs, leave aside the fire that devours raw flesh and that entered your house; may he (the other fire) urge on to the highest world the *gharma* (heated milk or sacrifice⁴⁶⁵). 11. May that fire which carries the *kravyā*⁴⁶⁶ offerings offer them to the pitrs that prosper according to *rita*! May he offer the oblations to the gods and pitrs! 12. (O Agni!) we who love you have established you and have kindled you. May you loving (the pitrs) bring here the pitrs that love us in order that they may partake of the offering! 13. O Agni! May you extinguish (with water) that spot which you burnt (at the) time of cremation! May Kiyāmbu (plant) arise here and may dūrvā creeper spreading its tendrils grow here! 14. O Śitika (cool plant), O herb full of cooling effect, O Hlādikā (freshening herb) causing delight, may you be well associated with a she frog! May you gladden this fire!

464 X 16. 8. This mantra is repeated as invocation when the *pranīta* water is carried forward in the cup. As stated below all sacrificial implements are placed on the body of the deceased *āhitāgnī* and burnt. But the sage prays that the cup may not be completely destroyed, since it may have to be used in the other world by the departed spirit.

465. X. 16. 10. This verse is rather involved. If the words of this verse and the next are literally construed it would seem that the *kravyā* fire was employed for *pitryajña*. It is possible to hold that *kravyā* fire was considered as something evil and to be kept distinct from the ordinary or sacrificial fire.

466 X 16.11 Śāyana explains on the assumption that the word is *kavyavāhana* in this, while the *Samhitā* and the *padapāṭha* have *kravyavāhana*. The *Vāj* S. 19.65 and *Tai* S. II. 6.12.5 read '*kavyavāhanah*'. Here apparently at least the flesh-eating fire is admitted not only in the rites for the *pitrs* but also in the rites for gods.

X. 17. The verses of this hymn, except 3-6, have hardly any bearing on funeral rites. Therefore only those four verses are translated here. The first two verses refer to the marriage of Vivasvat with the daughter of Tvastṛ and to the legend of the birth of Yama and Yami from Vivasvat. Both are explained at length in Nir. XII. 10-11. Verses⁴⁶⁷ 7-9 which contain prayers to Sarasvatī are almost the same as A. V. 18. 1. 41-43 and are employed by the Kausika-sūtra (81.39) in the cremation rite along with A. V. 7.68 1-2 and 18 3.25.

3. May the all-knowing Pūsan, who does not allow cattle to perish and who protects the world, discharge (despatch) you from this (world to the next)! May he (Pūsan) hand you over to these pitrs and may Agni hand you over to the gods that know you well! 4. May Pūsan, who is the life of the Universe and who is himself life, protect you! May he who is ahead of you guard you on the way (to heaven)! May god Savitr place you in that place where the doers of good deeds went and dwell 5. Pūsan knows all these quarters in order; may he take us by (a path) most free from danger! He is the bestower of happiness, full of refulgence, he has all heroes with him; may he (Pūsan) the wise one go in front of us without committing a mistake! 6 Pūsan exists (stands) in the forefront of the paths (leading to the world of pitrs), of the paths leading to heaven and of the paths on the earth. He stands facing both the worlds that are very dear (to all) and he, the knowing one, travels towards and away from both.

X. 18. 1. O Death! Move aside along another path that is your own and different from the Devayāna path. I address you who have eyes and ears. Do not injure our children, do not harm our heroic sons. 2. (O relatives)⁴⁶⁸ that are sacrificers! Since you have come obliterating the foot-prints of Death and firmly establishing long life for yourselves, prospering with progeny and wealth, may you be pure and holy! 3. These living (relatives) have turned back separated from the dead; this day our invocation (sacrifice to) of the gods became auspicious. We then went forward for dancing, for

467. Sarasvatī is a sacred river and also imagined as a deity Rg VI. 61 and VII 95 are two hymns addressed to Sarasvatī. Probably waters of rivers were used at the time of cremation and they are all identified with and held as sacred as Sarasvatī.

468. X 18.2 This verse is addressed to the relatives when they turn homeward after cremation.

laughter (with our children) firmly establishing our long life. 4. I place (here) this barrier (stone) for the (protection of) the living (relatives, son and the like) so that none of them may go this goal (that the departed went). May they live for a hundred prosperous autumns! May they keep off Death by means of the mountain⁴⁶⁹ (the stone). 5. O Dhātṛ! Arrange the lives of these (the survivors) in the same way as the days come one after another in proper order, as the seasons follow each other in a proper order, as a younger one does not abandon an elder (relative)⁴⁷⁰. 6. May you (the survivors) accepting old age attain (long) life, striving in order (of age) whatever your numbers may be; may Tvaṣṭṛ of noble birth and gracious give you here (in this world) a long life to live!⁴⁷¹ 7. Let these women whose husbands are worthy and are living enter the house with ghee (applied) as collyrium (to their eyes). Let these wives first step into house, tearless, without any affliction,⁴⁷² and well adorned. 8. O wife (of the dead)! Raise yourself up towards the world of the living (your sons and other relatives); you lie down near one (your husband)

469. X 18 4. Paridhis are encircling sticks of sacrificial wood such as palāś, khadira placed round the fire. This verse is employed by Āśv. gr. IV. 6.9 in the śāntikarma performed after the collection of bones. Here the fire is surrounded on three sides by the wooden sticks and a stone is placed on the north of the fire with the last quarter as stated by Āśv. gr. IV. 6. 10 अन्तर्द्वयं दधतां पर्वतेनैव हनानहुत्तरतोऽग्निः कृत्वा... यथाहान्यहुपूर्वं भवन्तीत्यनात्मानि श्रेष्ठः। अनात्स here means all members of the family, men and women, except the performer of the rite.

470. X. 18.5 यथा न पूर्वमपरो &c. Probably this refers to the funeral procession arranged according to ages, as Āśv. gr. IV. 2.9 states expressly 'अन्तर्द्वयोऽनात्मा अयोनिर्वीताः मृत्तुशिश्वा ज्येष्ठमथनाः कनिष्ठजघन्याः'. The बौ. पि. सू. I. 21.4 remarks 'अपेयानहुपूर्वं कल्पयति यथाहान्यहुपूर्वं भवन्तीति' or the idea may be that each generation should die in the order it was born and that a son should not die before his father.

471. X. 18 6. This may be symbolic of the fact that the members of the family of the deceased are made to stand on the hide of an ox spread to the west of the fire. Vide Āśv. gr. IV. 6.8 'अथाग्निमुपसमाधाप्य पश्चादस्थानहुर्हं चर्नन्तीर्षं... बलिर्कृत्वा त्वानागो हवेदारीहवायुर्जस्त्वं वृणाना इति.'

472. X 18 7. This verse was employed in the procedure of widow burning (*sati* or *sahamaraṇa* or *anugamana*) by medieval and later writers. Some of them read 'agneḥ' or 'agne' for 'agre'. But even without this change Aparārka (p. 111) and others rely for the practice of *sati* on this verse. For a discussion on this verse and the next, the different readings in the old texts, the different theories built upon these and the practice of widow-burning, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 617-619 and pp. 625-635.

'who is now lifeless; come' You have kept true to this your wifehood of the husband who held your hand (formerly in marriage) and who loved you passionately⁴⁷³ 9. (I) Take the bow from the hand of the departed (ksatriya) in order that there may be in us martial vigour, brilliance and strength⁴⁷⁴. May thou (the departed) there and may we here be endowed with heroic sons and conquer here all competing and aggressive enemies! 10. (O departed) approach this mother Earth which is spread wide and is pleasant May this young one (the Earth) as soft as (wool) to you who have bestowed gifts save you from the lap of Death,⁴⁷⁵ 11 O Earth! heave yourself up, do not crush it, be of easy approach and of easy resort to him, and O Earth! cover him (the dead person represented by his bones) just as a mother would cover her son with the fringe (of her garment).⁴⁷⁶ 12 Let the Earth heave itself up and remain firm. Let the

473. X. 18 3 This verse is somewhat misplaced. It should occur earlier in X. 14 The last quarter is rather difficult to construe In the Tai. Ā VI 1 there is a similar verse 'इयं नारी पतिलोकं दृष्ट्वा निपथव उप त्वा मर्यं मेतद् । विश्वं पुराणमनुपालयन्ती तस्यै मया द्रविणं चेह धेहि ॥' The Tai. Ā. VI 1 also has the verse उदीर्ष्व नार्यभिः and as printed reads 'सम्बद्ध', but सायण explains आभिमुख्येन सम्बद्धं मान्दहि (i. e. he explains सम्बद्ध) The नौ पि द्वा I 8.1-2 reads सम्बद्ध and says about Rg X 18 8 and Tai. Ā verse अथास्य भार्याह्यसवे शयति । इयं नारी . धेहीति । ता प्रतिदितः सत्ये पाणावभिपायोत्थापयति उदीर्ष्व...बद्धवेति ।

474. X 18 9 अस्मे is used with all cases as shown by the Nir. VI. 7. Here it may be equal to अस्मभ्यं or अस्माह This verse also should occur earlier along with verse 3 above In Sān Sr 16 13 13 both 8 and 9 are called utthāpinī (verses) 'उदीर्ष्व नार्यदीर्ष्वान् पतिवत्सदीर्ष्वान् विश्वावसोऽस्मन्वतीत्युत्थापिष्य' The com remarks 'आभिर्होत्रादयो महिषीस्तथापयन्ति'. उदीर्ष्वान् पतिवती is Rg X 85 21, उदीर्ष्वान् विश्वावसो is Rg X 85.22 and अस्मन्वती is Rg X 53 8 These are recited in अश्वमेध at the time of making the crowned queen get up from near the dead horse Compare H of Dh, vol II, p 1235. The तै आ VI. 1 reads three verses respectively applicable to ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय or वैश्य departed person as 'सुवर्णं हस्ताददानां, धनुर्हस्तादां, मणिं हस्ताददानां' and नौ पि द्वा I 8 3-5 cites them and remarks 'अथास्य सुवर्णेन हस्तो निमृजते स्वर्णं हस्तां इति ब्राह्मणस्य, धनुर्हस्तां इति क्षत्रियस्य' &c.

475 X 18 10 Vide the passage from Āśv Sr 5 where this and the following three verses are stated to be among the 24 verses to be recited on the death of a *dīkṣita* The Āśv gr 4 5 5 employs this as a *mantra* to be recited at the time of depositing in a pit the jar containing the burnt bones of the dead The बृहदेवता (VII 17-18) says that X 18 10-13 are employed in the rite of collecting the bones

476 'X 18. 11. This verse is employed by the Āśv gr 4.5 6 for decal at the time of scattering dust over the jar containing the charred bones

pillars in their thousands stand up supporting this house. May these homes (the clods of earth) drop him nourishment! May they become here for all days the shelter ⁴⁷⁷ for him (the departed represented by bones)! 13. I prop up the earth around you for your sake. May I placing this lump of clay receive no harm! May the pitrs support (make steady) this post! ⁴⁷⁸ May Yama provide here seats (or resting places) for you. 14. (The gods) have placed me in the day that will come back (tomorrow) like the feather of an arrow; (therefore) I restrain backwards (stop) my speech as a person restrains a horse with a bridle. ⁴⁷⁹

It should be noted that the word 'pitr-yajña' actually occurs in Rg. X. 16. 10. What does it mean? It has to be remembered that the hymns Rg. X. 15-18 refer to rites immediately on the death of a single person. They are not concerned with rites performed for deceased male ancestors long after their deaths. The anxiety (in X. 15-18) seems to be to make the ancient pitrs (styled Barhisadaḥ and Agnisvātāḥ in Rg. X. 15. 3-4, 11) favourably disposed to the recently departed spirit. *Havis* (sacrificial food such as boiled rice) was offered to the ancient pitrs (Rg. X. 15. 11) who were supposed to have partaken of the food offered (X. 15. 12). The purpose of these Rgvedic hymns is entirely different from the purpose of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 (which refer to the pitryajña performed in Śākamedha). As a matter of fact three of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 do occur in Rg. X. 57. 3-5 and are employed in the piṇḍa-pitryajña. There is hardly any reason to suppose that the pitryajña in Rg. X. 15. 10 is more ancient than the piṇḍapitryajña. It is quite possible that both referring as they do to different matters were coeval.

477. X. 18. 12. This is recited after the bones are covered with particles of dust. It is probable that the particles were poetically described as posts.

478. X. 18. 13. It looks very likely that a wooden post was employed as a support for the urn that was deposited under ground.

479. X. 18. 14. This verse is rather obscure and various interpretations have been proposed by German scholars (Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner and Oldenberg) and others like Whitney and Hopkins. The translation is only tentative, but it probably brings out the sense in the context much better than many other interpretations. The idea probably is that the speaker wants to disconnect himself from the dead just as a feather may become loosened from an arrow that is shot and therefore he states that he wants to stop addressing the dead and close up all connection with the dead. The Brhaddevatā (VII. 18-19) remarks on this verse 'प्रतर्जने यथाहानि अपहृत्येतराणि तु । अहः पितरो बभूवित्याज्ञास्तेऽन्त्ययाक्षिपः' ॥

It would be interesting to see how the ceremonies on the death of an *āhutāgni* are described in the *śrauta* and *grhya* sūtras. The *Āśv. Śr. S.* VI. 10 describes what is to be done in case one that has undergone a *dīksā* (initiation) for a Soma sacrifice or a *sattra* dies before the sacrifice is finished. It states "When the *dīksita* is dead, they take out the body by the *tīrtha*,⁴⁸⁰ place it on the spot where it was intended that *avabhṛtha* (bath at the end of a soma or *sattra* sacrifice) was to be taken and deck the body with the decorations that ordinarily are placed on a dead body. They cut the hair (on the head) of the corpse, the hair on the lips, the hair on the body and also pare the nails. They apply paste of *Nalada* (Indian spikenard) to the corpse and throw on it a garland of *naladas*. Some (having cut open the entrails) take out the fecal matter from them and fill them with *prśadājya* (when clarified butter is mixed with curds it is so called). They cut off a portion as wide as the foot of the corpse from a new (unworn) garment and cover the dead body with it in such a way that the fringe is towards the west (the head being placed towards the east) and the feet of the corpse are exposed to view. The portion cut off from the piece of cloth is taken by the sons and the like. The deceased man's *śrauta* fires are placed on the churning sticks. (the two *arānis*), the dead body is taken outside the *vedi* (fire altar) towards its south, fire is produced by attrition and then the body is burnt therewith. After returning from the cremation, they should finish the work of the day. On the next morning, the recitation of the *śāstras*, the singing of the *stotras* and the *saṁstavas* (reciting hymns in chorus) should be without repetition and the uttering of the *hum* sound. On the same day before taking up the *grahas* (cups), the priests come out by the *tīrtha*, go round the place of cremation with the right hand turned away (from the place) and sit round it in the following manner viz. the *hotr* priest sits to the west (of the place of cremation), the *adhvaryu* to the north, and the *sāma* priests to the west of the *adhvaryu* (and the *brahma* priest to the south). Then the *sāma* priests sing in a low voice the verse beginning with 'āyam gauh prśnirakramit' When the singing is finished the *hotr* walks round the place of cremation thrice with his left

480. तीर्थ means the path to the sacrificial ground between the चालाळ and उत्कर (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 984) For स्तोत्रिय that occurs a little lower down, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1186.

turned towards the place of cremation and without uttering the syllable 'om' recites immediately after the song of the sāma priests the stotriya in a low voice and also the following verses attributed to Yama and Yāmyāyanas (as seers or authors) viz. Rg X 14. 7-8, 10-11, X. 16. 1-6, X. 17. 3-6, X. 18. 10-13, X. 154. 1-5. They should finish with Rg. X. 14.12, then collect the charred bones in a jar, take the jar by the way of the tīrtha and place it on the seat that was occupied by the deceased sacrificer.⁴⁸¹

The Śaṅkhāyana Śr. Ś. (IV. 14-15) deals at great length with the death of an *āhūtāgni* and the rites that follow. Kat. Śr.

481. संस्थिते तीर्थेन निहृत्वावष्टये प्रेतालङ्काराच्च कुर्वन्ति । केचनमश्लोमनखाणि वापयन्ति । नलवेनाच्छलिष्यन्ति । नलदमालां प्रतिशुष्कन्ति । निष्पुत्रीवमेके कुत्वा वृषदावप्य दूरयन्ति । अहतस्य वासस पाशत. पादमात्रमवच्छिद्य शीर्ष्यन्ति प्रत्यग्दशेनावि पादम् । अवच्छेदमस्य पुत्रा अमा कुर्वन् अग्नीनस्य समारोप्य दक्षिणतो बहिर्वेदि दहेयुः ।...प्रत्येव्याह समापयेयुः । प्रतरमप्यासमनभिहिङ्गुतानि शस्त्राद्यवचनाभिष्टवनसंस्तवानि । पुरा ब्रह्महृणात् तीर्थेन निष्कम्प्य त्रिः प्रसम्यमायतनं परीत्य पर्युपविशन्ति । पश्चाद्धोता । उत्तरोपशुः । तस्य पश्चाच्छन्वागा । आर्यं गौः पुश्चिरकमीदित्युपाह्वय कृत्वते । स्तुते होता प्रसम्यमायतनं परित्रजन्तोत्रिषमह्व-व्रवेदमह्ववन् । घामीश्व । मेहि मेहि पथिभिः । पूर्वोभिरिति पञ्चाना वृतीयाह्वयरेत् । नैनस्ये विद्वो नाभिसोच इति वद् । द्या त्वेत्स्न्यावययु म विह्वानिति चतस उपसर्पमातरं धूमिसेतानिति चतस्रः सोम एकैयः । उरणसा उदुम्बलाविति च समाप्य सञ्चिर्य तीर्थेन प्रपाद्य यथासमनासादयेयुः । आश्व. औ 10.

The Śat. Br. (XII, 5 2.5) refers to the practice of cleansing the deceased of all foul matter, but does not approve of it. It recommends 'having washed him out inside he anoints with ghee and thus makes the body sacrificially pure'. आर्यं गौः पुश्चिरकमीद- is the first verse of the hymn Rg. X. 189. 1-3 which are also S. V. No. 630-632 (Āraṇyakāṇḍa) and 1376-78 (Uttarāraṇika). The hymn also occurs in the other Vedas. The verses are called सार्वराज्य ऋचः. It may be noticed that the Āśv. gr. (IV. 4 6) prescribes the recitation of the 24 mantras prescribed in the Āśv. Sr. above and employs some more verses (from Rg. X. 14-18) in the ritual set out below from the Āśv. gr. In the Āśv. Sr. II, 19 there is a description of a rite called 'pitṛyā karma,' in which offerings are offered in fire taken from the Dakṣiṇāgni and in which the *devatās* are five viz. Pitarah-somavantaḥ, Soma pitṛmān, Pitarah barhiṣadāh, Pitarah Agnisvātāh, Yama, for each of whom three verses are recited respectively in order viz. Rg. X. 15. 1, IX. 96. 11, X. 15. 5, Rg. I 91. 1, I 91. 12. VIII. 48. 13, X. 15. 4, X. 15. 3, X. 15. 2; X. 15. 11, X. 15. 13, X. 15. 14; X. 14. 4-5, X. 14. 1. Rg. X. 16. 12 (repeated thrice) becomes the sāmīdhenis in that rite, X. 14. 5 is Yājyā and X. 14. 4 and X. 14. 1 are anuvālyās, Rg. X. 15. 9, IV. 11. 3, I. 96. 1 are recited when the rite is finished (instead of Agni Sviṣṭakṛt Agni Kavyavāhana is invoked); Rg. X. 16. 11, X. 15. 12 are two Samyājyās in Vasaṭkāra. The editor of the Prayogaratna explains that Nalada means 'Uśira' (i. e. Wālā in Marathi) and that some substitute japā flowers (china rose) for *naladaś*.

S. 25.7 does the same but more briefly. Kāt. (25. 7. 18) refers to the cutting of hair and nails and taking out fecal matter and Kauś. (80. 13-16), Śān. Śr. 4. 14 4-5 also speak of the cutting of hair, of bathing the dead body, applying paste and putting garlands. The Baud. P. S (1 2) refers to these and adds that if they cut open his entrails from the right side they again sew it with darbha grass or they may simply wash the body (without taking out the fecal matter), cover the body with a piece of cloth, deck it, remove the body by the way between the *vedi* and *utkara*, place it on a couch (*āsandī*) over which a black antelope skin was spread with the head to the south, put Nalada garland on it and cover it with an unworn piece of cloth (as in Āśv. Śr. above). Sat Śr. 28 1. 22 and G. P. S. I. 10-14 contain similar provisions adding that the toes of the feet and thumbs of the corpse are tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment (*baddhvā daśenāngusthau-pādayoh pānyośca*, G. P. S. I. 12) and that the *āsandī* (a small couch or chair on which the corpse was carried) was to be of *udumbara* wood. The Kausikasūtra (80. 3. 3-45) refers to numerous stanzas from A V. that are to be recited in kindling the funeral fire and offering oblations, viz. 18. 2. 4 and 36, 18. 3. 4; 18. 1. 49-50, 58; 18. 1. 41-43; 7. 68 1-2; 18. 3. 25; 18. 2 4-18 (omitting 18. 2. 10); 18.4.1-15 &c. Compare SBE vol. XI p. XLI for Buddhist practices.

The Āśv. gr. ⁴⁸² (IV. 1 and 2) prescribes in general the ceremonies on the death of an *āhūtāgni*, while the Āśv. Śr. S. quoted

482, It deserves to be noted that the numbering of the sūtras in Āśv. gr. IV. 1-2 differs in different editions considerably. The rules about the selection of the site for cremation are ancient. The Sat Br. XIII. 8.1 and Kāt. Sr XXI. 3, 15-26 also lay down elaborate rules. The latter may be set out here. 'the site for cremation should be one surrounded by a thicket of trees, but it should be so open that the sun shines directly on it at mid-day. It should be saltish land or land sloping to the north or it may be all level land. Some say that it should slope towards the south. The spot should be such that the houses in the village cannot be seen from it and should be at a distance from the road and from the vata, pīpala, tilvaka, haridru, sphūrjaka, bibhīdaka and other trees that have an evil name (such as ślesmātaka and kovidāra) The Sat. Br. XIII 8.1.16 names all these trees that are to be avoided. The spot should be such that a pile of wood (as directed in Kāt. Śr. 25 7 16-17) can be constructed thereon. It should be a pleasing one and should have a thicket of various trees to its west or in default, water, which may be to its west or north. The spot should have streams or holes and grass growing thereon. The Kāt. Sr. S.

(Continued on the next page)

above deals with what should be done in case the *āhitāgni* dies while engaged in a Soma or other sacrifice. The Āśv. gr. remarks 'when an *āhitāgni* dies, one (a son or other relative) should arrange to have a piece of land dug up to the south-east or south-west at a place sloping towards the south or south-east, or according to some towards the south-west. The piece of land dug up should be of the length of a man with upraised arms, of the breadth of one *vyāma*⁴⁸³ and one *ntast* (twelve finger breadths) in depth. The cemetery (*śmaśāna*) should⁴⁸⁴ be free (open) on all sides. It should abound in herbs, but plants with thorns and with milky juice (should be dug out) as stated before (in Āśv. gr. II. 7.5 about *vāstu-parikṣā*). From which the waters flow on all sides (that is the spot should be a little higher than the surrounding ground); this should be a characteristic required for that (kind of) cemetery where (the body) is to be burnt. They should cut off the hair on the head, the lips and the body and pare the nails (of the deceased); this has been declared already (in Āśv. Śr. VI. 10.2). They should make provision for plenty of sacrificial grass and clarified butter. In this (funeral rite) they pour clarified butter into curds. This is the *prṣadāgya* used

(Continued from the last page)

21 3. 27 adds that a bamboo staff with a bundle of grass at its top is carried to the cremation ground and held by a person to the north of the ground while the rites go on and that it is brought back to the house and kept raised at the house. The ground is measured and pegs of *palāśa*, *śamī*, *varana* and a stone are driven into the ground from the east, north, west and south in order. The Sat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 1 mentions pegs (*śanku*). Sān. Sr. (IV. 14, 6-9) states that the ground of cremation slopes to the south or south-east, that the ground is swept with a *palāśa* branch with the verse 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9), then it is cleared with the *sphya* and sprinkled with water and the pile of wood is made to face south-east.

483. व्याम is defined as 'व्यामी बाहोः सकारयोस्ततयोस्तिर्यगन्तरम्' अनरकोश. It is as much as the out-stretched arms together with the hands (i. e. a fathom).

484. श्मशान has two meanings viz. the place where a corpse is cremated and also the place where the charred bones (after cremation) collected in a jar are deposited in the earth. सारायण remarks on अश्व. गृ. IV. 1.11 (अभित आकाशं श्मशानं) 'श्मशानग्रहणेनात्र श्मशानद्वयं गृह्यते । .. दहनदेशश्च श्मशानं साक्षित्य यत्रास्थानि निधीयन्ते तत्र श्मशानम् । तद्द्वयं सर्वत्र आकाशं भवेत्'. The शतपथब्रा. XIII 8.1.1 derives श्मशान in two ways as being a form of श्वाश or श्मशान in the words अथारमै कल्याणं कुर्वन्ति । अथारमै श्मशानं कुर्वन्ति । श्मशान उ हेव भाम शिवूनामचारस्ते हाडुर्मिहोकेऽकृतश्मशानस्य साधुकृत्याहुपदम्भयन्ति तेभ्य एतद्वत् करोति तस्माच्छ्मशानं श्मशानं ह वै तच्छ्मशानमित्याचक्षते परोक्षम् । अथर्व- 18.4.44 shows that the dead body was carried in a cart drawn by oxen.

(in the rites) for *pitr̥s*. (The relatives of the deceased) carry his sacred fires and his sacrificial vessels in that direction (viz. where the ground is dug up for cremation). After these aged persons, in odd numbers, men and women not going together, carry the dead body. Some say that (the dead body) should be carried in a cart with a seat drawn⁴⁸⁵ by oxen. Some prescribe that a she-animal, either a cow⁴⁸⁶ or a she-goat, of one colour or of a dark colour (should be taken to the cemetery). The (relatives of the dead) tie (a rope) to the left fore-foot and lead it behind (the corpse). Then follow the relations (of the deceased) with their *yajñopavītas* brought low (round their body) and with the top knot untied (dishevelled), the older ones going first, the younger ones last. Having thus arrived at the spot (of cremation), the performer (of cremation rites) while walking three times round the spot (for cremation) with his left side turned towards it, sprinkles water on it with a *śamī* twig with the verse 'apeta vīta vi ca sarpatāṭah' (Rg. X. 14. 9). To the south-east on a slightly raised corner (of the spot for cremation), he (son or the like) places the *Āhavanīya* fire, to the north-west the *Gārhapatyā* fire and to the south-west the *Dakṣiṇā* fire. Then a person that knows (how to prepare a funeral pile) collects a pile of fuel between the fires (on the dug-up spot). Then the performer of the rites spreads *baḥiṣ* (*kūśas*) and a black antelope skin with the hairy part outside on the pile, (the relatives) place the dead body thereon carrying it by way of the north side of the *Gārhapatyā* fire and turning its head towards the *Āhavanīya* fire. They make the wife

485. The Baud. P. S. (I. 4. 5-6) says that servants or old men should carry the dead body on a couch or chair covering the body with a mat or according to some in a cart.

486. अहस्तरणी is a cow or she-goat which is killed and then is made to cover the dead body with its limbs. The word is explained by नारायण as 'प्रेतमनुस्तरयति वा स्त्री पशुः साहस्तरणी'. The कात्यायनश्रौत (25.7.34-37) 'अनुस्तरणी श्वेतश्वार्कणमाहृत्य हस्तयोर्वृक्षौ। अङ्गेण्वङ्गानीति जादुकर्ण्यः। न वास्ति समवेदत। वपरा मुख-मवच्छाद्याग्निनिरादीपयति। अहृतिं ब्रूहीति श्वो भोताम्योवा ब्राह्मणोऽस्मात्स्वमधिजातोऽस्ति त्वदयं जायता ह्यन. असौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वाहेति। The mantra अस्मात्स्व.. लोकाय स्वादा is वाज स 35 22 Vide शतपथ ब्रा XII, 5 2 15 for the same words and mantra as in Kāt Sr. The com of Yājñikadeva on Kāt. Sr. 25 7 34 explains वृक्षौ as कुशिलोक्षौ Vide also Baud. P. S I 4 1 and I 9-10, Sat. Sr. 28.2 3-13, Kaus 81.20-27 The latter prescribes that the cow is led round with the left side towards the corpse with the mantras A V 18 3 3 and 4, that the cow is struck on her buttocks and loins, that two *vṛkṣas* are taken from the cow's back and placed on the hands of the corpse with the mantra 'ati drava' (A V. XVIII 2 11) which is Rg. X 14 10

of the deceased (belonging to any one of the three higher varnas) lie down (on the pile) to the north of the dead body, and also place his bow to the north if (the deceased was) ksatriya. The wife's brother-in-law⁴⁸⁷ (husband's brother) or a representative of the husband or a pupil (of the deceased) or an old servant (slave) should make her rise (from the pile) with the mantra 'udīrsva nāryabhi jīvalokam' (Rg. X. 18. 8); the performer (of the rites) should mutter this verse if a śūdra (servant) makes her rise and he takes away the bow with the verse 'dhanur-hastādadādāno' (Rg. X. 18. 9). It has been stated (above what is to be done) in case a śūdra (should perform this act). Having strung the bow he should before the piling up of the things (mentioned below on the dead body) is done, break the bow to pieces and throw it on the pile.⁴⁸⁸ He then should put the following sacrificial implements (on the dead body) viz. into the right hand the spoon called Juhū, in the left hand the spoon Upabhr̥t, on his right side the Sphya (wooden sword), on his left side the Agnihotraharavāni (the ladle with which the Agnihotra offerings were offered into fire), on his chest, head and teeth respectively the dhruvā (the big sacrificial ladle), the dishes (or the kapālas), the pressing stones (used for pressing out Soma juice in a soma sacrifice), on the two nostrils the two small ladles (śruva), on the ears the two Prāśitra-haranas,⁴⁸⁹ if there be only one then breaking

487. Many of the sūtras refer to this act of making the wife of the deceased lie down to the north of the dead body on the funeral pile and then making her rise up from it. Vide Kauśikasūtra 80. 44-45 'इयं नारीति पत्नीक्षुपसंवेक्षयति । उदीरस्वत्युत्थापयति ।' These two verses are A. V. XVIII. 3. 1-2. Sat. Sr. (28. 2. 14-16) states that before the corpse is placed on the pyre the wife is made to lie down near it with the verse 'iyam nārī' and then her husband's brother or another brāhmana makes her get up with the verse 'udīrsva nārī'. The same sūtra (28. 2. 22) says that the wife may be made to lie down near the corpse after the latter is placed on the pyre or before (as it appears to prefer).

488. Here the Sat. Br. XII 5. 2. 6 and some of the sūtras (such as Kāt. Sr. 25. 7. 19, Sān. Śr. IV. 14. 16-35, Sat. Śr. 28. 2. 23-50, Kauśika 81. 1-19, Baud. P. S. I. 8-9) and smṛtis like Gobhila (III 24) add that in the seven seats of vital air viz. the mouth, the two nostrils, the two eyes and the two ears, they cast small pieces of gold. Others add that sesame wetted with ghee are also thrown on the corpse. The G. P. S. II. 7. 12 says that it is the adhvaryu who deposits the kapālas on the head (of the dead body).

489. On the Prāśitraharana, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1064 (the vessel in which a portion of puroḍāśa is kept for the brāhmā priest). For the Samyā (yoke-pin), vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1112 n. 2487.

it into two; on the belly the *pātrī* (in which the oblations are collected before offering) and the *camasa* (cup) in which (the *īdā* portion) cut off is placed; on his private parts the *śamyā* on the thighs the two *aranis* (wood sticks for kindling fire by attrition) and on the spanks the mortar and pestle, on the feet the winnowing baskets (*śūrpa*) or if there be one only, by tearing it in two pieces. Those of the sacrificial implements which have a hollow (into which a fluid can be poured) are filled with *Prṣadājya*. The son (of the deceased) should take the upper and the lower mill-stones for himself and the implements made of copper, iron and earthenware.⁴⁹⁰

The Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 14 first states that sacrificial implements made of stone or earthenware should be donated to a brāhmana but people regard the latter as a corpse-bearer (and so) they should be thrown into water.⁴⁹¹ Taking out the omentum (*vapā*) of the *Anustarani* she-animal he should cover therewith the head and the mouth (of the deceased) with the verse 'Agnir varma' (Rg. X. 16. 7). Taking out the two kidneys (*vrkkau*) of the animal he should deposit them into the

490. It should be noted that there are some variations in the statements about the sacrificial implements made here and in the Śat Br. XII. 5. 2, Śat Sr. 28. 2 23-50, Kāt Sr 25 7 21-33, Kaus. 81 1-19, Baud. P. S. I. 8 11-I. 9 7, Śān Śr. IV 14. 18-36. For example, the Śān Śr. (IV. 16 21-31) prescribes that the *Agnihotra* *havanī* is placed on the throat and the two *aranis* on the private parts, while Āśv. gr. places the *agnihotra* *havanī* on the left side and the *śamyā* on private parts. Sabara quotes several times a passage which says 'They burn the *āhitiṅni* with his (vedic) fires and sacrificial implements' (*āhitiṅnim-agnibhir dahanti yajñapātraiḥ*) on Jai IV 1 9, VI, 6 34, XI 3.34. Those words occur also in Baud P. S. III 1.9. Jai XI 3 34 states the proposition that the cremation of the sacrificer with the sacrificial implements is what is called *pratipattikarmaṇ* (the final disposal) of the *yajñapātras*.

491. अधारस्य सप्त षण्णावतनेषु सप्त हिरण्यशकलान्तरस्यति ज्योतिर्गोऽमृतं हिरण्य ज्योतिरेवास्मिन्सिद्धयुतं दधाति। अथैनमन्तरेणाश्विंश्चित्वा क्षुण्णाजिनमुत्तरद्वौ प्राचीनश्रीवं मस्तीर्य तस्मिन्नेनमुत्तानं निपाद्य छद्म धृतेन पूर्णां दक्षिणे पाणावदधाति सप्त उपश्रुतमुरसि ध्रुवा मुखेऽग्निहोत्रद्वयोर्नासिकयोः स्नुवो कर्णयोः प्राक्षित्रहरणे शीर्षधर्मं प्रणीताप्रणयन पार्श्वयोः शूर्पेऽदरे पात्री समवत्तधानी ध्रुवदाज्यवर्ती शिश्नस्यान्ते शम्यामाण्डयो रन्ते द्वापरवाम्बुखल च सुसलं चान्तरेणोरु अन्यानि यज्ञपात्राणि दक्षिणे पाणी स्वयम्। स एष यज्ञाद्युषी यजमानः। यथा विष्यदानीमपमतीयादेवमेव योऽस्य स्वर्गो लोको जितो भवति तमपत्येति। शतपथभा. XII. 5 2 6-8 The गौ. पि. सू I 2.31, Śat Sr. 28.2 23-4 and others provide that either gold bits or drops of clarified butter were to be cast over the seven orifices (mouth and others). A comparatively later *smṛiti* like that of *Parāśara* mentions this depositing of sacrificial implements on the sacrificer's body (Y. 19-22)

hands (of the deceased) the right kidney in the right hand and left kidney in the left with the mantra 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14, 10, recited once only). He puts the heart (of the animal) on his heart and according to some also two lumps of flour (of rice or barley); according to others only if there are no kidneys.⁴⁹² Having deposited the whole animal limb by limb (on corresponding limbs of the dead body) and having covered it with its own hide he recites when the Pranita water is being carried forward, by way of invocation the mantra 'imam agne' (Rg. X. 16. 8). Bending his left knee he should offer into the Dakṣiṇa fire oblations of clarified butter with the formula 'to Agni svāhā! To Soma svāhā! To the world svāhā! To Anumati svāhā!' A fifth oblation (is to be offered) on the chest of the deceased with the formula 'from this one, indeed thou hast been born! May he now be born out of thee, N. N. To the heavenly world, svāhā' (Vaj. S. 35. 22). He gives the order 'Light the fire together.' Then the Āśv. gr. (IV. 4. 2-5) states what one has to understand if the Āhavanīya or Gārhapatya or Dakṣiṇa fire reaches the dead body first or if all the fires reach the body at the same moment; while the body is burning he recites over it the same texts (Rg. X. 14. 7 and others quoted above in n. 481 from Āśv. Sr. sūtra). Being cremated by a person who knows this he goes to the heavenly world together with the smoke (of the funeral pile)—thus it is known (in the Śruti). After he has recited the verse 'ime jīvāḥ' (Rg. X. 18. 3) they (all relatives) turn round from right to left and go away without looking back. When they have come to a place where there is standing water, having once plunged into it and raised their heads out of it they pour one handful of water, pronounce the gotra name and the proper name (of the deceased),

492. According to Kāt. Sr. quoted above in n. 486 the Anustaraṇi animal was to be struck behind the ear and killed. According to Jātūkarnya the several limbs of the animal were to be placed on the corresponding limbs of the dead body. But Kāt. disapproves of this since when burnt there may be a doubt (in collecting bones) whether they are of the deceased or of the animal (and so only the flesh of the animal was to be placed on the limbs according to Kāt.). Compare Sat. Br. XII. 5. 9-12 for similar remarks. Āśv. gr. IV. 2. 4 (as interpreted by Nārāyaṇa) itself shows that there was an option viz. that the animal may be killed or let off and donated to a brāhmaṇa (vide also Band. P. S. I. 10. 2). The Sāh. Sr. (IV. 14. 14-15) states that the kidneys were to be taken from the killed or living animal from behind and being slightly heated on the Dakṣiṇa fire were to be placed in the two hands of the deceased with the two mantras 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14. 10-11).

come out (of the water), put on other garments, wring out (already worn garments) once, lay them away with their skirts to the north and sit down until the stars appear or they may enter their houses when a part of the Sun's disc is still visible, the younger ones entering first, the older ones last. When they have come to the houses they touch a stone, the fire, cow-dung, fried barley, sesame seeds and water. Compare Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 5 for bath and offering of water by relatives and touching a bull on returning from cremation and reciting 'udvayam' (Vaj. S. 35. 14 = Rg. I. 50. 10) and applying collyrium and unguent to their bodies⁴⁹³.

It is not possible from considerations of space to set out all that is said in the other grhya sūtras. A few interesting points may be noted here. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 11, Par. gr. (III. 10. 10 ff) expressly provide that funeral rites for any one whose upanayana has been performed are the same from the choosing of the site for the burning of the body to the descent into water on the part of the relatives (for bathing themselves) as those prescribed for a person who has set up the śrauta (Vedic) fires, the only difference being that an *ūhātāgri* is cremated with the three Vedic fires kept by him, that one who has kept only the smārta⁴⁹⁴ or aupāsana fire is burnt with that and that common persons who have neither kept the śrauta fires nor smārta fire are burnt with the ordinary⁴⁹⁵ fire. Devala provides that when using ordinary fire, one should avoid taking the fire from a cāṇḍāla or any unclean fire or the fire in the room of a freshly delivered woman or the fire of a *patita* or fire from a funeral pyre.⁴⁹⁶ The Pitrdayitī states that the mantra 'asmāt tram &c' was not to be recited when the deceased was a person

493 अपानार्गिरपमुजते । यत्रोदके भवति तत्स्थानं स्नुमित्रिया आप ओषधयः सन्तिव्यञ्जलिनाप उपोचति । स्नात्वाहृतानि वाससि परिधापानहुह सुचमन्वारः स्यादप्यग्निरेयो यानपानमिमुखा एवं तत्पितृलोकास्त्रीगलोकमप्यायन्ति । उद्वयं समसस्पृशति । एतामुचं जपन्तो यन्ति ॥ तस्य आगतेऽप्य आसनाभ्यञ्जने मय्यहमप्येव ए माहपोलह्वास्तेनैव तं सुच्युन्मन्तुर्दधते । इति. मा. XIII. 8.4 4-7. स्नुमित्रिया is वाज. स. 35.12 and उद्वयं is वाज. स. 35.14 (= ऋ. I 50.10)

494, अधानमिचितः । एतदेव भूमिजोपणमेतत्सर्गो न कर्म यदप्यदग्निकर्मणः । इति पथवा. XIII. 8.4.11

495 आहिताग्निर्यथान्यायं दग्धन्याग्निमिराग्निः । अनाहिताग्निरेकेन लौकिकेनेतरो ज्ञेयः ॥ पुच्छया q. by मित्ता. on या III. 2, अपरार्क p. 873 This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23.67

496, लौकिकाग्निश्च चण्डालादिष्पातिरिक्ता ग्राह्य । चण्डालाग्निरभेध्याग्नि इति काशिश्व कार्ष्णिच । पतिताग्निश्चित्ताग्निश्च न शिष्टग्रहणोचिता ॥ इति देवलस्मरणात् । मित्ता. on या. III, 2, अपरार्क p. 873, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 286,

who had not kept sacred fires.⁴⁹⁷ The Pār. gr. further provides that all relatives residing in the same village, if they can trace the relationship, do the same, that they wear only one garment, suspend their sacred thread over the right shoulder, that with the fourth finger of the left hand they spurt away the water with Vaj. S 35. 6 and facing the south plunge into water and pour out one libation of water with joined hands. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 2-7) lays down a bath when a person's relatives on the mother's side and father's relatives up to the 7th degree or as long as relationship can be traced die, except in the case of children less than a year old. In the case of a child's death before one year, the parents and those who carry the child's body have to bathe. All the above should have dishevelled hair, should throw dust in the hair, wear only one garment, turn their faces to the south, plunge into water, offer water to the dead thrice and then sit down on the bank (of the river or pond), then come to the village and do what the women tell them to do (such as touching fire and bull &c.). Yaj. III 2 also provides the same rules as Pār. gr. and prescribes the recitation of the mantra 'apa nah śośucad agham' ('May evil be burnt away from us,' Rg. I 97 1, A.V. IV. 33 1, Tai. Ā. VI. 10.1). The G. P. S. (II. 23) provides that the funeral pyre is to be made with the wood of sacrificial trees, (II. 37 and 39) that the sapindas of the deceased headed by the women, the youngest being the first, fan the corpse placed on the pyre with the fringes of their garments, that the performer of the funeral rites takes a jar filled with water, places a *darbhendua* (?) on his head and goes round the corpse thrice and the priest gives a light stroke on the jar thrice separately with a stone (*aśman*) or an axe and recites a mantra 'imā āpo &c.' when a stream of water rushes out of the broken jar, (changing the words about 'asmin loke' to 'antarikṣe' and 'svarge' at the 2nd and 3rd perambulations). The performer while standing should drop behind him the jar of water. Then after repeating the mantra 'tasmāt tvam adhiṣṭosi...asau svargāya lokāya svāhā,' he should set fire to the pyre to burn the body.⁴⁹⁸ The Sat Śr 28 1 38 provides that the family members

497 अनग्नेर्ज्वालनस्य यज्ञपात्राभावात्पात्रस्यासंस्थितिरिक्तसमस्तेतिकर्तव्यतया दग्धव्यः । अस्मात्तत्र ..मन्त्रत्वेतिमन्त्रपि न प्रयोक्तव्यः । पितृदयिता p 78

498. अथ कर्तव्यं दक्षस्मनादाय पत्नी वा । दर्भेण्डुं शिरसि निधाय द्युतं पर्येति । तमश्मना परशुना वापस्तात्किंचित्ददरति । तां धारामधुमन्त्रयेत इमा आयो मधुमन्त्रोत्तिस्ते लोक उपदुत्यन्तामक्षीयमाणाः स्वधा नन इति । ..तिष्ठन्नेवोदक्षुम्भं पृथुतो विद्युजेत् । ..तस्मादग्निमधि जागर्ति त्वदयं जायता पुनरसौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वाहेत्यसौ ज्ञात्वेन प्रेरय नान संदक्षयन्तेन गृहीत्वा शरीरेणाग्निं संयोजयेत् । गौ. पि. सू. I. 3.1-13.

beat their right thighs, fan the corpse with the fringes of their garments and go thrice round the corpse with the left side towards the corpse and recite the *mantra* 'apa nah śośnacā-
agham' (Rg. I 97 1. Tai. Ā. VI 10. 1). It further provides (28, 1 37-46) that the corpse is carried in a cart or by (four) men and while being carried four stops are made, at each of which clods of earth are dug up and boiled rice is offered thereon with mantras like 'pūṣā tvetaḥ' (Rg. X. 17 3., Tai. Ā VI 10 1), 'āyur viśvāyur' (Rg. X. 17. 4, Tai. Ā VI 10. 2). The Varāha-purāṇa prescribes that a Paurāṇic mantra should be recited, that the performer should go round the pyre and apply the kindled fire towards the part of the pyre where the head is placed.⁴⁹⁹

In modern times the procedure of cremation is generally on the lines of that described in the Āśv. gr. cited above and the procedure described in the Garudapurāṇa II, 4. 41 ff. The following is a summary of the procedure set out in the Antyesti-paddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa which is generally followed by Rgvedins in Western India. The dead body is washed with water, is decked with a *tilaka* on the forehead, is clothed in a garment, is covered with a paste of *Jatāmāṃsi* and a garland of *naladas* is placed round its neck. Then the performer washes his own feet, sips water, performs *prāṇāyāma* without Vedic mantra, then makes a *Sankalpa* (as in note 500),⁵⁰⁰ he wears his sacred thread under the left shoulder (and on the right shoulder) and prays to the earth with the mantra 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10), he then thrice goes round the place dug up (for cremation) and sprinkles water with a *śami* branch at the end of the mantra 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9). This mantra is repeated thrice. Then he draws three lines on the ground with an iron piece or kuśa roots saying 'I draw a line for Yama, the lord of cremation,' 'I draw a line for Kāla, lord of &c' 'I draw a line for Mṛtyu, lord of &c' Then he throws into the dug-up ground pieces of gold and sesame and water mixed with sesame in the middle of the dug up spot for Yama, to the north for Kāla and to the south for

499. कृत्वा सुदुष्करं कर्म जानता वाच्यजानता । सुखकालवशं प्राप्य नर पञ्चत्यमगतम् ॥
धर्मार्थसमायुक्तं लोभमोहसमावृतम् । दहेय सर्वगात्राणि दिव्यान् लोकान्स् गच्छतु ॥ एवमुक्त्वा
ततः शीघ्रं कृत्वा श्वेदं प्रदक्षिणम् । ज्वलमानं तथा वह्निं शिर स्थाने प्रदीपयेत् । चतुर्वर्णेषु सरकार
एवं भवति शुद्धक ॥ ब्राह्मपुराण q. by शुद्धिकृष्ण p. 170 and by शुद्धिकौस्तुभ p. 115.
These verses occur with variations in ब्राह्मपुराण chap 187, 106-108.

500 अथेत्यादि देशजालौ स्मृत्यायुक्तगोत्रस्यायुक्तकर्मणोऽस्मन्निवादे. मेतस्य मेतल-
विमोक्षार्थमौर्ध्वदेहिकं करिष्ये इति सङ्ग्रहस्य प्राचीनार्थीनी भूमिं प्रार्थयेत् । अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति
folio 165 a.

Mṛtyu (each being associated with pits, the formula being 'Yamāya dahanapatāye pītṛbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'). He puts sesame in the mouth of the corpse and prepares a funeral pile sufficient for burning the body by means of sacrificial wood brought by the castemen of the deceased. On that pile he spreads kuśa grass and over the latter black antelope skin with the hair outside. Then the corpse is carried to the north of the fire and is placed on the funeral pile with the head to the south. To the north of the dead body, he makes the wife of the deceased sit down. Then the husband's brother, pupil or an old servant makes her get up with the mantra 'udīrsva' (Rg. X. 18. 8). Then the performer puts pieces of gold in the seven holes of the body (vide above note 491) or drops of clarified butter. He then throws on the body of the departed sesame anointed with ghee, he performs *parisamūhana* (wiping with the wet hand) of the fire, then *paristarana* (strewing darbha grass) round the fire together with the funeral pile) and *paryuksana* (sprinkling water) and brings to the south of the fire the vessels viz *prokṣaṇi*, *sruva*, *camasa* and the vessel containing clarified butter. Then he puts water in the *camasa* (cup), covers it with darbha grass and carries it forward and invokes the *camasa* with Rg. X. 16. 8 (imam-agne &c). He makes a *saṅkalpa* that he would wait upon (or worship) the dead, takes two fuel sticks and offers them into fire and performs the worship of Agni, Kāma, Loka and Anumati by offering clarified butter in fire with the appropriate formula (viz. agnaye svāhā, agnaya idam na mama). Then he offers on the chest of the deceased clarified butter (or *prṣadājya*) (according to some) with the mantra 'asmādvai &c. (vide above note 498). Then he prepares *apūpas* (balls) with barley flour and mixes them with *prṣadājya* and places portions of the balls on the five parts viz. forehead, mouth, the two arms and chest with the following mantras viz Rg. X. 16. 7 (for the ball on forehead and mouth), Rg. X. 14. 10 (for the two arms) and Rg. X. 14. 11 (for the chest). Then he makes the fire flame up with the mantra Rg. X. 16. 9 (*kravyadam-agnim*) towards the head of a male (and the feet of a woman). Then he should repeat certain mantras while the body is being burnt viz. Rg. X. 14. 7-8, Rg. X. 14. 10-11, Rg. X. 16. 1-6, X. 17. 3-6, X. 18. 10-13, X. 15. 1-6, X. 14. 12. While muttering these mantras he should throw sesame on the body that is being burnt. Then the performer should take a jar (full of water) on his left shoulder, should make a hole in it on the back of the jar with a broken but smooth stone. He should go round thrice with the left towards the

burning body from the spot where the feet of the corpse lie and mutter certain mantras. The jar is struck thrice. All the *sagotra* relatives go round the burning corpse. Then the jar is completely broken near that part of the funeral pyre where the head rests. The relatives without looking back turn to the left and come out of the cemetery with the youngest members first. The performer recites Rg. X. 18.3 (ine *jivā* &c.). The relatives repair to a spot where water is flowing, wearing only one garment and with faces to the south and hair dishevelled, plunge into the water once, sip water, place on the bank that stone (*aśman*) with which holes were made in the jar, offer water mixed with sesame on that stone with folded hands with the words 'O departed, of such a gotra and of such a name! May this water mixed with sesame reach you'. The performer offers water with the *uttariya* for allaying the thirst (of the departed) due to the burning.

Many rules were prescribed as regards the carrying of the dead body. It has been seen above that the corpse was carried in a cart or on a couch by the relatives or by the servants (*dāsas*). Some sūtras, smṛtis, commentaries and other works lay down many other rules here. The Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhya 76. 13 ff) states that on the death of Daśaratha his Vedic fires were carried by his priests before the corpse, that the dead body was placed in a palanquin (*śibikā*), that his servants carried it and that coins of gold and clothes were thrown about on the road in front of the bier (for the poor). The general rule was that members of the three higher varṇas alone should carry to the cemetery a dead body belonging to any one of those varṇas and a śūdra should not carry the dead body of a man of a higher caste (when there were men of the caste of the dead available) nor should a man of one of the three higher varṇas carry the dead body of a śūdra, and that the impurity in the case of a śūdra carrying a dead *dvijātī* or a *dvijātī* carrying a śūdra's body is determined by the caste of the dead man. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 1-4, Gaut. Dh. S. 14. 29, Manu 5. 104, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 43-45. A brahmacārin was not permitted to be a carrier of the dead body of a person or relative even of his own caste, except his parents, *guru*, *ācārya* and *upādhyāya* and he was not guilty of breaking his vows of student-hood if he carried the bodies of any one of the five mentioned above. Vide Vas. 23. 7, Manu 5. 91, Yāj. III. 15, Laghu-Hārīta 92-93, Brahmapurāṇa (q by Par. M. I. 2 p. 278). *Guru*, *ācārya* and *Upādhyāya* are defined

by Yāj. I. 34-35. If a *brahmacārīn* carried the corpse of any one except the above five he was held to have swerved from his *vrata* and he had to undergo the expiation for *vratalopa*. Manu 5. 103 and Yāj. III. 13-14 state that those who merely carry a dead body of their own caste should bathe with the clothes on, then bite off *nimba* leaves, should perform *ācamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard, place slowly a foot on a stone and then enter their house. It being the duty of *sapinda*s⁵⁰¹ to carry the dead body of their relative they, after doing so, had simply to bathe, to touch fire and drink clarified butter for being pure (Gaut. 14. 29, Yāj. III. 26, Manu IV. 103, Parāśara III. 42, Devala q. by Par. M. 1 2, p. 277, Hārita q. by Aparārka p. 871). Carrying the dead body of a *brāhmaṇa* who has no relatives is highly extolled by Parāśara (III. 39-41) who says that a person, that thus carries the dead body of a *brāhmaṇa*, secures at each footstep the reward of the performance of a sacrifice and he becomes pure at once simply by plunging into water and performing *prāṇāyāma*, while Manu (5. 101-102) prescribes that if one carries the dead body of a person who is not a *sapinda* through affection he becomes pure after three days. The Hāratalā p. 121 quotes the Ādipurāṇa that if a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* cremates the dead body of a poor *brāhmaṇa* or of a *ksatriya* who has lost everything or of a poor *vaiśya*, he secures great merit and becomes pure at once after a bath. Even now generally (particularly in villages) men of the same caste carry or follow a dead body and are held to be purified by a bath with clothes on. The medieval commentaries like the *Mitākṣarā* stuck strictly to the extreme exclusiveness of caste by prescribing 'if a man⁵⁰² carries a dead body through affection, eats food in that family and dwells in their house he is under impurity for ten days; if he simply stays with the dead man's family but does not eat their food he is impure for three days; these rules apply when the carrier is of

501 विहितं तु सपिण्डानां प्रेतनिर्हरणादिकम् । तेषां करोति यः कश्चिसत्त्वाविक्रयं न विद्यते ॥ देवल q. by परा मा I 2 p. 277, विहितं हि सपिण्डस्य प्रेतनिर्हरणादिकम् । दोषः स्यादसपिण्डस्य तत्रानाथक्रियां विना ॥ हारीत q. by अपरार्क p. 871.

502. अत्रेयं व्यवस्था । यः स्नेहादिना श्वानिर्हरणं कृत्वा तदीयनक्षनश्चाति तदृहे च वसति तस्य दशाहेनैव शुद्धिः । यस्तु केवलं तदृहे वसति न पुनस्तदक्षनश्चाति तस्य त्रिरात्रम् । यः पुनानिर्हरणनाशं करोति न तदृहे वसति न च तदक्षनश्चाति तस्यैकाह इति । एतत्सजातीयविषयम् । विजानांपविषये पुनर्यज्ज्वातीयं प्रेतं निर्हरति तज्जातिभ्युक्तमाशौचं कार्यम् । यथाह गौतमः. (१४.२१) ... विमत्स्य शुद्धनिर्हरणे मासमाशौचं शुद्धस्य तु विमनिर्हरणे दशरात्र-नित्येयं शववदाशौचं कार्यमित्यर्थः । निता. on य. III 14.

the same caste as the dead person. But if a brāhmana carries a śūdra's corpse, the brāhmana is impure for a month, but if a śūdra carries a brāhmana's body the śūdra is impure for ten days.' The Kūrmapurāṇa prescribes that if a brāhmana carries the dead body of a brāhmana for a fee or from other interested motive he becomes impure for ten days, a ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra doing the same becomes impure for 12, 15 or 30 days and the Viṣṇupurāṇa says that the person carrying a dead body for a fee has to become impure for the period of impurity prescribed for a man of that caste. It may be stated that these rules about impurity on the ground of carrying or following the carrying of a dead body of another caste are no longer enforced and it is extremely doubtful whether they were ever strictly enforced or followed. Hārīta⁵⁰³ prescribes that a dead body should not be carried through the midst of a village if while going to the cemetery a village comes in the way, but it should be carried away from it. Manu, 5.92 and Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 100-101 prescribed that the dead body of a śūdra, vaiśya, ksatriya and a brāhmana was to be taken out respectively by the southern, western, northern and eastern gates of the town or village. It was provided by Yama and the Garudapurāṇa II. 456-57⁵⁰⁴ that the fuel for the funeral pyre should not be carried (for higher *varṇas*) to the cemetery by a śūdra and if a śūdra did so the deceased would always remain in the state of *preta*. The Hārīta (p. 121) says that if firewood is carried by śūdras still the pyre should be made by brāhmanas only (for a brāhmana's body). The smṛtis and purāṇas provide that the corpse⁵⁰⁵ should be first bathed with water and then cremated, that the corpse should never be burned naked, but that it should be covered with cloth, decked with flowers and have fragrant unguents (sandalwood

503. तथा हारीतोऽपि न श्रामाभिमुखं भेतं हरेयुरिति । मित्ता on या. III. मद्. 2. या p. 395, हारलता p. 119 which explains 'निर्हृता यदि घर्मेनि श्राम. स्यात्तदा तन्मये न वन्तस्यमित्यर्थः' ।

504. यस्यानयति शूद्राग्निं तृणं काष्ठं हवीषि च । भेतत्वं च सदा तस्य स चाग्नेर्जलं लिप्यते ॥ यम q. by मित्ता. on या. III. 2, अपराक p. 871, हारलता p. 120 (reads मन्वते तेष धर्मोऽस्ति) which last takes स...लिप्यते as referring to the brāhmana who is cremated, तृणकाष्ठतिलाज्यादि स्वयं निज्यु. सुतादय ॥ शूद्रानीति. कृत कर्म सर्वं भवति निष्फलम् । गच्छ०.

505. चन्दनोक्षितसर्गङ्गं सुमनोभिर्निभूयितम् । निर्हरेयु सुतादय. ॥ आनपात्रेऽश्रमादाय प्रेतमग्निपुरं सरम् । एतोलुगच्छन्नस्यार्धमर्धपयस्युज्ज्वलेति ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 23-25 q. by अपराक p. 873, प्रचेता । स्नानं प्रेतस्य पुत्रादीर्विधायै पूजनं ततः । नम्रदेहं दहेत्तैव किञ्चिद्देवं परित्यजेत् ॥ किञ्चिद्दह्यं पक्षेति दैवत्वेन ग्रसिर्द्धं तत्परित्यजेत् तत्स्येग्यश्चण्डालादियम् । अपराक p. 871, मित्ता. on या. III. 2 also quotes प्रचेतम्.

paste &c.), that fire should be carried in front of the corpse and one man should carry cooked food in an unbaked earthen vessel and another should deposit part of the food on the way and one should give clothes and the like to cāṇḍālas and the like (that stay near the cemetery).

The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 159) states that when carrying a dead body to the cemetery, a great deal of noise should be created by means of the four kinds of instruments,⁵⁰⁶

There were differing rules laid down about *vapana* (shaving) for the performer as an auxiliary (anga) of the rite of cremation, after the cremation and bath thereafter. A smṛti text provides⁵⁰⁷ 'shaving of the head and moustaches is declared in seven cases, viz. on the Ganges, at the Bhāskarakṣetra, on the death of the mother or father or *guru*, on consecrating the śrauta fires and in a Soma sacrifice'. The A. K. D (p. 19) prescribes that the son or other performer of the rites of cremation should first perform *vapana* and then bathe, then carry the dead body to a sacred spot, bathe it there, or if such a spot is not at hand should invoke the presence of the Ganges, Gayā and other *tīrthas* in the water to be used for washing the dead body, then anoint it with ghee or sesame oil, again bathe it and put on it a fresh garment, should deck it with *yaśnopavīta*, *gopīcandana*, garland of basil leaves and then should apply to the whole body fragrant substances like sandalwood paste, camphor, saffron, musk &c. But if the cremation took place at night, there was to be no *vapana* at night, but on the next day.⁵⁰⁸ Other smṛtis allowed *vapana* on the 2nd, 3rd, 5th or 7th or any following day up to the offering of śrāddha on the 11th day.⁵⁰⁹ Āp Dh. S. I 3. 10. 6

506. The four kinds of वाद्य were enumerated by भरत as 'ततः चैवावनर्तं च वपनं सुविमेव च' and the अमरकोश illustrates them as follows: 'ततः वीणादिकं वाद्य-मानञ्च सुरजादिभ्यः। वंशादिकं तु सुविरे कांस्पतालदिकं वनम् ॥.'

507. गङ्गाया भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्होराहुती । आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तह स्मृतम् ॥ q by मित्ता. on या III 17, परा. मा I 2, p. 296, शुद्धिप्रकाश p, 161। माय सत्त्व p 493 (from स्मृतिसमुच्चय) भास्करक्षेत्रे is प्रयाग

508. राज्ञो दग्ध्वा तु पिण्डान्तं कृत्वा वपनवर्जितम् । वपनं नेष्यते राज्ञौ मृतस्यो वपनक्रिया ॥ संह प in शुद्धि p 161

509. अलुप्तकेशो यः पूर्वं सोऽत्र केशान् प्रवापयेत् । द्वितीयेऽङ्घ्रि तृतीयेऽङ्घ्रि पञ्चमे सप्तमेऽपि वा । यावच्छ्राद्धं प्रदीयेत तावदित्यपरं मतम् । घोषापनं q by. परा मा I. 2, p. 2. वापनं दशमेऽहनि कार्यम् । तद्वाह देवल । दशमेऽहनि संयाति स्नानं ग्रामाद् बहिर्भवेत् । तत्र त्याज्यानि वासन्ति केशश्मशूनास्मानि च ।; this verse is q. by the मित्ता on या III. 17; the मद् पा. p 416 after quoting देवल and other authors remarks 'प्रथमादिदिनेषु कृतशौर-स्यापि शुद्धयर्थे ब्रह्मदिनेषु वपनं कर्तव्यम् ।.'

provides⁵¹⁰ *vapana* for all sapindas that are younger than the deceased. The Madanapārijāta holds that the performer of cremation rites had to undergo *vapana* on the first day and also on the expiry of the period of impurity, while the Śuddhiprakāsa (p 162) following the Mit on Yāj. III 17 states that the day on which *vapana* is to be undergone is determined by the usage of each country. This difference in usages has been even judicially noticed. In *Chandra choora Deo v. Bibhuti Bhushan Deva* A.I.R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares School the person who performs the cremation shaves his head at the time of cremation, whereas under the Mithilā school there is no such shaving at that time.

The Garudapurāṇa (II. 4. 67-69) provides that loud weeping may be indulged in when the body is burning but there should be no weeping after cremation and the offering of water to the departed.

There was some difference of opinion as to the offering of water (*udakakriyā* or *udakadāna*) to the deceased by his *sapindas* and *samānodakas*. Āśv gr. quoted above (p 209) speaks of offering water once, but the Sat. Śr 28 2. 72 and others prescribe that water mixed with sesame is offered thrice with joined hands on the day of death to the deceased after reciting his gotra and name and every day thereafter up to the 11th.⁵¹¹ Gaut Dh. S. 14. 38, Vas. 4 12 prescribe that water should be offered by *sapindas* to the deceased with their faces to the south on the first, third, seventh and ninth days of death and Haradatta says that in all 75 *añjals* of water were to be offered (three on 1st day, 9 on 3rd, 30 on 7th and 33 on 9th), but that the usage in his country was that on the first day water was offered three times with joined hands and then one more *añjal* on each succeeding day from the 2nd. On the other hand, Viṣṇu Dh S. 19, 7 and 13, Pracetas, Paithinasi (both quoted by Aparārka p. 874)

510. अनुभाविना च परिवापनम्। आप ध सू I. 3.10 6 For explanation of this sūtra, vide मित्ता on या III 17.

511. केशाच्च प्रकीर्य पांसुलोप्यैकवात्सलो दक्षिणाह्वया सकृदुन्मज्ज्योत्तीर्य सत्यं जात्वाच्य वासः पीडयित्वापविशन्त्येवं निस्तम्बत्यं गोत्रनामधेयं तिलमिश्रमुदकं त्रिरुत्तिच्यपदं हरजलिनैकोत्तरद्विज्जिरेकादशाहात्। सत्याषाढश्रौत 28 2 72 The गो पि. सू I. 4.7 is almost in the same words. The water would be offered in the form 'काश्यपगोत्रं देवदत्तशर्मन्, एतत्ते उदकम्' or 'काश्यपगोत्राय देवदत्तशर्मणे प्रेतायैवति-लोकं वदामि' (हरदत्त) or 'देवदत्तनामा काश्यपगोत्रं प्रेतस्तुप्यतु' (मित्ता. on या III. 5.). Vide गोभिलस्मृति III 36-37 also, q by अपरार्क p 874 and पुरा मा I. 2 p 287.

prescribe that water and pinda were to be offered to the deceased for ten days.⁵¹² The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 202) quotes verses from Gṛhya-pariśista, one of which says that some declare that only ten añjalis were to be offered, some say 100 were to be offered and others that 55 were to be offered and that one should follow the usage settled in one's vedic Śākha. The Āśv. gr. pariśista 3. 4 has a similar rule in prose. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhanda chap. 5 verses 22-23) also refers to the offering of 10, 55, or 100 añjalis. Some smrtis prescribed that the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetas (q. by Mit. on Yaj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brāhmana, ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varṇa. Yama (verses 92-94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pitris but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayājñika⁵¹³ it is stated that six pindas were to be offered from the day of death as follows: at the place where the death occurred, at the door of the house, where four roads meet, where the funeral procession on the way to the cemetery rested, on the pile of wood arranged for burning (*citā*), and at the time of the collection of the burnt bones. It was further provided that for the benefit of the departed a lamp fed by sesame oil was to be kept burning continuously for ten days after death and an earthenware vessel was to be kept filled with water and a handful of cooked rice was to be offered on the ground at the time of the mid-day meal after uttering the name and gotra of the departed. This was called *pāṭheya śrāddha* because it helped the departed to go on his way from the earth to the world of the departed (vide Dharmasindhu p 463). According to some of the digests

512. दिनेदिनेऽजलीन् पूर्णान् मद्यात्मेतकारणात्। तावद्विंशच्च कर्तव्या यावत्पिण्डः समाप्यते॥ मचेतस् q. by मिता on या III. 3; 'यावदाक्षौचं तावत्तेतस्योदकं पिण्डं च दद्यात्' निष्कर्मसूत्र 19.13 If water is offered only once a day for ten days there would be only ten añjalis in all, but if 10 were offered on each day there would be 100, if one was offered on first day and one more added on each succeeding day to the 10th there would be 55 añjalis.

513. अन्नं च आहोतरं पिण्डदानमुक्तं देवयाज्ञिकोदाहृतायां स्थितौ। घृतस्योत्क्रान्तिसम्पाद्यद् पिण्डाच्च कमशी दिशेत्। घृतस्थाने तथा हारे चत्वरं तत्सर्वं कारणात्। विश्राजे काष्ठचपने तथा सञ्चपने च पट्। q. by बुद्धिमताः p. 158. Vide शब्दप्रकरण II. 4 48 for a similar provision.

a śrāddha called Nagna-pracchādana was to be performed on the day of the death of a person after his sapindas undergo shaving and bath, enter the village and the house. It consists in filling a jar with grains of rice wound round with a piece of cloth and putting clarified butter in a vessel of bell-metal and some gold (or coins) thereon according to one's ability. The whole was to be given to a poor brāhmana of good family after remembering Viṣṇu for the benefit of the departed Vide Smṛti-muktāphala (on śr) pp. 595-596, Sm C (on Āśauca p. 176),

The smṛtis and purāṇas (like Kūrma, uttarārḍha 23. 70) prescribe that after offering with joined hands water to the deceased a ball of rice or barley flour with sesame was to be presented on darbha grass. There are two views on this point. According to Yāj. III. 16 a *pinda* was to be offered for three days after death according to the procedure prescribed for Pinda-pitr-yajña (such as wearing of the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left shoulder), while according to Viṣṇu 19. 13 one *pinda* was to be offered every day as long as impurity on death lasted. The *pinda* was to be offered on darbhas spread on the ground if the deceased had his upanayana performed, but without mantras or may be offered on a stone⁵¹⁴. While water could be offered by any and every sapinda, *pinda* was to be offered only by the son (and when there were many sons, by the eldest if free from defect); in default of a son the nearest sapinda like a brother or brother's son was to offer it and in default of such then the sapindas of the mother (maternal uncle, his son or the like) could⁵¹⁵ offer it. Even when *pindas* were to be offered for three days or *āśauca* lasted only for 3 days the *pindas* were prescribed to be ten by Śatātapa and Pāraskara distributed them as follows: three on the first day, four on the 2nd and 3 on the third and Dakṣa⁵¹⁶ distributed them as follows: one on the first day, four on the 2nd and five on the 3rd. Pāraskara prescribed that 10, 12, 15, 30 *pindas* were to be offered according to the varṇa of the deceased. In the case cited above from A. I. R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares school 4, 5 or 6

514. शुनौ मालयं पिण्डं पानीयमुपले वा दद्यात् : शङ्खे व. by मिता. on या. III. 16.

515. पुत्राभावे सपिण्डाः सावृतपिण्डाः शिष्याश्च वा दद्यात् : तदभावे त्रिभिर्गार्वा । शौ. व. सू. 15.13-14.

516. प्रथमेऽहनि सप्तपिण्ड द्वितीये चतुरस्रतया । तृतीये पञ्च वै दद्यादेव पिण्डविधिः स्मृतः । शङ्खे व. by अपरार्क p. 688.

pindas are offered at the time of cremation, while according to the Mithilā school only one pinda is offered. Everybody, whether a person of the same gotra as the deceased or of another gotra, had to carry out all the rites up to the tenth day when he once began them on the day of death, as stated by the Grhya-pariśista⁵¹⁷ and Garudapurāṇa. It is further prescribed that when the funeral rites are begun by a person and then a nearer relative such as a son comes, even then the former is to carry on all the rites up to the 10th day, but the rites of the 11th and later days are to be performed by the son and in default of him by a near sapinda. The Matsyapurāṇa states⁵¹⁸ that pindas should be offered to the deceased for twelve days; they become his food on his journey (to the other world) and they give him satisfaction; since the deceased is taken to the abode of departed spirits after twelve days, he (his spirit) sees his house, sons and wife for twelve days. Rṣyaśrṅga quoted by Aparārka (p. 889) specifies the limbs of an ethereal body with which the deceased is endowed on each day of the ten days after death when a pinda is offered. The Garudapurāṇa (pretakhanda chap. 5. 33-36) says the same.

Just as sapindas of the same gotra and *samānodakas* were bound to offer water to the deceased, a person was bound to offer water to his maternal grandfather and to the two further ancestors and to his ācārya on their death. Every man, if he so desired (i. e. he was under no religious duty), could offer water to his friend, to his married sister or daughter, to his sister's son, father-in-law and his sacrificial priest on their death (Pār. gr. III. 10, Śankha-Likhita, Yaj. ⁵¹⁹ III. 4) Pāraskara (III. 10) refers to a peculiar practice. When the sapindas are about to enter water for bathing and thereafter offering water to the deceased they pray to their relatives or brother-in-law for water with the words 'we shall perform udakakriyā', where-upon

517. असगोत्रः सगोत्रो वा यदि स्त्री यदि वा पुमान्। मथ्येऽहनि यो दद्यात् दशार्हं समापयेत्॥ शुद्धपरिशिष्ट q. by शिता on वा. I. 255 and III 16, अपारर्क p 887, मद्. पा. p. 400, हारलता p. 172. This is लघ्वश्वलायन 20.6 and बृहस्पराण (प्रेतखण्ड) 5 19-20.

518. वेताय पिण्डदानं द्वादशार्हं समाचरेत्। पाथेयं तस्य तत्पुत्रो यतः प्रीतिकरं महत्॥ यस्मात् प्रेतपुरं प्रेतो द्वादशाहेन नीयते। शुद्धपुत्रकलत्रं च द्वादशार्हं प्रपद्यते। मत्स्यपुराण q. by अपारर्क p 889. These two verses are the same as पद्मपुराण, सुद्विखण्ड 10.5-6.

519. 'उदकक्रिया कोमं श्वशुरमाहुलयोः शिष्ये सहाध्यायिनि राजाने च।' ऋद्धिलिखित q by दीपकालिका on वा III. 4.

the other replies 'do so but don't come again (with a similar request),' if the deceased was less than one hundred years of age, but the reply would be simply 'do so' if the deceased was hundred years of age or more.⁵²⁰ The G. P. S. (I, 4, 4-6) has a somewhat similar symbolic dialogue. A king's officer, a *sagotra* or a brother-in-law takes a branch having thorns and prevents them from entering water with the words 'don't enter'; then the sapindas should reply 'we shall not again enter water'. The probable significance of this was that they thereby would be able to escape from another death in the family soon after.

There were rules prohibiting certain persons from offering water to the deceased and also directing that water should not be offered to certain deceased persons. Impotent⁵²¹ persons and the like, thieves of gold, *vrātyas*, those who follow forbidden conduct and women that kill their own foetus or husband and that drink the kind of liquor (forbidden to them) should not offer water to a deceased person. Yāj (III. 6) provides that water should not be offered to and no *śāuca* observed for heretics, for those who do not belong to one of the four *āśramas*, to thieves, to women who kill their husbands or who are guilty of prostitution or who drink *surā*, or who commit suicide. Manu (V. 89-90) is to the same effect. Gaut Dh. S.⁵²² 14. 11 provides that in the case of those who start (through anger) on the Great

520 संयुक्त मैथुनं बोदकं याचेरकुदकं करिष्यामह इति। कुरुष्व मा चैव पुनरित्यक्तं वर्षे मेते। कुरुष्वमित्येवेतरस्मिन्। पाररररररर III 10, which are included in the procedure of *udakadāna* even by such a late writer as Govindānanda (S. K. p. 122) and explained by छात्रिकाशा pp 199-200, अप' प्रतिपद्यन्ते। अत्र राजपुरुषः सगोत्रमिथुनी (सगोत्रो मैथुनी?) वा कण्डकिनीं शास्त्रमादाय नावतरतेति वारयेत् न पुनरवतरिष्याम इति प्रतिबुद्धः। गौ पि सू I 4 3-6.

521 क्लीबाद्या नोदकं कुर्युः स्तेना व्रात्या विधर्मिणः। गर्भभर्तृमुहश्चैव ह्यराप्यश्चैव धोवितः॥ बृह्मेष्ट ५. by कल्पतरु (छात्रि) p. 89, छात्रिकाशा p 203. The word क्लीबाद्याः probably includes all those mentioned by Yāj II. 140 For *vrātyas* vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp 96, 386

522 प्रायानाशकशस्त्राग्निबोदकोद्धन्धनभपतनैश्चेच्छताम्। गौ 14 11; कोधोत्पार्यं विषं वद्धिः शस्त्रोद्धन्धनं जलम्। गिरिवृक्षमपात च ये कुर्वन्ति नराधमाः। ब्रह्मदण्डहता ये च ये चैव ब्राह्मणैर्हताः। महापातकिनो ये च पतितस्ते प्रकीर्तिताः। पतितानां न दाहः स्यात्त च स्यादस्थितश्चापः। न चाश्रयतः पिण्डो वा कार्पा आच्छ्रिक्या न च॥ ब्रह्मपुराण ५. by हेरदत्त on गौ 14 11 and by अपरार्क pp. 902-903, quoting many more verses; similar rules are laid down by *Aśvaśāstra* VII. 1. p 539 (Jiv.), सर्वर्ष verses 178-179; Atri 216-217, कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध chap. 23. verses 60-63) ५. by हारलता p. 204, छात्रिका p. 59.

Journey, who commit suicide by fasting or by means of a weapon or by fire, by poison, in water, by hanging or falling from a precipice or tree, there is no cremation, no *śauca*, no offering of water or pinda. Haradatta on Gaut, 14. 11 quotes three verses from Brahmapurāṇa that those who die of a brāhmana's curse or black magic and those who are *patitas* are dealt with in the same way. But Angiras (q. by Mit. on Yā. III. 6) says that if one dies by water or fire or the like through inadvertence, there was *śauca* for him and *udakakriyā* was performed. Vide Vaiṣ. Sm S. V. 11 for a long list of persons who must not be cremated. In the Mahābhārata the rites of cremation have been described frequently e. g. the cremation of Pāṇḍu in Ādiparva, chap 127 (the body was carried in a *śibikā* covered on all sides, there were musical instruments, the royal parasol and chowries were carried in the procession, distribution of wealth to mendicants, carrying the dead body to the bank of the Ganges on a charming sylvan spot, bathing the body, applying sandalwood paste to it), of Drona in Striparva, chap 23.38-42 (three *Sāmans* were sung, his pupils with Droṇa's wife in front went round the funeral pyre, going to the Ganges); of Bhīṣma in Anuśāsana 169 10-19 (fragrant resins were used on the pyre, his body was covered with fine clothes and flowers, an umbrella and chowries were held over the body, Kaurava women fanned the body with fans, *sāmans* were sung); of Vasudeva in Mausalaparva 7. 19-25; of killed warriors in general in Striparva, chap. 26. 28-43 and of Kuntī, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī in Āśramavāsikaparva, chap. 39. In the Rāmāyana (Ayodhyā, chap 76 verses 16-20), it is said that the funeral pyre for Daśaratha was made with sandalwood, *aguru* and fragrant resins, with Sarala, Padmaka and Devadāru (pine) wood and various fragrant substances were heaped thereon, then Daśaratha's body was placed on the pyre and that Kausalyā and other women followed the corpse in *śibikās* and conveyances according to their status.

If an *āhitāgni* died away from home, the Śat. Br. (XII. 5.1.13-14) provides that, having brought his bones home they were to be spread on a black antelope skin and arranged in imitation of the human frame, were to be covered with wool and ghee and burnt with his *śrauta* fires and sacrificial implements. Similar rules are laid down in Kat. Śr. 25.8-9, Baud. P. S. III 8, Gobhilasūrti III.47, Vas. Dh. S. IV. 37.

If even the bones could not be found, then the sūtras following the Ast Br. (chap. 32.1) and similar ancient works⁵²³ provide that on a skin of black antelope one should make the effigy of a human frame with *palāśa* stalks (leaves) 360 in⁵²⁴ number, the effigy should be bound round with woollen thread, should be covered with *yava* flour mixed with water and anointed with clarified butter and cremated with his fires and sacrificial implements. The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Suddhiprakāśa p. 187) contains similar rules about burning an effigy and ordains three days' impurity thereafter. Acc. to a smṛti (q. by Aparārka p. 545), the *palāśa* leaves were to be 362. They were to be distributed according to Baud. P S and Gaut. P S, as follows: 40 represent the head, 10 the neck, 20 the chest, 30 the abdomen (*udara*), 50 each of the arms, 10 the fingers of the two hands, 70 each of the two legs, 10 the toes of the feet, 8 the male organ, 12 the testicles. This is also the enumeration in Sat Śr. 29.4.39. Vide also Śān. Śr. IV 15.19-31,⁵²⁵ Kat. Śr. XXV. 8.15, Baud. P. S. III 8, G. P. S. II 1.6-14 Gobhila-smṛti III 48, Harita q. by Suddhiprakāśa p. 186, Garudapurāṇa II. 4. 134-154 and II. 40 44 ff. It may be stated here that all the sūtras and smṛtis do not entirely agree as to the number of *palāśa* leaves taken as representing the several parts of the body, as may be seen from a comparison of the Śān. Śr. quoted in the note with Baud. P S. set out here. A smṛti quoted by Aparārka (p 545) gives the numbers as follows: 32 for the head, 60 for the neck, 80 for the chest, 20 for the hip and loins, 20 each for the two arms, 10 for fingers, 6 for testicles, 4 for the penis, 60 for the two thighs, 20 for the knees, 20 for the

523. The वे जा reads यदि क्षीराणि न विद्येरन् पर्णैश्च. यदि क्षीणि च शताम्पाद्वरप
तेषां पुरुषरूपकानि च कृत्वा तस्मिन्स्थानाद्वत् कुर्युर्येनाञ्छरीराद्वत् संस्पृश्योद्वासयेत्पुनर्यथैतत्
काये सन्निधौ हि पञ्चाशो च विंशे चोक्त द्विपञ्चविंशे शेषे तु शिरस्तुपदव्याद् सा तत्र मापयिष्यति।

524. क्षरीरनाशे त्रीणि यद्विशतानि पलाशद्वन्तानां क्षुण्णाजिने पूर्ववत्। कात्या औ
25. 8 15, on which the com. remarks 'पुरुषविष्णादि पूर्ववत् ब्राह्मणम्। तेषामेव
संज्ञयन् पितृमेधश्च तैरेवेति।'

525. चत्वारिंशद्विंशतिः। शीवाया दश। अंशान्वत्सरोर्षादो शतम्। उरसि त्रिंशद्। जठरे
विंशतिः। बह्वृषणयोः। शिश्ने चत्वारि। कर्णे शतम्। त्रिंशज्जाडनङ्गादीवतो। पादाङ्गुलीषु
त्रिंशतिः। एव त्रीणि यद्विशतानि भवन्ति। पुरुषाकृतिं कृत्वोर्णसूत्रैः परिवेष्ट्य यवचूर्णैः प्रलेप्य
सपिषाम्पञ्चाशिभिः संस्कुर्वन्ति। शा औ. च. IV. 15. 20-31 Each stalk of *Palāśa*
has three leaves, कर्णासूत्राः will represent the muscles and यवचूर्णलेप will re.
present flesh It will be seen that as enumerated in Śān S. the *palāśa* stalks
are exactly 360 The कूर्मपुराण (उत्तर) 23.68 refers to it as 'देहाभावात्पलाशैश्च
कृत्वा प्रतिष्ठति पुनः।'

lower parts of the legs, 10 for toes of the feet. *Jātūkarnya* (q by *Aparārka* p. 545) and *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* (q. by *Śuddhiprakāśa* p. 187) say that when a son does not hear for 15 years about his father who had gone to a distant land, he should perform the cremation of the effigy (called 'akṛtidahana'). *Bṛhaspati* advises waiting for 12 years before resorting to *ākṛtidahana* (*Śuddhipr.* p. 187). The *Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra* V. 12 regards the burning of the effigy as a meritorious act for every one and does not restrict it to the case where the body or bones are not found. The *Śuddhiprakāśa* p. 187 quotes several verses from the *Brahmapurāṇa* that the procedure of burning an effigy of palāsa stalks was to be followed even in the case of one who has not consecrated *Śrauta* fires and *āsauca* for three days has to be observed, while the *āsauca* for burning the effigy of an *āhitāgni* was ten days.

It is further provided in *Sat. Śr.* 29. 4. 41, *Baud P. S.* (III. 7. 4) and *Garudapurāṇa* II. 4. 169-70 that, if after the effigy is cremated in the belief that a person died in a foreign land, he returns alive, then he is plunged in a pit containing clarified butter and then he comes out of it, takes a bath, then all the *samskāras* from *jātakarma* are performed on him, then he marries the same wife again or if she be dead, he may marry another girl, then consecrate again *śrauta* fires. Some *sūtras* provide that if the wife of an *āhitāgni* dies before him, he may, if he so desires, cremate her with his *śrauta* fires or he may cremate her with fire prepared from cowdung and some easily inflammable things (like straw) placed in three *sthālis* (cooking pots ⁵²⁶). *Manu* (V. 167-168) provides that if the *savarnā* and virtuous wife of a twice-born person who had consecrated sacred *śrauta* fires died before him she was to be cremated with his fires (*śrauta* and *smārta*) and with the sacrificial implements. Then he may marry again and consecrate *śrauta* or *smārta* fires again. To the same effect are *Yāj. I.* 89, *Baud. P. S. II.* 4. 6, *Gobhila-smṛti* III. 5, *Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra* VII. 2, *Vṛddha-Hārta* XI. 213, *Laghu-Āśv.* 20. 59. ⁵²⁷ *Viśvarūpa* on *Yāj. I.* 87 quotes a *Kāthaka-śruti* to

526. दृच्छन् पत्नीं पूर्वमारिणीमग्निमिः संस्कृत्य सान्तपनेन वाग्यामानीय ततः पुनरा-
दधीत। श्रौ. IV. 15.32. How the सान्तपन fires are produced is stated in *Sat.*
Br. XII. 5. 2.3 'इत्यमेव कुर्यात्। तिस्र एव स्थालीरेष्टवै त्रयास्तान् गोमयानि च क्षुम्बलानि
वावधाय नाना त्रिविधेषु प्रवृज्यते ये ततः सन्तापादग्नौ जायेरन्तेरेन दहेयुः।' क्षुम्बल
means some material which is easily inflamed such as straw.

527. तस्माद्यावत्प. पत्न्यः सर्वा एवाग्निहोत्राद्यर्थेनाग्निना दग्धव्या इति स्थितम्।
तथा च काठके श्रुतिः 'शवाग्नये वा एते भवन्ति ये पत्न्यां प्रमीतायां धार्यन्ते' इत्युपक्रम्य 'तस्मात्
पत्नीमग्निमिदंहेत्' इति विस्पष्टो विशेषाविधिः। त्विष्यत् on या I. 87.

the effect that if a person keeps the same śrauta fires after the death of his wife they are (impure like) the fires used for burning a corpse and adds that even if a brāhmana āhitaṅni had a wife of the ksatriya class and she died before him, she was to be cremated with his śrauta fires. This view is opposed to that of many other commentators and he explains Manu V 167 (where 'savarnām' occurs) as merely illustrative and that if it were interpreted as restricted to a savarna wife alone, there would be the fault of *vāhyabheda*. Some of the smrtis provide that he may remain a widower and perform his Agnihotra by having a golden effigy of the wife or one made of kuśa grass, as Rāma did. Vide Gobhilasmr̥ti III, 523 9-10, Vṛddha-Hārita XI 214. If the householder did not marry again (when his wife died before him and was cremated with his śrauta fires) and did not consecrate fresh vedic fires he was to be cremated with ordinary fire. If the householder was unable to marry again, he may cremate his wife with fire kindled by means of the kindling sticks (*arams*) and keep his śrauta fires and carry on *agnihotra* with the image or effigy of the wife. If the āhitaṅni died first and his wife then died as a widow she was to be cremated with fire (*ni manthya*) kindled by attrition of the *arams*. Vide Baud. P. S II, 4 6-8, Kat. Śr. 29 4 34-35, and Trikāṇḍa-māṇḍana II, 121, 523a. When the wife was cremated the mantra 'Asmāttvam-abhiṣṭosi' quoted above was not to be recited (vide Gobhilasmr̥ti III, 52). It was only a virtuous wife and not an unchaste one that was cremated with śrauta or smārta fire (Gobhilasmr̥ti III, 53). Kratu (q. by

528 सूतायामपि भार्याया वैदिकाग्निं न हि त्यजेत् । उपाधिनापि तत्कर्त्तव्यं यावज्जीवं समा-
पयेत् ॥ रामोऽपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यज्ञस्विनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैर्वहुविधैः सह आहुतिर्चितैः ॥
गोभिलस्मृति III 9-10, the first being quoted by अपरार्क p 114 as विष्णु's. It
is also quoted by गृह्यसूत्रकार p 110 अपरार्क does not accept the interpreta-
tion that the verse सूतायां etc. allows the householder to have an image of his
deceased wife beside him while performing a Vedic sacrifice. The words
'उपाधिनापि' according to अपरार्क mean that he may marry a woman not of
the same varṇa. Both verses are q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश (pp. 164-165) which
summarises various views on this point.

528a तयोर्यं पुत्रौ भ्रियेत तस्याग्निनेत्रया यज्ञपात्रैश्च पितृमेधः । य. पश्चात्तरयोपासनेन ।
औपासनेऽविद्यमाने निर्मथ्येन पितृमेधः । चौ. पि. सू. II 4 6-8, compare सत्या. औ.
29 4 34; 'पत्नीं चोद्दिधवा भूत्वा मनीयेत कदाचन । तदा औतागिष्ट्यल्लक्ष्मिर्न्ययेनैव दूषते ॥
त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II 121.

Suddhiprakāśa p. 166) ^{528b} and Baud P. S. III. 1. 9-13 state that a widower and a widow were to be cremated with fire generated on a *kapāla* (made red hot and then cow-dung thrown thereon), a brahmachārin and yati were to be cremated with *uttapana* (or *kapāla*) fire, an unmarried girl and a boy whose Upanayana is not performed are to be cremated with fire produced from chaff. If an *āhita*gni became *patita* or guilty of suicide in various ways or met death by challenging animals or snakes, his *śrauta* fires were to be cast into water and *smṛta* fire was to be cast on the place where four roads meet (or in water), his sacrificial implements were to be burnt (a *smṛti* q by Par. M. I. 2. p. 226, Parāśara V. 10-11, Vaik Smṛta V. 11) and he was to be cremated with ordinary fire.

Manu V. 68, Yāj III. 1, Parāśara III. 14, Visnu Dh. S. 22. 27-28, Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Par. M. I. 2 p. 238 provide that in the case of abortion, the foetus, and a still-born child, and a child that has not yet struck teeth should be decked with clothes and the like and should be buried. Children of tender years were not to be cremated, but there was some difference of opinion among ancient writers on the exact age at which one or the other method of disposal was to be resorted to. Parāśara-gr. ^{528c} III. 10, Yāj III. 1, Manu V. 68-69, Yama and some others provide that a child that had not completed two years at death was to be buried under ground in an unsullied spot outside the village (other than the usual cemetery), the dead body being anointed with ghee and decked with flowers and sandal paste and that no burning nor offering of water nor the collection of bones was to be performed in this case. The relatives may all follow the body or not

^{528b} निधुर विधवा चैव कपालस्याग्निना दधेत् । ब्रह्मचारिव्रती चैव दहेदुत्तपनाग्निना ॥
हवतिना च दग्धय कम्पका बाल एव च । अग्निवर्णी कपालं ह दृष्ट्वा तत्र विमिक्षयेत् ।
कारीयादे ततो यस्तु जातः स तु कपालज ॥ कद्रु q. by छुद्रियकाश p. 166 The उत्तप-
नानि as explained as दग्धयेऽग्निं ह भवत्यथ पुनर्दग्धैस्तु संयुत । पुनर्दग्धै वृत्तीयेतिनरेषु
उत्तपन स्मृतः ॥ स्मृत्यन्तर q. by छुद्रियकाश 166, अथाहिताग्निः यज्ञायाश्चैव । गृहस्थ-
सौवासनेन । ब्रह्मचारिणं कपालतन्तपनाग्निना ॥ उत्तपनीयेनेतरान् । एव स्त्रियम् । नौ पि ह्य,
III. 1. 9-13.

^{528c} अथोदककर्मादिवर्षे मेते मात्रापिचोरागौचं शौचमेवेतरेषामेकरात्र त्रिरात्रं वा
शरीरमदग्धं निखनन्ति । .. नात्रोदककर्म । पारस्करग्रन्थ III. 10, ऊनद्विवापिकं मेत वृताक्त
निखनेद्भुवि । यमगाथा गायमानो यमस्तुक्तमनुस्मरन् । यम q. by मितः on या. III. 1. यमगाथा-
are verses addressed to यम such as 'nāke suparnam' (Rg X. 123. 6 acc to
दीपकालिका), or ते. आ. VI. 5. 3 अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्चैव पुरुषं जगत् । वैरस्वतो न नृपयति
पञ्चभिर्मनवैर्वृतः ॥, or योस्य कौट्य जगत्. and the two following verses from ते आ.
VI. 5. 2 (acc. to अपरार्क p. 871) and स्मृतिच. (आज्ञोचकाण्ड p. 201)

and Yama allows the recital of the Yamasūkta (Rg. X. 14) and the verses in honour of the god Yama. Manu V 70, however, states other optional provisions viz. that the offering of water may be done (and therefore the cremation also of the dead body) in the case of infants that have struck teeth or after *nāmakarana*. Therefore there is an option as to cremating an infant of less than two years, viz. it may be buried or cremated after *nāmakarana* or after the appearance of teeth. In this case it is not necessary that all the sapinda relatives should follow the dead body. If a child is two years old or more at death and *upanayana* has not been performed it must be cremated with ordinary fire and water must be offered silently. The same rule applies to a child whose *cūḍā* (tonsure) had been performed before death as stated by Laugākṣi. ^{528d} The Vaik. Sm. S. V. 11 lays down that there is no burning with fire until the 5th year for a boy and the 7th year for a girl. After *Upanayana* the child was to be cremated according to the rites prescribed for an *āhitāgni* so far as they could be applied (i. e. there would be cremation without sacrificial implements and the mantra 'asmāt tvam-abhijātosī' was not to be recited). The Baud ⁵²⁹ P. S. (II 3.10-11) provides that there is no cremation for children dying before the performance of *cūḍā* (tonsure) and there is no *pitrmedha* for those whose *upanayana* had not been performed at death or for unmarried girls. It also provides that infants that have struck no teeth are to be buried with syllable 'om' and those that have had teeth with the *Vyāhrtis*. The Mit. on Yaj. III 2 summarises the rules as follows: Before *Nāmakarana* there was to be only burial and no offering of water and the like; after *Nāmakarana* up to the third year cremation and offering of water are optional with burial, from the third year up to *upanayana* there is cremation and also offering of water but silently (without mantras), if *Ōṇā* ceremony was performed before the 3rd year and the child died then also the same rule applied. After *Upanayana* the deceased was to be cremated with ordinary fire but the procedure was to be the same as for an *āhitāgni*.

528d. दूष्णीमेवोदकं कुर्यान्दूष्णीं सस्कारमेव च । सर्वेषां कृतचूडानामन्यत्राप्येव
इत्यम् ॥ लौगाक्षि q. by मिता. on या III 1

529. न प्राक् चोलात्मनीतानां दहनं विद्यते । नादृपनीतानां कन्यानां वा पितृमेघः ।
जी पि. सू II. 3. 10-11. सायण on ते आ III 21 explains 'आहितान्निवले सति
धो ब्रह्मत्वं जानाति तस्य दहनाद्विस्कारो ब्रह्ममेघः । आहितान्निवर्तो दहनाद्विस्कारः सोऽर्थ
पितृमेघः ।'

A yati (sannyāsin) was and is even now buried. In a previous note (n. 528b) a verse of Kratu is quoted that a brahmacārin and yati are to be cremated with *uttapana* fire. The explanation of the Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 166) is that the word yati here means an ascetic of the Kūṭicaka kind and quotes a ⁵³⁰ verse as to how the dead bodies of the yatis of four grades are to be disposed of. The ⁵³¹ Baud. P. S. III.11 gives a brief description which is adopted with some variations by the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 98) that contains a description of the death rites of a *parivrajaka*. ⁵³² One should go to the east or north of the village, he should dig a pit (lit. a sacrificial place) as deep as the staff (carried by the yati) under a palāśa tree or on a river bank or on some other pure spot to the accompaniment of the *vyāhrtis*; then he should sprinkle water thereon thrice repeating the seven *vyāhrtis* each time, should spread darbha grass on the bottom of the pit, should deck the dead body (with garlands, sandal paste), deposit the body in the pit with the *mantra* (Tai S.I.1.3.1) 'O Viśnu! guard this offering (the dead body).' He should place in the right hand the staff of the *parivrajaka* (breaking it into three parts) with the *mantra* 'Viśnu took strides over this' (Rg. I.22.17, Vaj. S. V. 15, Tai. S. I.2.13.1). He places the *śikya* (loop of strings) in the left

⁵³⁰ कुटीचकं तु प्रदक्षेत्प्रयेच्च बह्वदकम् । ईसो जले तु निक्षेप्य परहंस प्रपूरयेत् ॥
q. by स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98, शुद्धिमगादा p. 166. For the four kinds of sannyāsins, vide of H. of Dh vol II. pp. 338-342.

⁵³¹ अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिः पञ्चाङ्गाद्यात्मनः । पृथिव्या 'अक्षिण्यामोषधीभ्याम्' इति शरीरे निधाय 'भूमिर्भूमिमगात्मा मातरमप्यगात् । भूयास्म दुर्गैः पशुभिर्भौ नो द्वेष्टि स भिष्मताम्' इत्युदरे पात्रं निधाय वा होतारमधीत्य तस्य दक्षिणे हस्ते कमण्डलुं निदधाति पञ्चाङ्गानिर्देवयजनं पूरयेत् 'अग्निनाग्निं सन्निधयेत्' इत्यङ्गेष्वसंस्कारोऽन्वयेष्वप्यङ्गम् । तत्रोदाहरन्ति । कृणालश्च वायसा । खादन्ति चैवोषमाहारयेत्कर्तुं । तस्माद्विशङ्कां वेदिं प्रच्छादयेदिति बोधायनः । औ पि. सू. III 11. अग्निना अग्निः ॥ Rg I. 12.6 (= Tai. S. I. 4.463). The *mantra* भूमिर्भूमिः occurs in औ. सू. I. 4.9 also,

⁵³² अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिः । ग्रामात्पात्नीशुदीर्घीं वा गत्वा ब्रह्मवृक्षस्याधस्तात्तन्नीश्वरीं वा शुचौ देशे वा दण्डममाणं देवयजनं पञ्चाङ्गानि खात्वा त्रिं सप्तपञ्चाङ्गानिः श्रोत्रं च धर्मसंस्तीर्णालङ्कारं श्वश्रे निदधाति श्वश्रे विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्वेति । इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे इति दक्षिणहस्ते दण्डं निदधाति । अदस्य पारे रजस इति सप्तहस्ते शिखयम् । येन देवाः पवित्रेणेति शुद्धे जलपवित्रम् । सावित्र्या उदरे ब्रह्मभाजनम् । भूमिर्भूमिनेति शुद्धे कमण्डलुम् । चित्तिः सुगिति दशहोत्रिभिरुपमन्त्रयते । नात्र शेषसंस्काराः पूर्वमस्त्युद्धितत्वात् । सर्वसङ्गनिवृत्तस्य ध्यानयोगरतस्य च । न तस्य दहनं कार्यं नाशीर्चं नोदकक्रिया ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98. The Baud. Gr. Śeṣasūtra IV. 17.9 reads 'शुद्धे कमण्डलु चैव भूमिर्भूमिमगादिति'. The verse सर्वसङ्गः occurs in Baud gr. Śeṣasūtra IV 17. 17-18. According to the Baud Dh. S. II. 10 11 the paraphernalia of a yati is चटयः शिखरं जलपवित्रं कमण्डलुं पात्रमिति

hand with the mantra 'what is beyond this world' (Tai. S. IV 2.5.2), the piece of cloth used as a water-strainer on the mouth with the words 'by which strainer the gods' (Tai. Br. I 4.8.6), the pot on his belly with the Gayatrī stanza (Rg. III.62.10, Vaj S III. 35, Tai S. I 5.6.4), his water pot near his private parts with the mantra 'earth went to earth'. He then invokes with the mantras beginning with 'cittih sruk' (ten sentences in Tai. Ā, Mantrāyaṇī S I 9.1 which are called 'caturhotārah')⁵³³ The other rites are not performed here as they were performed before. No cremation should be done, no *śāuca* should be observed nor should water be offered to (an ascetic who is dead) who was free from all attachments and who had given himself up to meditation. The Smṛtyarthasāra adds that no *ekoddṛṣṭa* śrāddha nor sapindikarana is performed for an ascetic, but only *pāvana* on the 11th day, that a kuticaka should be cremated, the bahūdaka should be buried, *hansa* should be thrown into water and *paramahansa* should be thoroughly buried. The Nīrṇayasindhu (pp 634-635) quotes the Smṛtyarthasāra and then adds a few details from Brhat-Śaunaka, viz that the dead body of a *yati* should be bathed with the Purusasūkta (Rg. X, 90), then the pit (dug for burial) should be sprinkled eight times with the syllable 'Om' on all sides; having deposited the body in the pit with the Yajus formula 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering' (Tai S I 1. 3.1) and with 'Om', he should place in the right hand the staff with the mantra 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Rg. I 22. 17), then pierces the crown of the head with a conch by repeating the mantra 'bhūr-bhuvah-svah', he should fill up the pit with salt to the recitation of the Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90). He should fill up the pit thoroughly (with sand) in order to guard against jackals and dogs and the like (exhuming the body with their paws) The Dharmasindhu (p 497) adds some details particularly as to the number of hymns and mantras to be repeated. It states that the crown of the head should be pierced with a conch or an axe, that one who is unable to do this should smash a ball of jaggery placed on the head. It adds that no yati except kuticaka should be cremated. In modern times a sannyāsin is always buried and not cremated, since kuticaka and bahūdaka kinds of yati are no longer in vogue and it is only the *paramahansa* that is prevalent in the whole of India. The reason why ascetics were buried and not cremated

⁵³³. Vide H of Dh. vol. II. p. 993 notes 2247 and 2248 for the *Dadāhotārah* and their relation to *caturhotāra*.

appears to me to be as follows; part of the procedure of becoming an ascetic consisted in giving up his śrauta fires and throwing in fire his sacrificial wooden implements (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 954). One of the rules for ascetics is that he should not kindle śrauta or smārta fires nor kindle ordinary fire for cooking his food but was to subsist on cooked food obtained by begging (H. of Dh. vol II pp. 933-934). The householder was cremated with his śrauta or smārta fire but the ascetic, having abjured these, was without any fire and was therefore buried. The Vaikhanasasūtra X. 8 (ed. by Caland) contains a brief description of the burial of an ascetic who was not an ahiṭāgni and the cremation of an ascetic who was ahiṭāgni.

Special rules were laid down about the cremation of women dying in or immediately after child-birth and women dying while still in their monthly illness. A smṛti quoted by the Mit and the Smṛti-candrikā (I p. 121) provides that in the case of a *sūtikā*, one should take water and *pañcagavya* in a jar, should repeat holy texts (such as 'apohi sthā' Rg. X. 9. 1-9, verses addressed to Varuna) over them, should then bathe the *sūtikā* with water and *pañcagavya* and then cremate the body. A woman in her monthly illness was to be similarly bathed and she was to be covered with another garment and then cremated. Vide Garudapurāṇa II, 4. 171 ff and Nirṇayasindhu p. 621. Similarly, elaborate rules are prescribed about the rites of cremation in relation to the death of a pregnant woman (vide Baud P. S. III, 9, Nirṇayasindhu p. 622) which are passed over here.

Dead bodies were disposed off in different ways at different times and in different countries. The various methods of disposal were cremation, burial underground, water burial, exposure of the body for being destroyed⁵³⁴ by vultures and other birds (as among Zoroastrians) or beasts, being preserved in

534. According to the Parsi scriptures burying a human corpse in the earth was a grave sin and if the body was not disinterred there was no atonement in the case of a professor of the law of Mazd or one who had studied it and if he did not disinter it within six months or within a year, he was liable to receive five hundred or a thousand stripes respectively. Vide Vendidad, Bāgard III (S B E Vol. 4 pp 31-32). Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains to be devoured by birds and dogs and the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of the Mazdean profession (S B E Vol IV part I Intro p XLV).

caves,⁵³⁵ or being mummified (as in Egypt). The general rule in India from times of which we have literary evidence was cremation; though burial took place in certain exceptional cases such as in the case of infants, ascetics &c. How the ancient Indians hit upon this scientific though rather heart-rending method of the disposal of dead bodies it is difficult to say⁵³⁶. Burials were not unknown in India even in very early times, as Atharvaveda 5. 30 14 (*mā nu bhumigrho bhuvāt*) and 18 2 34 show. The last may be rendered as follows: 'O Agni! bring all those *pitr*s here in order that they may partake of the offering, those (*pitr*s whose bodies) were buried or cast aside (exposed) or burnt or deposited above (on trees or in caves?)'^{536a}. In the word '*anagnidagdhāḥ*' occurring in Rg. X. 15. 14, scholars see a reference to burial. But it is quite possible that no burial is referred to. If some ancestors were killed far from home in a fight or if they were kidnapped and killed by enemies, their bodies might have been left uncared for in a distant land and not cremated nor buried. A passage in the Chāndogya⁵³⁷ Up. (VIII. 8. 5) is construed by some scholars as referring to burials. It may be rendered as follows: 'Therefore they designate even now a man, an *asura* who does not make gifts, who has no faith and who offers no sacrifices; for this is the esoteric doctrine of *Asuras*. They deck out the body of the dead with *bhikṣā* (perfumes and flowers?), with a raiment by way of decoration, and think that they will thus conquer the next world. Though the passage is not quite clear, the reference to *Asuras*, their usage of decorating the dead body and thereby being able to gain the next world render it probable that the usage of the burial of the body among *Asuras* is referred to. In Rg. VII 89. 1 the sage prays 'O Varuna!

535 In Rome the bones of over 4000 monks are preserved in the walls of the subterranean burial chapels in the Capuchin Church near the Piazza Barberia. For a description of the catacombs in Rome, vide Puckle's 'Funeral customs' p. 136 (quoting from Frothingham)

536. Vulliamy in 'Immortal man' (p. 34) throws out the suggestion that one of the purposes of cremation may have been the complete destruction of the human aspect of the ghost or its transference to a region from which contact with mankind in any material sense was impossible

536 a. ये निगता ये पतोता ये दग्धा ये चोद्विता । मर्त्यानाम आ रा भित्तुर्विभे
अन्ते ॥ अथर्वः 18 2 34.

537 तत्तावत्पथेहादवानमभ्युपगममपजगाननादुरासुने चतुर्दशराजः । विषादोऽपि
स्तेतरप इतिरे भिक्षया गमनेनात्तद्विपणि मंत्रकुपयैतां धामुं स्तोत्रं निरुदयो तत्तत् ॥
छा. उप VIII. 8.5.

may I not go to the earthen house'. This is probably a reference to burial. Besides, after the charred bones were collected, they were placed in an urn or pot, which was buried in the ground and after a good deal of time a mound (*śmaśāna*) was built upon the bones as will be seen immediately from a passage in the *Sat Br.* and other sources. In *A. V. XVIII 2 25* it is said, 'may the tree not oppress them, nor the great goddess Earth'. This is probably a reference to a coffin and burial.

It is somewhat curious that the progressive nations of the West, believing in a literal interpretation of the Biblical words (such as *Matthew 22. 23-33*, *Mark 12. 18-27* and *Luke 20. 37-38*, *John 5. 19-31* and *6. 32-56*) about physical resurrection of the dead, held fast by burial alone and up to the end of the 19th century people in Christendom would not allow the cremation of a dead body. The case of *Reg. v. Price* illustrates how deep the sentiment against cremation was and how popular fury prevented Price from disposing of the body of his dead child of five months by petroleum fire in a field, how he was prosecuted for two offences viz. misdemeanor at Common Law for burning a dead body instead of burying it and misdemeanor on the ground that he attempted to burn the body with intent to prevent an inquest being held on it by the coroner.⁵³⁸ It was only in 1902 that the Cremation Act (2 Edw. 7 Ch. 8) was passed empowering burial authorities to establish crematoria on plans approved by the Minister of Health. The Catholic Church does not even now allow cremation. The ancient Romans on the other hand held cremation as the honourable means of the disposal of the dead body but reserved burial for the suicide and the murderer.

Embalming the dead for some time at least was not quite unknown in India. The *Sat. Śr. 29. 4. 29* and *Vaik. Śr. 31.23*⁵³⁹ prescribe that if an *āhitāgni* died away from his people his corpse should be laid down in a tub or trough filled with sesame oil and brought home in a cart. In the *Rāmāyana* it is several times said that the body of *Dāśaratha* was placed for several

538 (1884) 12 Q. B. D p 247. Ultimately Price was acquitted on both charges.

539. आहिताग्निमज्जेन प्रसीतं तैलद्रोण्यामवधाय शकटेनाहरन्ति निर्मल्येन वा वृक्षेण कृत्वाजिनेऽप्येति निधायाहवेन वाससा संवेष्ट्य दीर्घवंशे प्रक्षयानधो निक्षपन्तः प्रयत्ना वृक्षमभाजना आहरन्ति । सत्य ओ 29 4. 29; almost the same words occur in *वेदान्तसमीत* 31.23 p. 312 (Caland's ed.).

days in a tub containing oil till the arrival of Bharata (vide Ayodhya 66. 14-16, 76.4). In the Visnupurāṇa ⁵¹⁰ it is stated that the body of Nimi being covered with oil and fragrant substances did not become decomposed and looked as if the death was recent,

What the state of things was before the composition of the R̥gveda cannot be said with certainty. There is no general agreement as to the age of the R̥gveda and of the ruins found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Sir John Marshall (in Mohenjo-daro vol. I, p. 86) refers to complete burials, partial burials and post cremation burials. The excavations at Lauriya ⁵⁴¹ Nandan-garh have brought to light supposed Vedic burial mounds in which has been found a small *repousse* golden plaque bearing the figure of a nude female, the Earth Goddess. These and the disposal of corpses in paleolithic ages are matters for archaeologists and are outside the proper scope of the present work.

The Hāratalā (p. 126) quotes a passage from the Ādipurāṇa to the effect that Magas (Magians) are buried underground and that Daradas and Luptrakas (?) go away after placing their dead relatives on trees. ^{541a}

It appears that among early Buddhists in India hardly any religious ceremony was performed, whether the person deceased was a layman or even a member of the Order. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta the death and the funeral ceremonies of the great founder of Buddhism are described in chapter VI (Section 14 ff). All that is gathered from that chapter is that the favourite disciple of the Buddha, Ānanda, uttered a stanza, some of the disciples that were not free from passion wept and fell headlong on the ground, while others (who were Arāhats) bore the grief with composure, that next morning Ānanda went to the Mallas of Kusināra, that the Mallas took perfume,

540. निमिरेपि तच्छरीरमतिमोहं तैलगन्धादिभिर्दयस्त्रियमाणं नैव श्लेष्मादिकं दोषमवाप सद्यो मृतमिव तस्यैव । विष्णुपुराण IV. 5. 7.

541 Vide T. Bloch in Z. D. M. G. vol. 60 pp 227-232 for the excavations at Lauriya, also Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India for megalithic burial and urn fields in South India, Prof V G Childe in 'Man' for 1945 p 13 ff for the disposal of corpses in Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages and Prof, E O. James in 'Christian Myth and Ritual', chap' VII on 'Last rites'

541a. मया वृत्तौ निवृत्त्यन्ते वरदांश्च मृतान् सदा । आसद्य (ज्य?) वृक्षे मण्डलिं
लुप्त्वाकाश्च स्वयन्धवम् ॥ अद्विपुराण q. by हारतला p. 126 which explains 'वरदंश'
धर्मस्तु धनञ्जयवृक्षे मन्त्रादितमदेशे बर्धनिकसमलङ्घ्य स्थापयन् । ततो मण्डान्त्राङ्गुलितय दाहः ।

garlands, all musical instruments and five hundred suits of apparel, the Mallas passed seven days in paying homage to the body of the Buddha that lay in the sāla grove with dancing, hymns, music, garlands and perfumes, in making canopies of their garments, that on the 7th day they carried the body of the Blessed One to the south but owing to a miracle (described in sections 29-32) they carried it through the city by the north gate and laid the body to the east (the general rule was that a dead body was not to be carried through the middle of a village, and was to be carried to the south but as Buddha was so extraordinary and holy the above was allowed to be done). The body of the Buddha was then wrapped in a new cloth, then with cotton wool, then in a new cloth and so on till 500 layers of cloth and cotton wool covered the body. The body was then placed in an oil vessel of iron which was covered with another oil vessel of iron. Then a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes was built upon which the body was placed. Then Mahākassapa and five hundred brethren accompanying him arranged their robes on one shoulder (representing the way in which the sacred thread is arranged among the brāhmanas), bowed down with clasped hands, went round the body reverently thrice. The body was then burnt and only bones remained. Then the narrative states that Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesālī and several others claimed portions of the relics of the Buddha. Then the relics were divided into eight parts. Those who received them built mounds (*Thūpas*) over the relics and the Moriyyas who got only embers also built a Thūpa over them and a brāhmana Dona (Drona) built a mound over the jar (*kumbha*) in which the bones were collected. Mr. Rhys Davids remarks (S. B. E. vol. XI Introduction p. XLV) 'though funerals are naturally not infrequently mentioned in the historical books and in the Birth stories there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious worship'. It will be noticed that the Buddhist ritual⁵⁴², though simple, agrees closely with some of the rules of Āśv. gr.

542. Vide Fleets' papers in J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp 655-671 and 681-913 on the disposal of the bones and ashes of Buddha based on the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, the Divyāvadāna, Fa Hian's work, the Sumangala-vilāsinī and other writings. He therein states his view that the Piprahava relic vase, on which there is an inscription that is the oldest Indian Inscription found up to date (it is about 375 B. C.) and in which 700 articles were

(Continued on the next page)

After the relatives (sons and the like) of a deceased person have offered water, have taken a bath and after they emerge from the water (of a river or the like) and are sitting on a plot of soft green grass, elderly persons should talk to them (in order to lessen their grief) about ancient narratives (Yaj. III 7 and G. P. S. I 4.2⁵⁴³). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 22-53 contain a long disquisition on the grip that *Kāla* (Time, Death) has on every body including even Indra, gods, *dāityas*, great kings and sages, how everyone that is born is sure to die (i.e. Death is inevitable), and how no one (except the wife) can follow the departed on his journey to the other world, how the good actions and bad actions will accompany the spirit of the dead, how śrāddha confers great benefit on the departed; it winds up that therefore the surviving relatives should offer śrāddha and give up lamentations that help no one, that it is *dharma* that alone follows the soul through his wanderings⁵⁴⁴. Yaj III 8-11 (=Garudapurāṇa II. 4. 81-84) are verses in a similar strain and are intended to serve the same purpose. They are: 'He, who seeks everlastingness in this human life that is as devoid of strength as the stock of a plantain plant, and that is as inconstant as a bubble of water, is a deluded person. What is the use of lamentation if the body, created out of the five elements by reason of actions performed in a former life, returns to those five elements? The earth, the ocean and the gods

(Continued from the last page)

found, enshrines the relics, not of the Bhagavān Buddha, but of his kinsmen. Fleet further refers to the tradition that the great emperor Aśoka dug up seven out of the eight mounds of the relics of Buddha and transferred almost all their contents to 84000 boxes of gold and silver and distributed them throughout India and built monuments (stūpas) over them. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (pp. 78-80), after stating that deceased persons of distinction either by birth or wealth or official status or as public teachers were cremated and the ashes were buried under a *śoṇa* (Pāli: thūpa), remarks 'The dead bodies of ordinary people were disposed of in a unique way. They were put away in a public place. There as a rule the bodies or the remains of the pyre were not buried but left to be destroyed by birds or beasts or dissipated by the process of natural decay'.

543. लोकसूतृव्य कल्याणीभिर्वाग्भिः सात्त्विकानिः कषामि इत्यनै हृदयिभिः शुद्धा धोहृत्ता व्रजन्ति। गोतनपितृनेधवृत्त I. 4. 2.

544 It may be noted that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 29, 45-49 and 51-53 are the same or almost the same as Bhagavadgītā II. 27, 28, 13, 23-25 respectively. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 47 (yathā dhenuśahasreṇa &c.) is the same as Sāntiparva 181, 16, 187.27 and 323.16 and Viṣṇudharmottara II 78 27; and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20.41 is the same as Sānti 175. 15 and 322. 73. The *Śaṅkha* (Śaṅkha) pp 91-97) quotes वाङ्म. (III. 7.11), विश्व 20.22-53 and नील II. 13, 28.

are destined to go to destruction (at some future date when *pralaya* takes place). How is it possible that the world of mortals which is (evanescent) like foam will not meet with destruction? As the departed spirit, being helpless, has to swallow the tears and phlegm cast by kinsmen, they should not weep but should perform (obsequial) rites according to their ability.' Gobhila *smṛti* III. 39 urges 'do not lament for what is perishable and what is the characteristic (destiny) of all beings. Exert yourselves in the performance of meritorious acts which will accompany you' Gobhila then quotes Yāj. III. 8-10 and one verse from the *Mahābhārata* ^{54a} viz. 'All collections are to end in dissipation, all rise is to end in fall, all unions in separation and life in death'. Aparārka quotes the *Rāmāyana* and *Vāsudeva's* words from the *Śalyaparva* to *Dhṛtarāstra* on the death of *Duryodhana*. The *Par. M.* I. 2 pp. 292-93, the *Suddhi-prakāśa* pp. 205-206 and several other works quote the verses of *Viṣṇu*, *Yāj.* and *Gobhila*.

The *Garudapurāṇa* here (II. 4. 91-100) waxes eloquent over the immolation of a wife on her husband's funeral pyre, over the miraculous power of a *pativrata*, and states that a *brāhmana* woman should not burn herself apart from her husband's body (or after he is cremated), but that *ksatriya* and other women may do so, that the practice of *sati* is common to all women even including *chāṇḍāla* women, but pregnant women or those that have young children should not do so and that a woman does not become free from the liability to be born again and again as a woman until she becomes a *Sati*.

After listening to the philosophical discourse of elders the relatives return to their house, placing children in front and standing at the door of the house, they with minds under control bite the leaves of the *nimba* tree, perform *ūcamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard; then they should enter their house after slowly (firmly) planting their foot on a stone. According ^{54b} to *Śaṅkha* the relatives should touch the tendrils of *Dūrvā*, fire and a bull, should offer a *pinḍa* to the departed at

54a. सर्वे क्षयान्ता निश्चयाः प्रतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः । संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च जीवितम् ॥ This is *Śānti* p. 331.20 (in 330. 20 in *Citrāśāilā* edition).

54b. दूर्वामलमग्निं दृढं चालय्य गृहद्वारे प्रेतय पिण्डं दत्त्वा पश्चात्प्रविशेत् । शङ्खं च निशान्तां वा. III. 13, परा म. I 2 p. 293.

the door of the house and then enter it. Baijavarāpa⁵⁴⁶ by Śuddhisūtra prescribes the mantras to be recited in touching *samī*, the stone (*aśmū*), fire and provides further that a cow and a goat should be touched holding fire between themselves and these animals: food should be purchased or obtained from another's house, it should be of one kind only without salt, that they should for one day eat only by day and stop all actions for three days. Yaj III. 14 prescribes that the actions prescribed by him in III. 12 for relatives (viz. biting *nimba* leaves up to entering the house) must be done by others who, though no relatives, carried the corpse or decked it &c.

The Śāh. Śr. IV. 15.10, the Āśv. gr. IV. 4.17-27, Band. P. S. I 12.10. Kausikasūtra 82.33-35 and 42-47, Par. gr. III 10. Ap. Dh. S. I 3.10.4-10, Gaut Dh. 14.35-36 Manu V. 73, Vas. 4.14-15, Yaj III 16-17, Viṣṇu Dh S 19.14-17, Sāhvarā 38-43, Śāṅkha 15.25, Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5 1-5) and others lay down several rules for those (both men and women) who have lost a near *saṃbandha* by death to be observed immediately after they return from the cremation and for three more days⁵⁴⁷ The Śāh. Śr. provides that they should sleep on the bare ground (not on a cot), they should subsist on sacrificial food, they should give up the performance of their usual religious duties (except in relation to the vedic fires) for one night, three nights or nine nights or till the day of the collection of the bones. The Āśv. gr. (IV. 4.17-24) provides these observations viz. 'Let them not cook food during that night, let them subsist on bought food or on food received from others,

546. शमीमालम्ब्य शमी पार्श्वं शनयति इति अश्मान्मन्त्रेण स्थितौ दूषणमिति अग्नि-
मन्त्रिनः शर्म यच्छति ज्योतिषे अन्तरा गाननञ्जुपसृजन्तः शमीनां लम्बा वा वायुं दृष्ट्वा
काष्ठमलवणमेकरात्रं दिवा भोजनं विराजं च कर्त्तव्यमिति । वैश्वानर quoted in
कल्पतरु (शुद्धि p 100), शुद्धितत्त्व p 319, the शुद्धितत्त्व itself being q. by तिर्यगन्तरु
III p 580 (which reads लम्बा वायुमेकदेकात्रं)

547. अथ शब्दा दृष्टिपमहपता मत्तुहन् च कर्मणां वैतानजनेकरात्रं विराजं नवरात्रं
वा, वासयन्नाह्वयानि । शौ. औ IV. 15.10, सातारि पितृभ्याम् इति विराजन्तारारत्न-
भोजनमथ शयनं ब्रह्मचर्यं उपहं पटं द्वादशाहं संपत्तौ वायुं दृष्ट्वा द्वादशरात्रात्वात् पत्न-
शुश्रूषेवमथोदकानितरेषु विराजं वायुजीवं ज्ञेयम् । शौ पि दृ. I 12.10 ; न स्वाध्यायम-
धीयीत् । नित्यानि निवर्तयेत्तानवर्जम् । शाङ्गो जीवेति । अथ एतानि कुर्वेत् । यार दृ.
III. 10 (ascribed to वैतानस्ति in नितार on वा III. 17) : उपवासं दशरात्रिं हन्यसात्रं
न शृण्वेत् । द न प्रविशेत्तौ होमो स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तयेत् cited as ननु's in अपराजो p 892,
परा. मा I 2. p 211 Aparāṇa and others explain that the cessation of home
refers to smārita and not to śrauta home. The last verse is ascribed to दृ.
by नितार on वा III. 17, where it adds the half verse दृष्ट्वा च कुलप्राप्तमदौ नवरा-
त्रं । The निष्कृपुता III. 13 is reads दूषणमोदकारानि कुलप्राप्तं . निवर्तयेत् .

let them eat no mineral salt or ordinary ⁵⁴⁸ salt for three nights, let them optionally avoid for twelve nights the distribution of gifts and the study of vedic texts if one of the principal gurus (father, mother or the teacher who performed upanayana and taught the whole Veda) dies. Pār. gr. III 10 adds that they should remain chaste, eat food only once in the day and that they should not repeat Veda study, and should give up the daily obligatory duties except those connected with Vedic fires. Manu (V. 73) adds that they should not eat flesh for three days. Vas. (4.14-15) lays down that the relatives who returned from the cemetery should sit down for three days on mats and fast, that if they are unable (to fast for three days) they should subsist on food bought in the market or obtained unasked. Yāj. III 17 and Pār. III 10 ⁵⁴⁹ provide that for the night they should put milk and water in an earthen vessel in the open space (on a *śikya*) with the words 'O departed one! bathe here (in the water) and drink this milk'. Yāj. III 17, Paithinasi, Manu V. 84, Pār. gr. III 10, and others state that the relatives of the departed should perform their own daily rites to be performed in the *śrauta* fires (such as Agnihotra and Darśapūrnamāsa) and in the *smārta* fire (such as morning and evening *homa*) on account of the peremptory dictates of the Veda (such as 'one should perform Agnihotra as long as one lives'). The commentators have added several limitations and restrictions. The Mīt. ⁵⁵⁰ on Yāj. III 17 states that, as Manu V. 84 only prohibits the stopping of the rites in (Vedic and Smārta) fires, such religious duties as the five daily *Mahāvyañjas* are excluded, that Vaiśvadeva, though performed in fire, is excluded because there is an express text of Samvarta a brāhmaṇa should be without Vaiśvadeva for ten days (after the death of a sapinda), that the Śrauta and Smārta rites should be got performed by another, as Pāraskara (III 10 'anya etani kuryuh') expressly lays down. Only *mitya* and *narmittaka* acts to be performed in Vedic and Smārta fires are allowed and so *kāmya* rites cannot be performed. Even at present Agnihotrina

548. For the different explanations of 'ksāra-lavana' vide H of Dh vol II, p. 304 n 723.

549. मेनात्र स्नहोत्सुदकं स्थाप्यं पिब चेन्निति क्षीरम् । पार वृ III. 10.

550. द्यूते कर्मणा त्याग सन्यादीनां विधीयते—इति यद्यपि सन्ध्याया विनिवृत्तिः क्षयते तथाञ्जलिप्रक्षेपादिकं कुर्यात् । द्यूते सति तस्या चाञ्जलिं प्रक्षिप्य मद्रक्षिणं कृत्वा द्यूतं श्याय-
जनस्तुपादिति पैठीनसिस्मरणात् । मिता on या III. 17. द्यूते कर्मणा त्यागः 15 गोभिल-
स्मृति III. 60. Vide निष्कृष्टाण III-13 18 'दानं प्रतिग्रहो होम. स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते'

perform their *śrauta nitya homa* during days of impurity themselves, though some get it performed by another (Vide Yāj. III. 17, Manu V 84). Although there is a text of Gobhilas̥mṛti (III 60) prohibiting the performance of *sandhyā*, yet relying on a sūtra of Paithinasi the Mit says that a man can offer water to the Sun in worship; others like the Smṛtimuktāphala (p. 478) say that *sandhyā* mantras may be revolved in the mind, except the *prāṇāyāna* mantras. This is followed in modern times in many parts of India. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 226 prescribes that in impurity due to birth or death *homa* (Vaiśvadeva), giving and accepting gifts and the study of Veda cease. The Vaiś Sm. S. VI.4 states that the performance of *sandhyā* adoration, all rites for the gods and manes, gift and acceptance and Veda study should be given up during impurity on death. Gautama 14.44 appears to hold that a brāhmana is not affected by impurity on birth and death for the purposes of Veda study. On the other hand Samvarta⁵⁵¹ (43) affirms that on the days of impurity on birth and death there is no performance of the five Mahāyajñas nor of Veda study. The Nityācāra-paddhati p 544 states that even in āśauca the thousand names of Viṣṇu may be recited.

Asthisañcayana or *Sañcayana* means that rite in which the (charred) bones (of the cremated person) are collected. This rite is dealt with in many sūtra and smṛti works, such as Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 12-18, Sat Śr. 28. 3, Āśv. gr. IV. 5 1-18, Gaut P. S I. 5, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 10-12, Baud P. S I. 14, Kausika-sūtra 82. 29-32, Vaiś. Smṛta Sūtra V. 7, Yama 87-88, Samvarta 38, Gobhila-smṛti III. 54-59 (q. by Hāralatā p. 183). There is great divergence of views about the day on which this was to be done. For example, Sat Śr. 28. 3. 1 provides: ⁵⁵² 'bones are collected on the next day (after cremation) or on the 3rd, 5th or 7th.' Samvarta (verse 38) and Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhanda 5 15) prescribe that collection of bones should be made on the 1st, 3rd, 7th or 9th and (particularly) on the 4th by twice-born persons. The Vāmana-purāṇa (14 97-98) allows it on the 1st, 4th or 7th day. Yama (87) requires the relatives to collect bones from the 1st to the 4th day after cremation and also provides (verse 88)

551. पञ्चपञ्चविधानं तु न कुर्वन्मृत्युजन्मनोः । वनाहात् परं सम्पत्तिकोऽपीवीर्यमर्हति ॥ संवर्त 43.

552. अपरेद्युस्तुतीयस्यां पञ्चम्यां सप्तम्या वास्थानि सञ्चिनोति । सत्या. अं 28. 3. 1. अथ सञ्चयनं स्युष्टे द्विरात्रं त्रिरात्रं चत्वारत्रं वा । गौ. पि. सू. I 5 1. प्रथमेद्वि चतुर्थे वा सप्तमे वारिपञ्चम्यम् । ऊर्ध्वं सञ्चयनात्तेषामङ्कुरपक्षौ विधीयते ॥ वासनपुराण 114. 97-98.

that the four varpas should respectively perform *sañcayana* on the 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th day. The Āśv. gr. S. IV. 5. 1 states that *sañcayana* should be performed after the 10th day from cremation in the dark half, but on uneven *tithis* (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 11th, 13th, 15th) and on a *nakṣatra* which bears a name not applicable to two or more *nakṣatras* (i. e. except on the two Āśādhās, two Phalgunīs and two Bhādrapadās). Vispu Dh. S. 19 10, Vaik. Smārta-sūtra V. 7, Kauś. 82. 29, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13 14, Kūrmapurāṇa (uttara) 23 and a few other works lay down that *sañcayana* must be done on the 4th day after cremation. The various texts differ a good deal in details. The following is the procedure in the Āśv. gr. IV. 5:—The bones of a male should be collected into an urn that has no special marks (protuberances), those of a woman in an urn that has protuberances but no other special marks. Aged persons, odd in number⁵⁵³ not being together with women, (i. e. not as a mixed assemblage) collect the bones. The performer walks thrice round the spot (where the body was burnt) with his left side turned towards the spot, sprinkles on it with a śami branch milk mixed with water with a verse 'śitike' (Rg. X. 16. 14). With the thumb and the 4th finger they (gatherers) should put each single bone into the urn without making a rattling noise (of the bones in the urn), the bones of the feet being taken first, those of the head last. Having well gathered the bones and having purified them with a winnowing basket (i. e. removing the dust attaching to them) they should put the urn in a pit at a place where the waters from different sides do not flow together except rain water with the verse 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18. 10) and he should throw earth (into the pit) with the following verse (Rg. X. 18. 11). After having thrown (earth) he should repeat the next verse (Rg. X. 18. 12). Then covering (the mouth of the urn) with a lid with the mantra 'ut te stabhnāmi' (Rg. X. 18. 13) (he fills up the pit) Then without looking back they return (towards the house), bathe in water and then offer śrāddha to him alone (the departed). Dr. B. N. Datta in his paper 'Vedic funeral customs and Indus Valley culture in 'Man in India', vol. 16

553. The Hāratalā (p 184) explains अयुजो मिथुनाः प्रवयसः (in आश्व. दृ.) as 'मिथुनं पुरुषद्वयं बहुवचनात् त्रयो मिथुनाः बह्व पुरुषा इत्यर्थः. पञ्च वा मिथुना दश पुरुषाः प्रवयसः प्रकृतवयसः'. It is probable that women also accompanied the *cortege* to the cemetery in ancient times, that gradually they ceased to do so and by the time of the Hāratalā only men comprised the funeral procession and so it explained the words of Āśv. as above.

pp. 223-307 regards (p. 285) Rg. X. 18 as a hymn dealing with burial of the whole body (and not of ashes), while he admits (p. 287) that Rg. X. 16 is a cremation hymn. I dissent from him for various reasons; the most important is that if his theory be correct a period of several centuries must be postulated between the two hymns. This is inadmissible.

The Kausikasūtra (82, 29-32) prescribes certain details differently. It says that the bones are collected with A. V. 18, 2, 24, 26, then they are consigned to a jar over which all fragrant powders are scattered, then the jar is raised with the Utthāpani verses and carried with the verses called Harinis (i e. A. V. 18 & 11-18). He (the performer) deposits (in the earth the urn) at the root of a tree with the verse 'mā tvā' (A. V. 18, 2, 25 'May the tree not injure thee all round, may not the wide goddess Earth also injure thee').⁵⁵¹

The other sūtras present several variations which are passed over here, excepting one or two matters. The Sat. Śr. provides that the twig should be of the Udumbara tree, that the bones are collected by women of the family of the deceased (his wife and others) odd in number (five or more), or other women (in the absence of women of the family). A woman who is not likely to have a child should tie in her left hand a Brhati fruit with two threads, blue and red in colour, should step on a stone with her left foot, collect the bones first from the teeth or head with the mantra 'uttisthata' (Tai Ā VI. 4, 2) and she should deposit those bones in a jar or garment, then a second woman of the same type collects bones from the shoulders or arms, a third woman from the sides or hips, a fourth from the thighs or legs, and a fifth from the feet. They or more women collect the bones completely. The urn is deposited at the root of a *śami* or *palāśa* tree.

In modern times, particularly in towns and cities, the collection of bones has to be done immediately after cremation. The Antyesti-paddhati closely follows the procedure prescribed in the Āśv. gr quoted above. It says. the performer goes to the place of cremation, sips water, mentions the time and place, makes a *saṅkalpa* (declaration) that he will perform the collec-

554. मा ते मनो यत्ते अङ्गमिति साञ्चिनोति पच्छ । प्रथम शीर्षकपालानि । पश्चात्कलशे समोत्प सर्वहृत्तमिच्छन्ति रविकीयोत्थापनीभिरुत्थाप्य हरिणीभिर्हरेत् । मा त्वा वृक्ष इति वृक्षमूले निदधाति । कौशिकसूत्र 82 29-32. It appears that the sūtras are not properly arranged by Bloomfield. They should be read as पच्छ प्रथमम् । शीर्षकपालानि पश्चात् । कलशे etc. For the उत्थापनी verses see n. 474. The हरिणी verses from अथर्ववेद are 18.2, 11-18 and are the same as Rg. X. 14 10-12 and X. 154, 1-5.

tion of the bones of the departed naming him and his gotra. He walks thrice round the place of cremation with his left towards it and sweeps it with a śami branch and sprinkles it with milk mixed with water with the mantra 'śitike' (Rg. X. 16. 14). Then old men odd in number with the performer collect the bones (as stated by Āśv. gr. above) and place them in a new jar and if they are of a woman in a jar with protuberances. They also winnow the ashes with a śūrpa and place in the jar even small bones and throw the ashes into the Ganges. Then at some time other than the rainy season a pit should be dug in a pure spot whereon water would not flow and the performer deposits the jar in the pit with the mantra 'approach this mother, Earth' (Rg. X. 18. 10). With Rg. X. 18. 11, he throws earth in the pit all round the jar and murmurs with folded hands the mantra (Rg. X. 18. 12) and he closes the jar with a new earthen disk with the verse Rg. X. 18. 13. Then he should put earth on the jar in such a way that it may not be seen by anybody and without looking back should go elsewhere and bathe. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 586) expressly states that the procedure for the collection of bones may be gathered from one's sūtra or from the work of Bhaṭṭa (i. e. Nārāyaṇa, Kamalakara's grandfather).

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (19. 11-12) and Anu. 26. 32 state that the collected bones should be cast in Ganges water, since as many particles of the bones of a man remain in Ganges water for so many thousands of years he dwells in heaven. It was provided in the Purāṇas that a virtuous son, brother or daughter's son or a relative on the father's or mother's side should cast the bones in the Ganges, that one not so related should not do it and that if he does it he has to perform cāndrāyana prāyaścitta. Even in modern times many Hindus take the charred bones of their parents or other dear relatives to the Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabad) or some other holy river^{554a} or cast them into the sea. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 587) quotes an elaborate rite of casting the ashes in the Ganges from Śaunaka. It is briefly as follows: The performer should go out of the village, bathe with clothes on, sprinkle the earth where the ashes are deposited with the Gāyatri and the other mantras usually repeated over

554 a. The स्मृतिच (अशौच) p. 190 quotes several verses on this point तत्र श्राद्धेऽपि । हारवत्यां सेतुबन्धे गोदावर्यां च पुष्करे । अस्थीनि विस्मृजेद्यस्य स मृतो मुक्तिमाप्नुयात् । शङ्खलिखितौ । गङ्गायां च प्रयागे च केदारे पुष्करोत्तमे । अस्थीनि विधिवत् स्पर्शत्वा ययायां पिण्डदो भवेत् । पित्रोर्ज्जात्यशुच्येत तौ नित्यं भोजयामिनी । इति । योगयाज्ञवल्क्यः । गङ्गायां यमुनायां वा कावेर्यां वा शतद्रुती । सरस्वत्यां विज्ञेयेण ह्यस्थीनि विस्मृजन्तुः ॥

pañcagavya. With the four mantras 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10-13) he should respectively pray to the earth, then dig it, take out the earth, and then the bones. Then he should bathe and purify the bones by touching the bones again and again and repeating the mantras 'eto nvindram stavāma suddham &c' (Rg VIII. 95. 7-9). Then he should bathe with pañcagavya and become pure. Then he should bathe ten times with cow's urine, cow's dung, cow's milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which kuśas have been dipped, ashes (of sacred fires), earth, honey and water. Then he should sprinkle (with kuśas) water on the bones with the mantras, viz. Rg. I.22 16. Rg VIII. 95.7-9,⁵⁵⁵ Rg VII. 56.12-14, Rg. X. 126 1-8, Rg. X. 119.1-13, Rg. IX. 1.1-10 (called Pāvamāni verses), Rg. X. 128.1-9, Rg. I. 43.1-9 (a hymn to Rudra); then he should offer a *hīṇya śrāddha* for the deceased, offer *pinḍa* to him and perform *tarpana* with sesame. Then he should cover the bones in seven ways viz. by deer-skin, woollen blanket, *darbhās*, cow's hair, hempen cloth, birch leaf and palm leaf. He should cast among the bones pieces of gold and silver, pearls, coral and sapphire for the purification of the bones, then he should offer into fire 108 oblations of clarified butter and sesame with the hymn beginning with 'udiratām' (Rg. X. 15). Then he should cast the bones in holy water; thereby he does not incur the fault of touching an unclean object. While answering the calls of nature or performing *ācamana* one should not hold the bones.

The Nirṇayasindhu adds (p. 588) that there is no *asthi-sañcayana* for one whose upanayana had not-been performed.

The Āśv. gr. IV.6, the Sat. Sr. 28 4, Śān Śr 4 6 (called *paridhikarma*) and some others prescribe a *Śānti* rite after collection of the charred bones of a deceased person. The Baud. P. S. (II 3 3) and Visnu Dh. S. 19.19 appear to prescribe the *Śānti* rite after the ten days of impurity have expired ('daśarātre saucam kṛtvā śāntiḥ'). It is described by Āśv. gr as follows: They who have lost a *guru* (father or mother) by death should perform on the new moon day an expiatory ceremony. Before sunrise they should carry fire together with its ashes and with its receptacle to the south with the half verse 'I send away the flesh-devouring Agni' (Rg X 16 9) Having cast that fire down at a place where four roads meet or somewhere else, they

⁵⁵⁵. It should be noticed that in Rg VIII 95 7-9 the word 'suddha' (pure) occurs thirteen times and hence it is appropriate that those verses are employed as purificatory ones. Similarly, in Rg. VII. 56.12 the word 'śuci' (pure) occurs six times.

walk round it thrice, with their left side turned to it and beating their left thighs with the left hand. They should then return home without looking back, bathe in water, have their hair, beards and hair on the body and nails cut, furnish themselves with new jars, pots, vessels for rinsing the mouth, with garlands of śamī flowers, with fuel of śamī wood, with two pieces of śamī wood for kindling fire⁵⁵⁶ and with branches for encircling the fire, with bull's dung and hide, fresh butter, a stone and as many bunches of kuśa grass as there are young women (in the house). At the time of the Agnihotra (in the afternoon) he should kindle fire (by means of the arāṇis) with the half verse 'Here may this other Jātavedas' (Rg. X. 16.9 latter half)'. Keeping the fire burning they sit till night silence falls, repeating tales of old men (of the family) and stories of auspicious contents, *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. When all sounds have ceased or when the others (members of the deceased's family) have gone to their houses or resting place, (the performer) should pour out a continuous stream of water beginning at the south side of the door with the verse (Rg. X. 53.6) 'spreading the thread follow the light of the world' and go round the house ending at the north side of the door. Then having placed the fire and spread to the west of it a bull's hide with neck to the east, with the hair outside, he should cause the people of the house (including women) to step on that hide with the verse 'Arise to long life'⁵⁵⁷ (Rg. X. 18.6). He should place twigs round the fire with 'Here do I deposit an encircling thing' (Rg. X. 18.4). Having placed a stone to the north of the fire with the words 'May they place a mountain between themselves and death' (Rg. X. 18.4 last *pāda*) and having sacrificed with four verses 'Go hence, O Death' (Rg. X. 18.1-4), he should look at his people with the verse 'as days follow each other' (Rg. X. 18.5). The young women (belonging to the house) should with each hand separately with the thumb and 4th finger salve (at one and the same time) their eyes with fresh butter by means of young *darbha* blades and cast

556. Nārāyaṇa explains that the fire means ordinary kitchen fire and he seems to be right in spite of Oldenberg's note to the contrary on p. 246 (of S. B. E. vol. 29). The deceased sacrificer is cremated with his śrauta fires (vide Āśv. gr. IV. 4) and smārita fire (if any) and on his death the śāntikarma is performed by the son or other relative who may have no consecrated fires at all or, if he has, he cannot cast them away as long as he lives. The Com. on Sat. Br. 28. 4, 1 states that it is the adhvaryu priest that kindles the fire and not he who performed the cremation.

557. Most of these mantras occur also in Tai. Ā. VI. 10

away the blades turning their faces away. The performer should look at them while they are salving their eyes, with the verse 'these women, being no widows and having good husbands' (Rg. X. 18.7). The former should first touch the stone with 'the stream containing stones flows' (Rg. X 53 8). After that, stationing himself to the north-east, while others go round with the fire, bull-dung and a continuous stream of water he should, after repeating the three verses (apo hi stha, Rg X, 9.1-3), murmur the verse 'these have led round the cows' (Rg. X. 155 5). A tawny-coloured bull should be led round. They then sit down at a place where they like to stop, having put on fresh unwashed garments and they sit there till sunrise avoiding sleep. After sunrise, having murmured the hymns sacred to the sun and auspicious hymns, having prepared food and made oblations with the hymn beginning 'May he burn away evil from us' (Rg. I. 97.1-8), verse by verse, having given to the brāhmanas to eat, he should cause them to pronounce auspicious words. A cow, a cup of metal and a fresh unworn garment are the sacrificial fee for each of the brāhmanas.

A few details may be added from other sūtras. The Sat Śr. (28.4.1) provides that the Śānti is performed on the 10th day after cremation by a priest, that in the folded hands of the wives (of the members of the family) he puts the remains of the material used for oblations with the verse 'these women, not being widows' (Rg. X. 18.7=Tai. Ā. VI. 10 2), that the priest plants in the earth the stalk of a plant with the verse 'yatha tvam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 10 2) ⁵⁵⁸, that after they return home, they cook goat flesh and boil *yava* grains and eat them and then may occupy couches and cots (i. e. give up the observances of mourning)

Interesting information is furnished by the Sat. Br. about graves (XIII. 8. 1-4) and Kat Śr ⁵⁵⁹ It is said in Sat. Br that

558 The mantra is very significant, यथा स्वर्गं नृणां तस्मिन् ओषधे पुष्टिर्वा अपि । एवमिह उद्भिर्नृणां कीर्त्या यज्ञात् ब्रह्मवर्चसेन ॥ ते आ VI. 10. 2

559. अथैकेषा कुम्भान्त निधानमनाहिताग्ने स्त्रियाश्च निवपनान्त इतिर्वाजिन पुनर्ब्रह्मन्तं सोमयाजिनश्च यनान्तमग्निचित इति । सत्या ओ 28 4, 28, almost the same words occur in बौ पि. सू II 3 2 This passage refers to four modes of the disposal of the charred bones viz. burial in the earth of the urn for women and men who had not consecrated śrauta fires, depositing the bones alone on the earth for him who performs havir-yajñas (in which only boiled rice and clarified butter are offered, vide Gaut 8 20), re-cremation for one who had offered soma sacrifice and building a brick or clod structure for him who

(Continued on the next page)

where it would be visible from the village and there should be charming objects to its west (woods, gardens &c.). If there be no charming objects there should be waters to its west or north. He makes it on salt (barren) soil, on such ground as abounds in roots. Let him not make it near where grows the Bhūmipāśa plant or where reeds grow, or Aśvagandhā or Adhyandā, or Prśniparnī grows. He should not make it near an aśvattha tree or near a vibhitaka tree or a tilvaka, a sphūrjaka or a haridru or nyagrodha tree or other trees that have an evil name (like slesmātaka or kovidāra) For one who has performed Agnicayana, he makes a tomb after the manner of the fire altar. One must not make it too large lest he should make the sin (of the deceased) large. He should make it just a man's size, broader behind (to the west) and broader on the north side. He encloses it with cords twisted in the non-sunwise way. He then bids them to cut out the earth which would be just sufficient for making the mound of a man's size.

The Kāt Śr. (21. 3. 1 and 6) closely follows the above directions contained in the Śat Br. The Śat Śr. 29. 1,2 provides that when the day of cremation is not known or remembered one may erect a mound over the bones (with clods of earth or bricks) on the New Moon day that comes immediately after the Full Moon day of Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, Vaisākha or of the summer months (Jyestha and Āśāḍha)

The Śat Br. (XIII. 8 2-4) pursues the subject of sepulchral monuments as follows: Godly people make their sepulchres so as not to be separate from the earth; while those who are of the Asura stamp, the Easterns and others, make the sepulchral mounds so as to be separate from the earth, either on a stone basin or a similar thing. He then encloses it with an undefined number of stones silently. He then sweeps the sepulchral site with a palāśa branch with (Vaj S. 35.1 'May the niggardly god-haters go away') and prays that Yama may grant him (the deceased) an abode. He throws out the branch to the south side. He then yokes the team of six oxen to the plough on the south side or on the north side, as he chooses. Having given the order 'Yoke' he (the performer) utters the

561 The grave is to be constructed in such a way that the four corners would lie in the direction of the four quarters, as Kāt Śr. (21. 3. 28-29) states 'dikṛakṣi puruṣamātram mimīte uttarataḥ pṛthu pascācca'.

mantra (Vāj. S. 35. 2).⁵⁶² Having turned round the plough from right (south side) to the north, he ploughs the first furrow with Vāj. S. 35.3 'May Vāyu purify' along the north side towards the west; with 'May Savitr purify' along the west side towards the south; with 'Agni's lustre' along the south side towards the east, with 'Sūrya's brilliance' along the front side towards the north. Four furrows he ploughs with a Yajus formula. He then ploughs across the body (of the sepulchral site) silently with an undefined number of furrows. He then unfastens the team of oxen. To the right side (south-west) he removes this (the plough and the team).

He then sows seeds of all kinds of herbs with a single verse (Vāj. S. 35.4); for long life he thersby prays for these (the performer's family) and accordingly each subsequent one of them dies of old age. He then pours out that (jar of bones). He does so before sunrise so that the sun should rise over him while he is doing it. He does so with Vāj. S. 35. 5-6. He then says to some one 'Proceed in that (southern) direction without drawing breath and having thrown down the jar, return hither without looking behind.' He then mutters Vāj. S. 35.7. He then arranges the dead man (the bones) limb by limb with Vāj. S. 35.8-9. Now thirteen unmarked⁵⁶³ bricks each measuring a (human) foot (*pada*) have been made and are laid down

562. It is not possible, owing to considerations of space, to set out all the verses of the Vāj. S. chap. 35 mentioned as mantras by the Sat Br. Only a few are set out here in order to show how appropriate they are as referring to the actions prescribed by the Sat Br. Verse 1 first half is 'अपेतो यन्तु प्रणयोऽ-
हन्ता देवपीयूषः' । सविता ते क्षीरिरेव्य इयिष्याल्लोकमिच्छतु । तस्मै इज्यन्तादुजियाः ॥
वाज सं 35.2, वायु इनातु सविता इनात्वन्नेम्रोजसा सूर्यस्य वर्चसा । विमुच्यन्तादुजियाः ॥
वाज सं 35.3

563 The bricks of the fire altar are marked with lines (vide H. of Dh. Vol II, p. 1248). The bricks in Agnicayana are as long as the foot of the sacrificer. Thereon gods have to be worshipped. Here it is the fathers to be honoured. Throughout Sat. Br. XIII. 8.2-3 a distinction is drawn between what is done for the gods and what is to be done for pītṛs in order to keep the divine distinct from what belongs to the fathers. In Agnicayana a bird-like pattern is the most frequent (vide H. of Dh. vol II p. 1249). It is hence that the Sat Br. speaks of wings and tails. The heights prescribed for men of the several varṇas and for women are symbolic. Kṣatriyas, brāhmanas and vāśyas represent the arms, the mouth and thighs of the Puruṣa (as stated in Rg. X. 90.12). The Kāt. Sr. (21.4.13-14) gives an option in the case of a kṣatriya viz. the mound may be as high as the chest or as high as a man with upstretched arms.

silently (and not with mantras as in the case of the Agnicayana). One of the thirteen he places in the middle, with the front towards the east (this represents the trunk), three are placed in front (representing the head), three on the right (that is the right wing); three on the left (that represents the left wing); three behind (representing the tail). He then directs them to bring some soil from a cleft in the ground. Some dig in the intermediate (south-eastern) quarter and fetch it from there; others dig in the south-west and fetch it northwards; he may do as he likes (there is an option) Let him not make the sepulchral mound too large For a ksatriya he may make it as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaiśya up to the thighs, for a sūdra up to the knee, or let him rather make it so high (for all) as to reach below the knee. While the mound is being made, they hold a bundle of reed grass to the north of it. Let him not throw it down after holding it up or after bringing it, but let him set it up in the house (as it represents offspring) Having prepared it he sows barley grain, thinking 'May they ward off (*yavaya*) sin from me!' He covers it over with *Avakā* plants in order that there may be moisture (*ka* or joy) for him and with *daubha* grass for softness.

They fix pegs round it, a *palāśa* one in front, a *śāmi* one on the north corner, a *vratana* one behind and a *vrtra*⁵⁶⁴ peg on the right (south corner). On the south side they dig two somewhat curved furrows and fill them with milk and water and they dig seven on the left (north) side and fill them with water for sin not to pass beyond They throw three stones each into the northern furrows and pass over them with *Vāj* S 35 10 (= *Rg.* X. 53 8) They cleanse themselves with *Apāmārga*⁵⁶⁵ plants with *Vāj* S 35 11; they thereby wipe away sin They bathe at any place where there is water. With *Vāj* S 35 12 he takes water with his joined hands and he throws it in the direction in which he who is hateful may be and thereby overthrows him⁵⁶⁶ Having bathed and put on garments that have never yet been washed they hold on to the tail of an ox and return to their

564 The meaning of *Vrtra-Sanku* cannot be stated *Kūṭi* Sr 213 31 reads देवशङ्कु for वृत्रशङ्कु and the *Com* explains वृत्रशङ्कु as पापशङ्कु

565 अपामर्गमप किल्बिषमप कृत्यामपो रिप । अपामर्गं त्वमस्मदप वृत्रघ्नं सुतः वाज स 35 11.

566 सुमित्रिया न आप ओषधय सन्तु दुर्मित्रियान्तरम् सन्तु योऽन्तर्द्वेष्टि य च वयं द्विष्टम् ॥ वाज सं 35 12.

home. They proceed towards the village muttering Vaj. S. 35.14 (ud vāyam). When they have arrived, ointments for their eyes and feet are given to them; such indeed are human means of embellishment and therewith they keep off death from themselves. Then in the house having kindled (domestic) fire and laid enclosing sticks of *varana* wood round it he offers by means of a *sruva* (spoon) an oblation to Agni *Āyusmat*. Vaj. S. 35. 16 serves ⁵⁶⁷ as a *puronurākya* (invitatory formula). He then offers with Vaj. S. 35.17. He says this so that Agni may guard and protect these men. The sacrificial fee is an old ox, old barley, old chair with a head cushion. He may give more if he desires. This is the procedure in the case of one who has performed *Agnicayana*.⁵⁶⁸ In the case of him who has not performed *Agnicayana*, there is the same procedure for selecting a site and the same performance save that of the fire-altar. Having fetched a clod from the boundary he deposits it midway between the sepulchral mound and the village with Vaj. S. 35. 15 (imam ⁵⁶⁹ jivebhyah). He then makes this a boundary between the Fathers and the living, so as not to commingle the two.

The Sat. Śr. 29. 13 ff. and Baud. P. S. I. 17-20 provide a lengthy procedure for erecting a mound over the bones of one who has performed the special rite of *agnicayana* which is passed over here. In building a mound the urn deposited under a tree is taken out and after the bones are purified in various ways (such as the spilling on them of curds mixed with *vājina* from a jar, the digging up of the clods by means of a plough to which a certain number of oxen are yoked). The Sat. Śr. (29. 1. 3-12) deals with one kind of procedure in which there is no *dhavana*, while 29.1. 13-32 deal with the procedure where *dhavana* is employed and sūtras from 33 deal with procedure common to both *paksas* (viz. one without *dhavana* and the other with *dhavana*). The building of a mound with clods (*lostaciti*) in which there is *dhavana* is rather an obscure matter in its nature and had some symbolic significance which is now lost. It may be briefly described as follows.—The members of the deceased's house

567. अग्न आरूपि पवस आ सुवोर्जमिद च न । आरे बाधस्व दुःखुनाम् ॥ वाज. सं. 35 16.

568. आयुष्मानग्ने हविषा दधानो दत्तयनीको दत्तयोनिरेषि । दत्तं पीत्वा मधु चाप गन्धं पितेव पुत्रमभिरक्षतादिमान् स्वाहा ॥ वाज. सं. 35 17.

569. इमं जीवेयं परिधिं दधामि मैवा न्न गावंपरो अर्थमेतम् । दातं जीवेन्तु हारदं पुरुषीरन्मर्त्यं दधतां पर्वतेन ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 15.

build a shed or a seat for a bed. They drive in the eastern half or middle or western half of it a three-pronged palāśa peg. In front of it one born of a śūdra woman or a *brahmabandhu* (a brāhmana only in name) sits down for a dialogue. He asks the principal wife (of the deceased) 'will you dwell with me.' That woman replies to him 'I shall not give (what you ask).' The same dialogue takes place on the 2nd day. Then on the third day she replies 'I shall give for one night.' Or if this peculiar practice (of talking about dhavāna, which literally means 'sexual intercourse') was intended to last for more days than three she was to give a suitable reply (viz. for three nights or for five nights &c). When the words of the reply are uttered by the wife, the performer deposits the bones (of the deceased) at the root of the peg and places between the three prongs of the peg a jar having a hundred holes at the bottom. The mouth of the jar is covered with a hide and *kuśa* grass. On that jar he sprinkles curds mixed with *vājina* with the mantra 'Vaiśvānare haviridam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6.1). When the liquid oozes from the jar on the bones he invokes the two verses 'drapsaś-caskanda' and 'imam samudram' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6). Then the Sat Śr. (29.1. 26-29) provides that four *brahmacārins* or other brāhmanas, that are pure, tie up their locks on their heads that are to the right and keep dishevelled those on the left side of the head, they strike their right thighs and also the hide that is wound round the jar of bones, fan it with the fringes of their garments, go round the peg thrice with their left side towards the jar and the people living in the same house (with the deceased) and women also do the same,⁵⁷⁰ that lutes (*vinā*) are played upon and also conches are blown and other instruments like *nāḥka*, *tūna*, *panava* are beaten and there is also dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. This practice of *dhavāna* (symbolic) may go on for five, seven, nine, eleven days, half a month, a month or a year during which time one has to donate food and money (gold &c) according to one's ability or on the last day according to some.⁵⁷¹ If one may offer a conjecture, this rite was intended to assure the deceased man (represented by the charred bones) that his wife had remained faithful and

570 Compare कौशिकसूत्र 85 10-11 'कस्ये सृजाना इति त्रि मस्य प्रकीर्णकियं परिपन्ति दक्षिणादूर्ध्वाध्माना । एवं मध्यरात्रे अपररात्रे च ।', कस्ये सृजाना 18 अथर्ववेद 18, 3, 17

571. On एकरात्राय वदामीति वृत्तिये (सत्या औ 29. 1 19.) the वैजयन्ती remarks 'एतच्च वचनमात्रम् । न तु तेन सह वासः कार्य एवमेतेनाह'.

unattached to any one else even long after his death. The Baud. P. S. (I. 17.8) also states that female dancers dance in this rite. Various measurements are given in the sūtras for the mounds that are constructed over the bones. Sat. Śr. (29.1 5-6) says ⁵⁷² that the site of the mound (*śmaśānūyatana*) is five *prakramas* on all four sides (or six on the east and five in the other directions, acc. to some). The height of the mound is variously given even in the same sūtra. ⁵⁷³ Sat Śr. states that the height may be two finger-breadths, or three or four or a *prāṇa* (the distance between the thumb and index finger when both are stretched away) or a *vikāṣa* (twelve finger-breadths), or it may be up to the knee or thighs or buttocks. The Baud P. S. I. 18 gives different ⁵⁷⁴ measurements. It states 'if the mound to be raised is as high as the neck towards the west, then it is up to the navel on the east, if it is as high as the navel on the west, then it is as high as the knee on the east; if up to the knee on the west then on the east it is level with the ankle'. The Kauśikasūtra ⁵⁷⁵ (85 4-10) gives certain options viz. the mandapa on which the mound is to be erected is either 7, 7, 5, 3 *prakramas* on the south, north, east and west or 9, 9, 7, 5 on the same sides in order or 11, 11, 9, 7; that in the case of those who worshipped the gods, the length was eleven on all sides; that in the case of the Śaunakins the sides (of the mound) are to be measured in odd numbers (of *prakramas*) and the mounds are either round or four-cornered; that such mounds are seen (in those days) and that the grave built for one who had set up vedic fires was to be of the height of a man with arms upraised. These passages show that the graves were generally

572. अपराद्धे श्मशानायतनं विनिर्मिते पञ्च पञ्च प्रक्रमान् सर्वतः । पदं पुरस्तादित्येके । सत्या. औ. 29 1. 5-6, the Com. वैजयन्ती explains 'तथा च पञ्च प्रक्रमसंमितं सप्त-चतुरक्ष लोहचित्तेरायतनं भवति । प्रक्रमो द्विपदक्षिपदी वेत्सुर्कं कृत्येष्टु'.

573. श्मशानस्य मात्रा द्व्यङ्गुलं त्र्यङ्गुलं चतुरङ्गुलं मादृशो वितस्तिजालिद्वन्द्वद्वन्द्वं रिक्तद्वन्द्वं वैषोक्तमा मात्रा श्मशानस्य । सत्या. औ. 29 1 70. The com says 'इदानी-मूर्ध्वमेवाह्वयन्ते । तत्र द्व्यङ्गुलादीनामष्टानामन्यतममूर्ध्वप्रमाणं स्थलस्य तस्योपरीतका-श्चेत्यर्थः ।'.

574. तस्य मात्रा यदि शीवद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्पुरस्ताजालिद्वन्द्वं यदि नाभिद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्पुरस्ताजालि-द्वन्द्वं यदि जालिद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्पुरस्ताजालिद्वन्द्वं &c. । बी पि छ 1 18 6, Dr Caland's text reads the exact opposite (I 15 p. 21) 'यदि शीवद्वन्द्वं पुरस्ताजालिद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्तदि नाभिद्वन्द्वं पुरस्ताजालिद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्तद्विजालिद्वन्द्वं पुरस्ताजालिद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्'.

575. एकादशभिर्द्वेन्द्वैर्दक्षिणात् । अग्न्यग्निमानि परिगृह्णन्तानि चतुरक्षानि वा शौनकि-नाम् । स्याद्वि दृश्यन्ते । यावन्पुरुष ऊर्ध्वपादुस्तावानग्निचितः । कौशिकसूत्र 85. 7-10.

quadrangular but sometimes round also (acc. to certain schools). The mounds at Lauriya referred to above are round.

Another feature to be noted is that clods were employed (and so the mound was called *loṣṭakāṇi*) or baked bricks in building the mound or grave over the bones by piling up layers of clay or bricks. In laying down the bricks first on the east, then on the north, then on the west and then on the south, the sūtras such as Sat. Śr. (29.1.53),⁵⁷⁶ Baud. P. S. (I 19.4-7) four verses were respectively employed that are (in order) Rg. X. 18.13, 10, 11, 12 (which are also A. V. XVIII 3.52, 49 50, 51 and Tai. A. VI 7.1). One of these (Rg. X. 18.12) speaks of pillars and the other (Rg. X. 18.13) of a post (*sthūnā*). Vide above p. 189. The discovery of two wooden posts in two mounds (at Lauriya above) in which the bones were deposited indicates that the Lauriya mounds followed a *vedic* custom which is mentioned by the *śrautasūtras*. The main difference between the Vedic and sūtra ritual on the one hand and the Lauriya mounds on the other is the height of the latter, which betokens a later age than that of the sūtras.

The Sat. Śr. describes in the 28th *prāśna* what is called *pitr-medha* while in *prāśna* 29 it describes the *brāhmarmedha*. The difference between the two is pointed out in Sat. Śr. 29.3.4-18 and it is stated⁵⁷⁷ (in Sat. Śr. 29.3. 20, 22) that the mantras called 'catur-hotārah' are spoken of as *brāhmaṇa* (in Tai. Br. III 12.5) and that the procedure of *Brahmamedha* is to be employed only for an *uśārya* or a *śrōtriya* and for no one else. The *Vaijayanṭi* by Mahādeva states (in the Introductory verses) that *prāśnas* 28 and 29 of Sat. Śr. are taken from *Bharaadvāja*. It may be stated here that the procedure of *dharma* described above in Sat. Śr. is no longer followed in India in

576 विधितिलोदाद् प्रतिदिग्मानन्वीक्षमाण उपदधात्युत्ते स्तन्मोमीत्येते मन्त्रिन्मन्त्रं विद्मि-
मिश्नाभिर्धानामिभिः प्रदक्षिणं परितरित्येणीर्धाना इति। सत्ता. श्री. 29. 1. 53, 0-1131:
the Com. says अत्रापि पूर्वत्वा दिग्पारम्भः ।; अथ क्षेत्रविदुषो चतुरो लोदादुपदधात्युत्ते
स्तन्मोमिन्.. निनीक्षिन् पुरस्तादुपदधाति । उच्छुद्धमाना पृथिवी हि निक्षिप्ति सरत्वं मित्रं उप दि
अपन्ताद् । .स्तत्वेत्येति दक्षिणतः । नौ पि च

577. On 29. 3. 2 (च ब्रह्ममेव इत्याचक्षते) of सत्या. श्री. the वैजयन्ती explains
'अत्र सदेवकोऽधिकारः । यस्माद् ब्रह्मसंज्ञो मेव इति विग्रहः । चक्षुषादिना मेव सदेवेन रूपं
देशतस्तुतिः । चतुर्होतृसंज्ञो दहलकल्प इत्यर्थः । On 'ताव परं ब्रह्मेत्याचक्षते' सत्या श्री
29. 3. 20, the वैजयन्ती says 'तावत्तुर्होतृद् । परब्रह्ममेव सारभूतमन्त्रवाची । ब्रह्म इति चक्षु-
होतार इति ।'

modern times. In the Baud. ⁵⁷⁸ P. S. I. 17 there are passages that bear a close resemblance to some passages of the Sat. Śr on *dhavana*. Similarly, Kāt Śr. ⁵⁷⁹ 21. 3, 6 provides (immediately after the months in which mounds were to be constructed) that as many jars should be taken as there are persons performing *dhavana* (or *dhurana*) and the commentator explains that word as meaning 'fanning'.

It will be seen that the disposal of the dead in ancient India was divided into four stages viz. cremation, collecting the charred bones and depositing them underground in an urn, expiatory rites (called Śāntikarma) and erection of a monument over the bones. The last was not necessarily done in every case. The Andhau Inscription of the time of Rudradāman in the year 52 (probably of the śaka era) refers to the erection of a staff (lasti i e. yasti) as a funeral monument to the memory of a sister, brother and wife by Madana son of Sihila (vide E I. Vol. 16 pp. 23-25). In a long passage of the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (pp. 885-886) it is stated that the charred bones of a cremated person should be collected in an urn and deposited at the root of a tree or cast in the Ganges, that the place of cremation should be purified with cowdung and water, that a puskaraka tree should be planted there or an eduka (a structure) should be built over it. ⁵⁸⁰

The Sat Śr 28. 4 28 and Baud P S. II. 3. 2 state as shown above that the rites immediately after death were performed only up to the depositing of the urn (containing the bones) underground in the case of those householders who had not set up the vedic fires and in the case of married women and that in the case of him who had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana a mound with bricks or clods was built up on the bones.

578. इकाहं धुदुह्ययिहानि धुदुह. पञ्चतन्त्रैकादशाष्टान्यर्चनासं धुदुहुरयुना रात्रीर्यमासान् मासान् चत्वारं संवत्सरं वा संपाद्य संधुदुहुरिति । अथान्तरेण शानं च समशानं चागारं वा विमितं वा कारितं भवति । श्री वि. सू I 17. 1 and 3, compare सत्य. औ noted above p. 252.

579. यावन्तो धुनियन्तः शुस्तवन्तः कुम्भानादाय छयाणि चापरानितानि । कात्या. औ. 21. 3. 6 On this the com says 'अत्र अनात्माना पुत्रपौत्रादीनामुपवाजनं वक्ष्यति । उपवाजनं धवनम्'

580. गृहीत्वास्थीनि तद्वस्त्रं नीत्वा तोये विनिसिषेत् । ततः समाजने भूमेः कर्तव्यं गोमया-
भूमिः । ..युनेपाच्छादनार्थं तु इक्ष. पुष्करकोऽथवा । एडुको वा प्रकर्तव्यस्तत्र सर्वैः स्वबन्धुभिः ॥
ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपरार्क p 886, the same passage is quoted in रघुनाथ's Com-
mentary on त्रिशङ्को (verse 28 p. 253) which explains पुष्करकः as पुष्करिणी
and reads पङ्क for एडुक and explains it as 'चत्वर'.

It is remarkable that while slaves and even attendants were often buried with the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain, there is no similar reference to the burial or cremation of anybody with the deceased even in the ancient procedure found in the Śat Br. It is only possible to say that in some cases in the pre-Vedic age the wife might have burnt herself along with the deceased husband on the funeral pyre. There is no doubt that later works like the Visnudharmasūtra recommended to women the practice of *Sati* as an option to leading the life of perfect celibacy after the husband's death.

The persons entitled to perform the funeral rites after death (*anyakarmādhikārin*) are the same as those entitled to offer *śrāddha*. There is a good deal of difference as to the order of the persons so entitled. For example, Gautama (Dh. S 15 13-14) states 'On failure of sons the sapindas (e g. brother, brother's son), the sapindas of the mother (e g. maternal uncle or his son) and pupils may perform *śrāddha* for the deceased; in default of these the family priest and the *ācārya* (veda teacher),' Śankha says⁵⁸¹ 'The offering of pinda and water should be done by the son for the father; in default (i e absence or death) of the son, the wife (of the deceased) should offer, but in default of her the full brother' The Visnupurāṇa⁵⁸² provides 'the son, grand-son, great grandson (of the deceased), the offspring of the brother (of the deceased), the offspring of a sapinda become entitled to offer (pinda)' The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa provides (30. 19-21, chap 27. 19-23 of the Venk. ed.) 'On failure of the sons, sapindas, on failure of them the samānodakas, then the sapindas of the mother, and samānodakas of her, should perform these rites, a daughter's son should perform them (if the man dies sonless), the putrikāputra should perform them for his maternal grand-father; in default of all these, women should perform these rites for their husbands but without Vedic mantras; in default of wife the king should get the rites performed by some one belonging to the family (of the deceased)

581. पितुः पुत्रेण कर्तव्या पिण्डदानोदकाक्रिया । पुत्राभावे तु पत्नी स्वात्पत्यभावे तु सोदरः ॥ शङ्ख q by स्मृतिच. II p 335, निष्यसिन्धु III p 380

582. पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रो वा तद्वद्वा भ्रातृसन्ततिः । सपिण्डसन्ततिर्वापि कियार्हा दृष्य जायते ॥ तेषामभावे सर्वेषां समानोदकसन्ततिः । मातृपक्षस्य पिण्डेन सबद्धा ये जलेन च । कुलद्वयेपि चोत्सवे स्त्रीभिः कार्या क्रिया दृष्य । सङ्घातान्तर्गतैर्वापि कार्या मेतरस्य च क्रिया । उत्सव-बन्धुरिक्षयानां कारयेदवनीपतिः । विष्णुपुराण III 13 31-33 q by अपराक p 433, स्मृतिच II p. 336, परा भा I. 2 p 461, बृहत्सत्त्व p 363. The विष्णुपुराण mentions the king as the अधिकारी in v. 34.

or by persons of his caste, since the king is the relative of all varnas⁵⁸³ There was a close connection between taking the estate of a man and performing the rites after death up to the 10th day. For the doctrines represented by the Mitaksarā and the Dayabhāga, vide H. of Dh. vol III pp. 734-743. Even those that regarded that inheritance was based on relationship by blood and not on the capacity to offer pindas held that it was obligatory on everyone who took the estate of another (including the king who took as the ultimate heir by escheat) to arrange for the rites after death and śrāddha. Visnu⁵⁸⁴ Dh. S. XV. 40 declares 'whoever inherits the estate of a deceased person has to offer pinda to him.' Yāj. II 127 says the same thing about the Kṣetraja son (ubhayorapyasau rikthi pinda-dātā ca dharmataḥ).

The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 94) states the order of *adhikārins* as follows; a competent son is the first *adhikāri* for offering pinda; in default of a son, husband, wife and co-wives; in default of these, the brother's son, the brother, daughter-in-law, daughter, daughter's son, any other *sagotra*, a *sapinda*, a fellow-student, a friend, a pupil, the teacher, any relative and anyone who takes the wealth of the deceased may offer *pinda*. The father is not competent to perform śrāddha rites for his (deceased) son, an elder brother for his younger brother; these may even do so through affection but they cannot perform the *sapindikarana*. Parents may offer pinda to unmarried daughters, and even to married daughters in the absence of another (proper) giver. The daughter's son and the maternal grandfather may offer to each other; the daughter's son to maternal grand-mother; the son-in-law and father-in-law to each other, the daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law, brothers among themselves, teacher and pupil to each other. For the order of śrāddhadhikārins, according to the Dayabhāga, vide H. of Dh

583. पुत्राभावे सपिण्डास्तु तदभावे सहोदकाः । नातु सपिण्डा ये च स्युर्ये वा नातुः सहोदकाः ॥ कुडरेन विधिं सम्पन्नश्च स्वतः । कुडरेनात्महत्यायैव पुत्रिकातनयास्तथा । सवभावे चिपः कुडरे स्वभर्तृणाममन्त्रकम् । तदभावे च द्रपतिः कारयेत् स्वकुडम्बिना । तज्जातीयेन सम्पन्नादाद्या सकला क्रिया । सर्वेदमिव वर्णानां बान्धवो द्रपतिर्यतः । मार्कण्डेयपुराण 30 19-24 (B I. ed) q by स्थितिव II. p 336, पर. मा I 2 p 463 (reads कारयेत्तस्य रिक्थतः). These verses (पुत्राभावे द्रपतिर्यतः) occur with the addition of a few half verses and variants in the ब्रह्मपुराण 220 76-80 and the reading of the ब्रह्म (द्रपतिः कारयेत्स्वकुडम्बिना by someone who does not belong to the family of the deceased) is better and makes good sense

584. मृतस्य रिग्यग्राहिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनौषधेद्विकेन दशहान्त कार्यम् । तथा च विष्णुः । यथापहंतः स पिण्डदायी मृत इति । व्यवहारमयूख p 145.

vol. III p. 739. The *Nirṇayasindhu*⁵⁸⁵ says that in the Kali age only two kinds of sons viz. *aurasa* and *dattaka* are allowed (out of the twelve mentioned by Yāj. II 128-132) and the order of śrāddhabhikārins is given by it as follows: *aurasa* son, then grandson, then great grandson, then adopted son. If there are many sons then the eldest alone is the *adhikārī*; if the eldest be not present or is *patita*, then the son next to the eldest is the *adhikārī* (and not the youngest). If the sons are divided from each other, then all the rites up to *sapindikarāṇa* are to be performed by the eldest alone who may make the other sons contribute to the expenses, but the yearly śrāddha may be performed by each son separately. If the sons (of the deceased) are not divided, then all rites including the yearly śrāddha also are to be performed by the eldest alone. When the eldest son not being present, the younger one or the youngest performs the cremation, he should perform all rites up to and including the sixteen śrāddhas, but not *sapindikarāṇa* and he should wait for one year for the arrival of the eldest. If the eldest comes to know of the death within one year, he alone should perform the *sapindikarāṇa*. If the eldest son does not come even at the end of one year, then even the youngest may perform *sapindikarāṇa*. If before the expiry of one year the youngest son or some one other than a son performs the monthly, *anumāsika*, *sapindikarāṇa* śrāddhas, then the eldest son or a son should again perform these. If there is a grandson who has his *upanayana* performed and there be a son whose *upanayana* is not performed it is the latter who is a preferable *adhikārī*, provided he is either three years old or has the *cūḍā* ceremony performed as stated by Sumantu⁵⁸⁶. Manu II. 172 states that a boy should not repeat the Veda before the performance of *Upanayana* except the mantras that are required for the śrāddha of his deceased father or mother. Such a son may perform with Vedic mantras the funeral rites on the death of his father or mother and their yearly and other śrāddhas. If he is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, he may simply perform the cremation with mantras and the rest may be got performed through another person. In the

585 औरसाभावे पौत्रः तदभावे प्रपौत्रस्तदभावे दत्तकादय इति ज्ञेयम् । निर्णयसिन्धु p 381, which relies on Manu IX 137 (= Vas 17 5 and Visnu 15 46) and Yāj. I. 78 This is opposed to the धर्मसिन्धु p 368 'दत्तकाभावे पौत्रः पौत्राभावे प्रपौत्रः । अन्ये तु औरसाभावे पौत्रः तदभावे प्रपौत्रः प्रपौत्राभावे दत्तका इत्याहुः'

586. अनुपेतोऽपि कुर्वीत मन्त्रवद् पितृनेधिकम् । यद्यसौ कृतचूडः स्वाद्यादि स्वाश्रयिष्वत्सरः ॥ शुभ्रपुत्रः q. by परा. मा I 2 p 465, निर्णयसिन्धु p 382, मद पा. p 403.

same way he should make only the declaration (*saṅkalpa*) of *darsaśrāddha* and *mahālaya* and the rest may be performed by some one else. An adopted son becomes an *adhikārin* for funeral rites and the like only if the upanayana has been performed. If there be no lineal descendant up to a great-grandson and also no adopted son, then the wife should perform with mantras the funeral rites and yearly and other śrāddhas but if she is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, then the same rules apply as in the case of an *anupanita* son. Even if the husband be not divided from his brother, or he be re-united with his brother, it is the wife and not the brother who is to be preferred as having *adhikāra* for śrāddha, though the brother gets all the property. Though some of the latest works on *dharmaśāstra* like the *Nirṇayasindhu*⁵⁸⁷ and *Dharmasindhu* (*bhāryayāpi samantrakam-eva-aurdhva-dehikadikam kāryam*) allowed the wife to perform rites after death with vedic mantras, several works such as the *Markandeya-purāṇa* and the *Brahmapurāṇa* did not allow the wife to repeat Vedic mantras (vide note 583 above). In default of the wife, the daughter has the right to perform rites after death if the deceased was separated and not re-united. But if the deceased was joint then his full brother would be the proper *adhikārin* after the wife. Among daughters the married one is preferred, though an unmarried daughter is a preferable heir. In default of daughters, the daughter's son is an *adhikārin*; then a brother, then a brother's son. Among brothers a full brother is preferred to a half brother and if there be both elder and younger brothers, then the younger is preferred for performing rites after death (in order to make as near an approach as possible to the relation of father and son). If there be no younger brother, then even an elder one could be *adhikārin*; in default of full brother, a half brother. Some held that even if the deceased was separate from his brother and had a daughter or daughter's son as heir the funeral rites were to be performed by the brother (and not by the daughter or her son), since a *śaotra* is to be preferred as an *adhikārin* to one of a different *gotra*. If there be no brother, then a full brother's son was to be preferred, then the half brother's son, then father, then mother, then daughter-in-law, then sister. In case of there being

587 असंस्कृतेन पत्न्या च ह्यग्निदानं समन्त्रकम् । कर्तव्यमितरत्सर्वं कारयेदन्त्यमेव हि ॥ कात्यायन १. १०. ११. वा pp 402-403. which remarks 'यदा स्वधुपनीत पुत्र संस्कर्तव्यो पत्नी वा वदाग्निदानमेव समन्त्रकं कार्यम् ।' This is opposed to the view of the *Nirṇayasindhu*, *Dharmasindhu* and other works.

full sisters, half sisters, younger and older sisters the same rules apply as in the case of brothers; in default of any sister, sister's son. If there be many sister's sons, the rules as to brothers would apply. Then come paternal uncle, his son, other sapindas;⁵⁸⁸ then samānodakas, then other persons born in the same family. In default of these, the sapindas of the mother, such as the maternal grand-father, maternal uncle, maternal uncle's son in that order; in default of the sapindas of the mother, the sons of the deceased's paternal or maternal aunt; in default of these the *pitṛ-bandhus* such as the sons of the father's father's sister, of the father's mother's sister, of father's maternal uncle; then the *mātṛ-bandhus* such as mother's father's sisters's son; in default of these, a disciple (of the deceased); in default of disciple, son-in-law of the deceased (or the father-in-law of the deceased); in default of these, a friend; in default, any one who takes the wealth of a brāhmana (deceased); if the deceased was other than a brāhmana the king (who took the wealth of everyone dying heirless, except the wealth of a brāhmana) who arranges for funeral rites through another.

In the case of women the following order of those entitled to perform rites of a deceased woman is given in the *Dharma-sindhu* (p. 370); If the female be unmarried then her father is the *adhikārin*, then her brother and the like; if the woman was married, her son, then her co-wife's son, then co-wife's grandson and then great-grandson; in default of these, the husband; in default of husband, daughter, then daughter's son; then husband's brother; then husband's brother's son; then daughter-in-law; then (the deceased) woman's father, then her brother; then her brother's son and the rest.

An adopted son should perform the *śrāddha* of his natural father if the latter left no son or other *adhikārī*. If a *brahmacārī* dies, his monthly, yearly and other *śrāddhas* should be performed by his father and mother. A *brahmacārī* may carry the dead body of his parents, or of his maternal grand-father, *upādhyāya* and *ācārya* and perform the cremation and other rites; but if another *adhikārī* is available, he should not do these even for the parents and the other three. A *brahmacārī*

588. The word *sapinda* here means a man of the same gotra as the deceased but within seven degrees of the common ancestor, tracing relation ship through males only, a *samānodaka* means one of the same gotra from 8th to the 14th degree descended from a common ancestor tracing descent through males only and *gotraja* means a relative of the same gotra as the deceased but beyond the 14th degree from the common ancestor.

should not at all carry the dead body of any one except of the above five or perform the cremation and other rites for any one else. If a brahmācārin performed all the rites for ten days he had to observe āśauca for ten days, but if he performed only the cremation he had to observe āśauca only for one day. Even while in mourning his obligatory acts do not stop; but he should not eat the food cooked for his relatives that are in mourning nor should he dwell among them; if he did (both these) he had to undergo prāyaścitta and perform upanayana again.

It is somewhat curious that Baudhāyana, the Lingapurāṇa (quoted in Śrāddhaprakāśa pp. 361-371), the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, the Pitrdayitā (p 82) and several other works allow man himself while living to perform his own rites after death (antyeṣṭi).⁵⁸⁹ This will be dealt with briefly later on under śrāddha. Further, if a man became *patita* and refused to undergo *prāyaścitta*, he was driven out of the Hindu fold by the procedure of ghatasphota (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 387-388), and Gaut. Dh. S. 20 2 and Manu XI. 182-183 provide that such a man was to be held to be dead and his relatives were to perform all rites for him such as offering water and śrāddha and were also to observe āśauca for him.⁵⁹⁰

Many commentators and digests quote certain verses of the Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 13. 34-39) wherein the rites (*kṛyāh*) after death performed for a person are enumerated as falling into three classes, viz. *pūrva*, *madhyama* and *uttara*. The rites from cremation up to the end of the 12th day are called *pūrva*, the śrāddhas performed monthly and *sapindikarāna* and *ekoddista* are called *madhyama* rites and those that are performed after *sapindikarāna*, when the deceased has reached the position of *pitr* after being a *preta*, are designated *uttara*.⁵⁹¹ The *pūrva* and

589 अन्त्येष्टिमात्मनः कृत्वा शास्त्रसंश्रद्धादेहिहिकम् ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 3.45 (B. I. ed.).

590. तस्य विद्यायुक्त्यनोनिस्तम्बान्धश्च संनिपात्य सर्वाण्युक्तादीनि श्रेतकार्याणि कुर्युः । गो ध सू 20 2.

591. पूर्वा क्रिया मध्यमाश्च तथा चैवोत्तरा क्रियाः । विप्रकाराः क्रिया ह्येतास्तासां भेदो ह्युच्यते ॥ आद्याहोद् द्वादशाहोद् मध्ये याः स्युः क्रिया मताः । पूर्वस्ता मध्यमा मासि मास्येकोद्विदसंज्ञिताः ॥ श्रेते पितृत्वमापन्ने सपिण्डीकरणादुद् । क्रियन्ते याः क्रियाः पित्र्याः शोचन्ते ता द्युत्तरा ॥ पितृमातृसपिण्डेश्च समानसलिलैस्तथा । तत्सङ्घातान्तर्गतैश्चैव राज्ञा वा धनहारिणा ॥ पूर्वा क्रिया मध्यमाश्च पुत्राद्यैरेव चोत्तरा । दोहित्रैर्वा नरश्रेष्ठ कार्यास्तत्तनयेस्तथा ॥ मृताहनि च कर्तव्याः स्त्रीणामप्युत्तरा क्रियाः । शतिसवत्सरं राज्ञैकोद्विदविधानतः ॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 34-39, q. by अपराक pp 433-434, स्मृतिचो II, p 336, परा. मा I. 2 p 464, नद. पा. pp 478-79, निर्णयसिन्धु p 387. The printed विष्णुपुराण reads आद्याहोर्मातृपुत्रादिस्पर्शाद्यन्तास्तथा क्रियाः । It has been provided in विष्णुपुराण III 13 21 that after the brāhmanas are fed on the 11th day after death the relatives should touch water, weapons, whip or a staff respectively according as they belong to the four varṇas and then they become pure.

madhyama rites of the deceased may be performed by the father, the mother, sapindas, samānodakas and those belonging to the deceased's group (gotra) or by the king if he takes the wealth of the deceased. But the rites called *uttara* are to be performed only by the son, grandson, great-grandson, daughter's son or the latter's sons. Even in the case of women, on the day of the anniversary of death every year an *ekoddista śrāddha* may be performed for them. There is also another classification of *śrāddhas* viz. *Navāśrāddha* (those rites up to ten days after death), *Navamīśra* (those performed after ten days up to six seasons), *Purāṇa* (those performed after a year).^{591 a}

As stated above, for ten days after death a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to the deceased on a stone (*aśman*) placed on kuśa grass and one large pinda (called *pūraka-pinda*) was to be offered on kuśa grass everyday with the face to the south and the sacred thread on the right shoulder (*prācināvīti*) for the purpose of freeing the departed from the state of being a *preta*. On the pinda, water mixed with sesame was to be offered and leaves of *Bhrngarāja* (called *mākā* in Marathi) and *Tulasī* also. The verse '*anādi-nidhano*' was to be repeated⁵⁹². The performer throws the pinda in water and then bathes. Vide A. K. D pp. 43-50 and *Antyesti-paddhati* of Nārāyaṇa for detailed treatment of the procedure of these ten days. Besides this, the *Āśvalāyana-grhyaparīśista*⁵⁹³ III, 6 speaks of five *śrāddhas* called '*nava-*

591 a नवश्राद्ध दशाहानि नवमिश्रं दशपञ्चमयुद्। अतः परं पुराणं वै त्रिविधं श्राद्धं
मुच्यते ॥ आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टे ५. by अपराकं p 525, निर्णयसिन्धु III, p 395.
अपराकं (p. 521) says 'एकोद्विष्टमुक्तं तच्च त्रिविधम्। नवं मिश्रं पुराणं च। तत्रैकादशाहान्तं
नवम् ॥ तद्वर्धमा संवत्सरान्तिश्रद्धम्। तत् उत्तरं पुराणम्। The printed आश्व गृ परि. III 9
(B. I edition) reads अथैकोद्विष्टं तत् त्रैधा भवति नवं मिश्रं पुराणं चेत्यन्तर्दशाहं नव
मिश्राणि मासिकानि चतुर्विंशदौ पुराणानि। The सूतिच. on आश्वोच p 175 quotes
प्रजापति 'नवश्राद्ध दशाहान्तं मिश्रं संवत्सरावधि। एकादशाहमारभ्य कुर्यात्तत्तत्सूक्तये ॥

592. अनादिनिधनो देव शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः। अक्षय्य पुण्डरीकाक्षः श्रेतोन्मादो मयः
quoted by अन्वेष्टिपद्धति of नारायण

593. अथ नवश्राद्धानि दशाहेषु विपमदिनेष्वाग्नेन कुर्यात्मेतमभिसन्धाय ब्राह्मण-
मुद्वेद्युखपुत्रेभ्य तस्मिन्सृष्ट्वा तिलान्नकार्यं काश्यपगोत्रं देवदत्तासुभिमन्त्रेण एतद्वामं रासु-
तिष्ठतामिति तदहं सम्बन्धेनोत्सृज्य पिण्डं चामन्त्र्योक्तवन्महायज्ञनायावेप विधिरन्तर्दशाहकर्मणि।
आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टे III, 6. The नवश्राद्धs are एकोद्विष्ट and several details
which occur in other श्राद्धs are omitted here and the word पितृ is not to be
employed, but only the word श्रेत. The गृह्यपुराण (II, 29 35-37) enumerates
eighteen details that were to be omitted in श्रेतश्राद्धs. Vide छान्दोग्यभाष्य pp 215,
221; 'तथाचाक्षराः। प्रथमेहि हवीयेहि पञ्चमे सप्तमे तथा। नवमेकादशे चैव तत्रश्राद्ध-
मुच्यते।' ५. by मय. पा p 618, the मित्ता on वा I 252 (without name) and
भट्टोजि on अद्वैतसिद्धि p. 168.

śrāddhas' (or Visamaśrāddhas) performed on the uneven days (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th) with uncooked food. According to the Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhanda 34, 36 which speaks of six śrāddhas on uneven days from 1st day to 11th) and Āpastamba they are six (Dharmasindhu p 464, Nirṇayasindhu p 588, Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 214-216, Śrāddhatattva p. 619) and according to others there is an option. Āngiras and Vasistha speak of six Navaśrāddhas on uneven days from the 1st to the 11th, while Baud Pitrmedha S. II. 10. 6 speaks of five. Some prescribe the placing of some cooked food sprinkled with ghee on the hand of a brāhmana. Others do not approve of this. They prescribe the placing of uncooked corn in front of a brāhmana or in front of a figure of a brāhmana made with kuśas (called *cata* in Marathi). The Garudapurāṇa (II. 5, 67 ff) holds that the navaśrāddhas are those performed at the place where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way, when the bones were collected and those performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th day. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 214 quotes similar views from Kātyāyana and the view of Yrddha-Vasistha that the deceased does not become free from the status of a *preta*, unless the *navaśrāddhas* are performed. The Garudapurāṇa, Pretakhanda (chap. 34, 27-28, 44, 48) states that by the pindas offered for ten days the several limbs of a subtle body are provided for the departed spirit which at first wanders like thin air. There are several differing views on the navaśrāddhas which are passed over here. On the uneven days if navaśrāddha is performed two pindas will be offered (one the daily one and the other, of the navaśrāddha). The Padma (Śrīstikhanda 10, 19) prescribes that one should not partake of the food at *navaśrāddha* and on doing so should undergo the cāndrāyana expiation.

In modern times, after the rites of the first day of cremation and of the collection of the bones, the rites for the dead generally begin on the 10th day. The performer goes to the place where the rites of the first day were performed, makes a *sankalpa* and offers a pinda with the words 'May this pinda wait upon the *preta* named N. N. and of the gotra (Kāśyapa &c) in order that hunger and thirst affecting the *preta* may be removed'. Then he offers water mixed with sesame, places leaves of *bhṛṅgarāja* and *tulasī*, repeats the verse 'anādinidhano' (note 592), removes the pinda to another place from the place where it was offered. Then he prepares a *vedi* with

loose earth with a triangular shape, purifies it by means of cowdung, decks it with turmeric powder and places thereon five jars full of water and on each of them a ball of rice. Then he offers a request to the middle jar with the words 'May this pinda together with the jar of water wait upon the *preta* by name N. N., of such and such a gotra in order that his hunger and thirst may be allayed'. There is a prayer before the jars to the east, south, west and north respectively to those whom the *preta* had befriended, to Yama, to crows, to Rudra respectively. There is a difference of view here, some prescribing four jars, some three, while others offer a pinda with the jar of water only on the place meant for the *preta* and mere pinda to others. Then water is offered over the pinda and to each of the above he offers sandals, umbrella, banner, bread. Then the performer waits till a crow seizes or eats the pinda placed to the west⁵⁹⁴. Then the *asman* (stone) is anointed with oil and cast in water. Then the performer requests the relatives, who offer one handful or three handfuls of water to the *preta* on the bank of the reservoir of water. Then the sons and others according to usage cut their hair and nails. Then all persons of the same gotra, according to the custom of the country, bathe with sesame and myrobalan, wear pure and dried garments, go home and take their meals there.

594 In modern times great importance is attached by many people to a crow touching and pecking at the pinda food. There is a common belief that if a crow does not touch the pinda then the deceased had some intense wish at his death that was unfulfilled and it is certainly heart-rending and a source of poignant sorrow even for passers-by to see the relatives waiting for hours and tempting the crow or crows to come down from trees with dainty pieces of *copra* and other things and also loudly declaring that they would do this or that and fulfil the last desire of the deceased. Often it so happens that no crow touches the pinda food in honour of the deceased, a very old and venerable man, and relatives are very much distressed to find that their venerable ancestor who could have hardly any ambition or desire at the advanced age of 50 or 90 (except to die speedily), judging from the reluctance of the crow, had some unfulfilled desire. Often the crow immediately touches the pinda offered to one who died very young (say 25 or 30 years old) and who would naturally be presumed to have many unfulfilled desires. In such cases the relatives feel very much relieved at the thought that their young relative passed away without any unfulfilled desires. The *Suddhikāumudī* refers to this offering to crows as a usage स्याच्चारत् काकपल्लिदानम् । पिण्डकोपमकं पात्रे कृत्वा असुकगोत्रस्य प्रेतस्याद्यन्तर्गणे विक्षेपवृत्तये यमह्वारावस्थितवायसाय एष बलिर्नम इत्युत्सृज्य कृताञ्जलि — ताक त्व यमह्वोर्गते एहाण बलिहृतमम् । यमलोकगतं प्रेतं स्वमाप्पायितुमर्हसि ॥ काजाय काकपुरुषाय वायसाय महात्मने । तुभ्य बलिं प्रयच्छामि प्रेतस्य वृत्तिहेतवे ॥ इति पठेत् । शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 135.

Some of the Purāṇas and medieval digests assert that after a man dies, the soul or spirit assumes what is called an *ātivāhika*^{594a} body consisting of three of the five elements (viz. fire, wind and *ākāśa*) that rise up from the dead body (while two viz. earth and water remain below), that such a body is obtained only by men and not by other beings, that with the aid of the *pindas* that are offered to the departed at the time of cremation and during ten days thereafter, the soul secures another body called *bhogadeha* (a body for enjoying the *pindas* offered) and that at the end of a year when *sapṇḍikarāna* is performed, the soul secures a third body wherewith the spirit reaches heaven or hell according to the nature of his actions. The word '*ativāhika*' is comparatively an ancient one. It occurs in *Vedāntasūtra* IV. 3.4 (*ativāhikas-tal-lingāt*). But there the meaning is somewhat different. The Upanisads speak of the soul as going by the path of *arcis*, day &c. The *sūtra* says that these (viz. *arcis*, *āhah* &c.) are superintending deities that take the soul gradually onward by the path that leads to *Brahma*. Govindānanda in his commentary on the *Prāyaścittaviveka* (pp. 13-14) holds that there are only two bodies (and not three as appears at first sight), viz. the *ātivāhika* or *pretadeha* and the *bhogadeha*. The belief was that the man on whose death no *pinda* was offered or the sixteen *śrāddhas* (to be described below) were not performed remained for all time in the condi-

594 a. तत्क्षणादेव गृह्णाति शरीरमातिवाहिकम् । अर्धं ब्रजन्ति भूतानि त्रीण्यस्मात्सद्व्यविग्रहात् ॥ आतिवाहिकसंज्ञोऽसौ देहो भवति भार्गव । केवलं तन्महत्त्वात् नान्येषां भाणिनां कश्चिद् ॥ मृतपिण्डैस्ततो दत्तैर्देहमाप्नोति भार्गव । भोगदेहमिति मोक्षं कमादेव न संशयः । मृतपिण्डा न दीयन्ते यत्तत्तदपि विमोक्षणम् । इमं शान्तिकेन्यो देवेभ्य आकर्षणं नैव विद्यते ॥ तत्रास्य यातना घोराः शीतपातातपोऽज्ञवाः । ततः सपिण्डिकरणे वाग्धवैः स कृते नरः । पूर्णे संवत्सरे देहमनोर्यं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ततः स नरको याति स्वर्गे वा स्वेन कर्मणा । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण quoted by प्राय नि. pp. 13-14, and अष्टित्तत्त्व p. 324. गोविन्दानन्द explains त्रीणि भूतानि as 'इष्टियत्तेजांसि' and thus differs from रघुनन्दन. The मरुत्पुराण (मृतपिण्ड chap. 10 79. ff) says the same. 'उत्क्रामन्ते.. ज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥ आतिवाहिकमित्येवं वायवीर्यं वदन्ति हि । ...युवादिनि कृताश्चेत्यु. पिण्डा दश दशाहिकाः । पिण्डजेन तु देहेन वायुजश्चेत्कर्ता ब्रजेत् । पिण्डतो यदि नैव स्पृहायुजोर्हाति यातनाम् ॥' The first verse (उत्क्रामन्ते) is गीता 15 10. The मरुत्पुराण states विहाय सुनहत्कृत्स्नं शरीरं पाञ्चभौतिकम् ॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मजम् ॥ स्वशरीरं सत्यत्त्ययं वायुभूतत्तु गच्छति । chap 214 29-30 and 51 ; निमित्तं किंचिदासाद्य देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते ॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मभिः । अग्निपुराण 230. 2-3, गृह्णाति तत्क्षणाद्योगे शरीरं चातिवाहिकम् । आकाशवायुतेजांसि विग्रहाद्धर्माग्निभिः ॥ अलं नही च पञ्चत्वमायकाः पुरुषः सृष्टः । आतिवाहिकदेहं तु यमवृता नयन्ति तम् ॥ अग्नि. 371. 9-10. The मार्कण्डेय (10 63-64) says 'वाय्वग्रसारी तद्भवं देहमन्यं प्रपद्यते । तत्कर्मजं यातनार्थं न मातापितृसम्भवम् ॥'.

tion of a *piśāca*, from which he would not be freed even if numerous other śrāddhas were later on offered for him.⁵⁹⁵ The Brahmapurāṇa calls the body 'yātaniya' (i. e. one that has to undergo trials and torments), while the Agnipurāṇa calls it 'yātaniya' or 'ātivāhika' and asserts that this body is made up of the elements of *ākāśa*, *vāyu* and *tejas*. The Padmapurāṇa (II. 67, 98) states that persons who commit certain sins secure after death a body similar in shape to the physical body for undergoing torments. The underlying conception was that when the gross body was destroyed after death by cremation, burial or other methods an intermediate subtle body had to be built up before the departed soul was compelled to assume another body in a fresh incarnation. The subtle body was gradually built up, as stated by the Mark. 10.73, by the rites performed on death and on several days after death. Though this conception is very clearly set forth in the Purāṇas it should not be supposed that it was altogether a new one. It had its roots deep down in the earliest Vedic period and was implicit in some of the hymns as indicated by Rg. X. 15. 14, X. 16. 4-5 translated above. Though in the Tai. S. I. 8. 5 1-2 and in passages of the Tai. Br. and Śat. Br. to be set out later on it is said that the offerings are made to the paternal ancestors, it does not follow that the brāhmanas were not fed at the same time on the food prepared for being offered to the ancestors, just as in the solemn Vedic sacrifices offerings were made to the gods, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and others and at the same time priests engaged in the sacrifices were fed and given presents (*dakṣiṇā*). Therefore, it need not be necessarily supposed that feeding the brāhmanas at śrāddha was a later idea and offering food to the dead was the original idea.

595. यस्मैतानि न दीयन्ते मेतआङ्गानि षोडश । पिशाचत्वं भुवं तस्य दत्तं आङ्ग-
 शतैरपि ॥ यम. q. by आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 362 and तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी on यम. वि. p. 14. Almost
 the same verse is लिखितस्मृति V. 16 and गरुडपुराण, मेतखण्ड 34. 131.

CHAPTER VIII

SUDDHI

Śuddhi (purification) is a very comprehensive topic including within it purification after āsauca (impurity on birth and death), purification of a person after contact with an impure object or on account of certain occurrences, purification of pots, wells, food &c., after they are polluted. Āsauca, however, is the most important subject under śuddhi and therefore the Śuddhi-kaumudī defines 'śuddhi' as 'the state of being fit for or capable of performing the rites that are understood from the Veda'⁵⁹⁶ The Smṛtis employ the word śuddhi in relation to purification after āsauca. For example, Manu V, 57 starts by saying that he will expound purification after a man is dead (pretasuddhi) and purification of things (dravyasuddhi). Manu V, 83 (= Dākṣa VI, 7) avers that a brāhmana becomes pure after ten days (on the death or birth of a relative), a ksatriya after twelve &c. The Parāśara-smṛti starts chapter three by declaring 'I shall expound śuddhi on birth and death.' Yaj. III, 14, 25 also employ the word śuddhi. Therefore āsauca on birth and death will be first dealt with.

The word āsauca is formed from suci (pure) according to Pān. V. 1. 131^{596a} and Pān. VII. 3. 30 (vide note below) with the negative particle *na* (a). In some smṛtis such as that of Devala the form 'āsucya' also is found (see Hāratalā pp. 2, 9, 36 in quotations from Devala^{596b}). Another word which is often used as a synonym for āsauca is 'agha'. It has been seen above (p. 6) that the word *agha* means 'sin' in the Vedic Literature (as in Rg. I. 97. 1-8, X. 117.6). But in the Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 11,

596 वेदवोधितकर्माहता शुद्धिः । छ. कौ. p. 1.

596 a इगन्ताच्च लङ्पूर्वात् । पा. V. 1 131 (अण् अङ्गुलिते) — शुद्धेर्भावः. कर्म वा शौचम् । न शौचमशौचम् । This is one way of explaining the word. We may also explain न शुचि अशुचि, अशुचेर्भावः कर्म च आशौचं or अशौचं according to नञः शुचौचस्तेत्रजकुशलनिपुणानाम् । (पा VII 3. 30).

596 b. जनने मरणे नित्यमाशुच्यमनुधावति । देवल q. by हारलता p 2. आशुच्यं दशरात्रं तु सर्वत्राप्यपरे विदुः । देवल q. by शुद्धिम. p. 41.

Manu V. 84 (na vardhayed-aghāhāni) the word 'agha' has come to mean the same thing as āsauca.⁵⁹⁷ The Padmapurāna II. 66. 73-74 states that since the outlets of the body always emit mucus, urine &c. it is always impure.

The Mit. on Yaj. III. 1 defines⁵⁹⁸ āsauca as an emergent attribute attaching to a person, which is got rid of by lapse of time or a bath and the like and which is the cause of the positive direction to offer (to a deceased person) pinda, water and the like and of the cessation of Vedic study and other actions. The Mit. adds that āsauca is not merely the absence of the privilege or power to do religious acts, since even those who have incurred impurity (on death &c.) are enjoined to do certain religious acts such as offering water (to the deceased). This definition of the Mit. appears to be an echo of the Garudapurāna (pretakhanda) 5. 9 and is probably based on a verse of the work called Sangraha. Haradatta⁵⁹⁹ on Gautama 14. 1 states that āsauca may be defined as 'the absence of the privilege to perform religious acts, unfitness for being one whose food may be partaken of, untouchability and the loss of the privilege to make religious gifts.' A comparatively early writer Bhaṭṭācārya,⁶⁰⁰ appears to have defined 'śuddhi' as the 'removal of sin' or as 'being fit for performing religious acts.' This was accepted by the Smṛti-candrikā, but rejected by Nandapandita, commentator of Śaṣāṣīti (pp. 2-3). Even the Mit. (on Yaj. III. 18) emphasizes that āsauca has two characteristics, viz. it takes away the privilege of performing

597 नापाहानि वर्धयेदुपति इ स्नाह कीपीतकि । शां औ. IV. 15 11. The com. says 'अघशब्देनात्र मरणमुच्यते । चेन्न ह्यु सपिण्डमरणं सवृत्तं तान्यपाहानि मरणाद्वारयै-
करात्रादीनि यानि व्रतैर्व्यस्यन्मुक्तानि तानि न वर्धयेत्, नाप्यधितानि कुर्वन् । कर्मनधिकार-
व्रतेर्न व्यामशुः ।'

598. आशौचशब्देन च कालस्नानाद्यपनोद्य. पिण्डोदकदानादिविधेः अध्ययनादि-
पर्युदासस्य च निमित्तभूत पुरुषगतं कश्चनातिशयं कथ्यते न पुन कर्मनधिकारमात्रम् । मित
on या. III. 1, अपनोद्यं विदं कालादिभिराशु निषेधकृत् । पिण्डाध्ययनदानादेः पुगतो-
द्यो हि तत् ॥ गच्छ (नेतखण्ड 5 9), निमित्त पिण्डदानादेः पुरुषस्यमशुद्धिः । कालस्नाना-
नोद्य यत्तदाशौचमतिर्यते ॥ संवत् १ by स्मृतिह (आशौच) p. 477

599 किं पुनरिदमाशौचलक्षणम् । कर्मन्यनधिकारोऽभोज्याश्रयताऽस्युपता दानादिप्रा-
धिरातिता । हरदत्त on गो 14. 1.

600 छादिसिद्धार्थस्तु पापक्षयं शुद्धिर्धर्मयोग्यत्वमेव वा दृष्टि भट्टाचार्योक्तो दृष्टः ।
पापक्षयः सपिण्डादौ जनने मरणे वा तत्सम्बन्ध्यादावुत्पन्नस्य पापविधेयस्य क्षयः । धर्मयोग्य-
दानादिधर्मालुडानाहस्यम् । एवं छादिसिद्धार्थो मतभेदेन द्विधा विरुतो भट्टाचार्यः । स्मृतिच.
(आशौचकाण्ड p. 2) स्मृतिह p. 477 mentions this view.

religious acts and it renders a person untouchable. The *Smṛtimuktāphala* follows this. Rudradhara in his *Śuddhiviveka* (D. C. ms. No. 309 of 1887-91 folio 1) says that *śuddhi* is a special attribute which brings about a capacity or privilege for the performance of all dharmas, while *aśuddhi* is an attribute opposed to *śuddhi* and arises on the occasion of the birth of a *śapinda* or the like.⁶⁰¹

Āśauca is of two kinds, viz. that arising on birth⁶⁰² (and so called *jananāśauca* or *sūtaka*) and that arising on death (and therefore called *śvāśauca* or *mṛtakāśauca* or *maranāśauca*). *Śvā* is derived from *śava* (meaning a corpse). The word *sūtaka* occurs in the⁶⁰³ *Āt. Br.* (chap. 32. 8) and is there probably used in the sense of impurity on both birth and death. There it is said that if an *āhitāgni* partook of food from the house of him who was affected by *sūtaka*, then the *prāyaścitta* was to offer a *puroḍāśa* cooked on eight potsherds to *Agni Tāntumat*. *Tantu* means also 'son or progeny' and so it may be argued that it is an indication that *sūtaka* is used in the *Āt. Br.* in the sense of impurity on birth. The word *sūtaka* is used in the *smṛtis* in three senses: (1) impurity on birth (vide *Manu* V. 58); (2) impurity both on birth and death, as in *Gobhilaśmṛti* III. 63 and 63;⁶⁰⁴ (3) impurity on death alone (as in *Dakṣa* VI. 1 and *Gobhilaśmṛti* III. 48)⁶⁰⁵. In some of the modern vernaculars (such as Marathi) the word '*sūtaka*' is used in the 3rd sense alone. In each of these two divisions there are two varieties viz. where the duration is brief or comparatively long (*Śadaśīti*, verse 2).

A question arises why birth and death should cause impurity to the members of the family or to relatives. Only a

601. शुद्धिस्तावदखिलधर्माधिकारापादको धर्मविज्ञेयः । अशुद्धिस्तु तद्विरोधी धर्मविज्ञेय एव । स च संपिण्डजन्मादिनिमित्तकः । शुद्धिविवेकः of रुद्रधरः.

602. आशौचं द्विविधं कर्मानधिकारलक्षणं स्पृश्यस्वलक्षणं च । स्पृतिषु (p 477).

603. तदाहुर्य आहिताग्निर्यदि सूतकानं प्राप्तीयात्का तत्र प्रापश्चित्तिरिति । सोऽन्ये तन्तुमतेऽष्टाकारं पुरोडाशं त्रिविधं तस्य प्राज्याहुवाक्ये तन्तुं तन्वन्नजतो भातमिन्वाहानहो नद्यवनोत्त संम्या इति । आहुतिं वाहवनीये ब्रह्मपादग्नये तन्तुमते स्वाहेति । ऐ वा. 3.2.8 तन्तु तन्वन् is Rg. X. 53 6 and अक्षानहा is Rg. X. 53. 7.

604. सूत्रे कर्मणा त्वाय. सन्ध्यादीनां विधीयते । होम. औतस्तु कर्तव्य. शुष्काक्षेनापि वा कलैः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति called छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट q. by हारलत p 6, छु. कौ., and आश्वय. p. 83.

605. सूतकं तु प्रवक्ष्यामि जन्ममृत्युनिमित्तकम् । प्राज्यादिं तृतीयं तु यथावद्वृत्तं । दक्ष. VI. 1, अस्थानालाभे पाणानि शकलान्मुक्त्याहवा । मर्त्येदतिथिसंख्यानि ततः प्रश्रुति सूतकम् ॥ गोभिल III. 48, The 4th pāda of the latter is q by हारलत p. 2,

few have to say anything on this question. *Hārīta* says 'the family incurs death impurity because by death the family feels overwhelmed (or frustrated), while when a new life appears the family increases (and there is gratification or joy)' ⁶⁰⁶.

The literature on *Suddhi* (including *śauca*) is very extensive. Apart from the *sūtras*, *smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* there are numerous digests dealing with the subject at great length. Some of them have been printed. The *smṛtis* contain a mass of contradictory dicta to such an extent and different from the usages of mediæval times that the *Mit* on *Yāj III 22* after quoting the views of *Parāśara*, *Śatātapa*, *Vasistha* and *Angīras* on the periods for which impurity had to be observed by persons belonging to the four *varṇas* refuses to evolve order out of them and remarks that the usages in its day were different from the dicta of those sages ⁶⁰⁷. The *Madana-pārijāta* (p 392) agrees with the *Mit* and also suggests other modes of dealing with the conflict. Two examples may be cited of the way in which different *smṛtis* approach the same problem. *Atri 83*, *Parāśara III 5* and *Dakṣa VI 6* provide that a *brāhmana* who has consecrated the three Vedic fires and has mastered the *Veda* becomes free from impurity (on birth and death) in one day, one who has merely mastered the *Veda* (but has not consecrated the *śrauta* fires) in three days and one who is devoid of both in ten days. *Manu V. 59* gives various options viz 10 days, 4 days, 3 days, 1 day but does not state explicitly to whom his remarks apply. *Bṛhaspati 607a* (q.

606. अथ च कुलम्पापित्वे कारणमाह हारीतः। श्रेताभिधृत्वाच्छावनाशौच जीरे हृदि योगेन कुलस्य भवति। इति। जायमानत्रियमाणो नन्यस्मिन् सन्नेपदास्तन्नेपदाग्या हृदि ययोगाद्वा कुलम्पाप्याशाच्च भवतीत्यर्थः। शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on पदसिपि p 4 The स्तानिच (आशौच) p. 11 reads somewhat differently "नन्यस्मिन्नाशौच सन्नेपदाग्या रिक्तानां न भवति कारणभावादित्याशङ्क्याह हारीतः" श्रेताभिधृत्वाच्छावनाशौच जाते हृदि योगेन केनेति नीनास्तन्ने नाम्पाच्छिन्नकालानाहुच्छेदद्वयस्याश्च कुलस्याशौच भवति। इति।"

607. इत्येवमेकोद्यावचाशौचकल्पा दर्शिताः। तेषां लोके सनाचारभागसानीव व्यवधमदर्शनरूपयोगीति नाम्न व्यवस्था मद्वर्षेति। मिना on पा III 22. लोकात्मनाचार-द्वनाद्वर्णीयमिति केचन। अथवा देशाचारीत्यवस्था। उत यजवदयुगवद्विषये पयाकन न्यूनाधिककल्पाश्रयेण निर्वाहः। किंवा आपदनापन्नेदेन व्यवस्था। नद पा p 392

607 a त्रिरात्रेण विशुष्येत योऽग्निवेदस्तन्निनः। पश्चाद्देनाग्निर्गन्तु दशाहं द्विहोत्रः॥ इदमस्ति q. by कल्पः (शुद्धि) p 4. हारलना p 5 and शु को p. 7 अद्विहोत्र defines ब्राह्मणम् as 'गर्भाधानादिनस्कारैर्उक्तश्च नियमव्रतः। नाप्यापयति नापीने विज्ञेयो ब्राह्मणव्रतः॥'

by Hāralatā p. 5 and Haradatta on Gautama 14. 1) states that a brāhmana who is endowed with Veda and śrauta fires becomes pure after three days, one who is devoid of śrauta fires (but is master of the Veda) in five days and one who is only a brāhmana by caste (has not studied the Veda or does not teach it) in ten days. The Śān Śr. and Manu⁶⁰⁸ (both quoted above) urge a man not to increase through laziness the number of days for which impurity is to be observed. It is possible that persons claiming to be learned observed impurity for a few days only, while neighbours disputed their claim to this special dispensation in favour of Vedic learning and keeping śrauta fires. The result was that later on a flat number of ten days was prescribed for all brāhmanas whether learned or not and the provision for lesser number of days of impurity was relegated to *Kahvarjya* usages. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 941-42.

Another example of the dependence of the days of impurity on the caste of the deceased and of varying diets thereon may be cited. Manu V. 83, Dakṣa VI 7, Yaj III. 22, Atri (verse 85), Sankha (15. 2-3), Matsyapurāṇa (18. 2-3), Brahmapurāṇa 220. 63, Viṣṇu Dh. S 22. 1-4, all lay down periods of 10 days, 12 days, 15 days and a month for impurity among brāhmanas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras respectively. Yaj. III. 22 makes the virtuous śūdra observe impurity only for 15 days as a concession. Gaut. (15. 1-4) prescribes 10, 11, 12 days (or half month) and a month respectively for the four varṇas, while Vas. (4. 27-30) gives the periods of 10, 15, 20 and one month for the four *varṇas*. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his article on Nāgara brāhmanas and Kāyasthas of Bengal, protests that the Kāyasthas of Bengal (owing to social tyranny) still observe āśauca for one month as if they are ordinary śūdras (I. A. for 1932 at p. 71). On the other hand, Angiras (quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 22) states that Śātātapa declared that all *varṇas* become purified after ten days whether the impurity is due to birth or death.⁶⁰⁹ Parāśara (III. 9) quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 18

608. On न वर्षयेद्वाहानि (मनु. V 84) कुल्लुक comments: यस्य तु हस्तस्वाध्यायाप्येषया पूर्वमवर्त्तित्यनादस्थानाद् इत्याद्याशौचसङ्कोच उक्तः स निष्कर्मा सुखमासिद्ये प्रति इहया नाशौचदिनानि दशाहादिरूपतया वर्षयेत्सङ्कचित्ताशौचदिनेत्यपि।

609. अङ्गिरस्तत्त्वाह-सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतेकं सूतेकं तथा। दशाहाहस्तुद्धिरेतेषामिति शातातपोऽवधीद् ॥ मिता. on या. III. 22.

provides that a *sapinda* who is 4th in descent from the common ancestor of the deceased and himself becomes pure after ten days, one who is 5th after 6 days, one who is 6th in descent after four days and one who is 7th after one day. The Mit. says that this should be discarded as it is in conflict with many other *smrtis* and is disapproved of by people.⁶¹⁰ Some of the rules mentioned by *Vijñāneśvara* (about 1100 A. D.) themselves underwent changes in 500 years as noted by the *Nirṇayasindhu* (composed in 1612 A. D. ⁶¹¹).

The Mit. on Yaj III, 18 declares that when a child that has not completed two years dies, it is the parents that have to observe *śāuca* for ten days and not all *sapindas* and that their *śāuca* entails untouchability for them. The *Nirṇayasindhu* (p. 517) remarks that what *Vijñāneśvara* said is not now (in its time) the usage and that the *Smṛtyarthasāra* also did not accept *Vijñāneśvara's* view.

In view of the above-mentioned circumstances no useful purpose would be served by setting out in detail the varying diets of the *smrtis*, *Purāṇas* ⁶¹² and the digests upon the several matters that fall to be treated under *śāuca*. Digests on this subject are too numerous to mention. The following printed ones and a few mss have been made use of in preparing the following account. In the first place, there are several works that deal with this subject in verse. The *Śāucaśataka* attributed to *Vararuci* (published in the *Trivandrum* series) with a

610 यत्पुनः स्मृत्यन्तरवचनम् चतुर्थे दशरात्रे स्वात्यग्निसा पुंसि पञ्चमे। षष्ठे चतुराश्वष्टत्रिः सप्तमे त्वहरेव तु॥ इति तद्विगीतत्वाच्चादरणीयम्। यद्यप्यविगीतं तथापि मनुष्यकान्तिपश्चालम्भनवह्नौकविहितत्वाच्चाद्युच्यते। अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविहितं धर्ममग्न्याचरेत् तु इति मन्त्रमरणात्। नित्यं. on या III, 18. अस्वर्ग्यं is the latter half of या I 156

611. यच्च विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं ऊनद्विवर्षं उभयोः सुतौ मातुरेव इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तः धर्मस्थे प्रेते मातृदंशाद् जात उभयोः कृते नास्ति सोदराणां च इति पैङ्गवोक्तेश्च पित्रो सोदराणां च दंशादभस्त्वयत्वमिति तत्केदानीं मन्त्ररति। अत एव स्मृत्यर्थे सारं तकाद्वतम्। निर्णयसिन्धु p. 517 The स्मृत्यर्थे सार (p. 80) states 'अनुपनीतमरणे मातापित्रोर्दंशादशौचं पक्षोऽनादृतः'.

612. Several among the *Purāṇas* devote considerable space to *śāuca*. For example, the *Kūrma* (*Uttarārṇha* Chap 23), *Liṅgapurāṇa* (*Purvārṇha*, Chapter 89. 77-92), *Garudapurāṇa* (*Pretakhaṇḍa* Chap. 5), *Agnipurāṇa* (Chapters 157-158), *Vāmana* (14. 96-102) do so. In the *Garudapurāṇa* (*Pretakhaṇḍa* 5) several verses are taken from *Yājñavalkya*, *Manu* and other *smṛtis*.

commentary by an anonymous writer that names the bhāṣya of Maskarin on Gautama-dharmasūtra (on p. 35) deals with the subject in eight *śragdharā* verses. The Āsaucadaśaka or Daśaśloki attributed to Viṇṇāneśvara seems to have been a very popular work. There are several commentaries on it. The one by Harihara is the earliest of them. In the Deccan College collection of Mss (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona) there are several Mss of it, two of which were copied in *saṃvat* 1539 (D. C. No. 216 of 1879-80) and *saṃvat* 1579 (D. C. No. 196 of 1884-87) and which expressly state that the work was composed by Viṇṇāneśvara-yogindra. The ten Śārdūla-vikrīḍita verses of the Āsaucadaśaka are set out in the appendix. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmidhara has a section on śuddhi which has been recently published in the G. O. S. The Hāralatā of Anuruddha is very useful (B. I. Series). The Āsaucakāṇḍa of the Smṛticandrikā has been edited by the late Dr. Shamsastry and published as No. 56 of the Mysore University Sanskrit publications. The Trīmśacchloki with the commentary of Raghunātha composed in *śake* 1645 has been published at the Poona Ānandāśrama press and contains 30 Śragdharā verses on āsauca. The Śaḍasīti (86 verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre) of Kauśikaditya with the commentary Śuddhicandrikā by Vināyaka *alias* Nandapandita (composed about 1600 A. D.) has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The Śuddhikaumudī of Govindānanda (B. I. Series); the Śuddhitattva of Raghunandana (ed. by Jivananda pp. 233-412), the Śuddhiprakāśa (part of the Viramītrodaya of Mitrāmīśra) published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, the Śuddhimayūkha of Nilakantha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) and the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) are compilations that are useful in their own way. These exhaustive treatises on āsauca show one thing unmistakably that brāhmanas of the medieval ages attached an extremely exaggerated importance to ceremonial purity of the body on birth and death.

The periods of impurity depended on many circumstances. There was a difference between impurity on birth and that on death; so also the duration depended upon whether the deceased was an infant or a male or a female or one whose *upanayana* had been performed or not performed; it depended on caste and also on the question whether the deceased died near the relative or far away; also upon the degree of relationship; and on the time that elapsed from the birth or death till it reached the ears

of the relative. The intensity of impurity was different in each of the following: a *sūtikā* (a freshly delivered woman), *rajasvalā* (woman in monthly illness), impurity on death, impurity on birth (the last being the least).

Dakṣa (VI 2-3) states that there are ten varieties in impurity, viz. immediate purity (after taking a bath), one day, three days, four days, six days, ten days, twelve days, a fortnight, a month and till the end of one's life⁶¹³ Dakṣa then explains in what cases these different periods apply. As to what is meant by impurity till life's end (lit till he is reduced to ashes), Dakṣa (VI 8-10) says. 'those who take their meals without bathing or offering to gods or without making gifts—all such persons are in impurity till life ends. One who is permanently afflicted with a disease, who is close-fisted (i. e. stints himself, wife and son and religious acts through greed), who is always in debt (i. e. who has not paid off his debts to gods, sages and manes), who is bereft of religious acts (*nitya* or *narmittika*), who is a fool and is under the thumb of his wife, whose mind is bent on vices (gambling, prostitution &c), who is always dependent (a king's servant or the like), who is devoid of faith and benevolence (charitable gifts)—he incurs impurity which ends only with his ashes (i. e. only when he is cremated).'⁶¹⁴ These words are not to be taken literally; what is meant is that such a man is to be shunned by others (i. e. it is an *arthavāda* conveying merely censure)

We shall now turn to the impurity on birth.

That the impurity on birth lasted for ten days even in Vedic times can be inferred from the story of *Sunah-sepa* narrated in the *Ait Br* (chapter 33 2), where occurs the passage 'when the animal is more than ten days from birth he becomes pure (and fit to be offered in sacrifice)' The same

613. सद्यः शौचं तथैकाहस्यद्वयसप्तहस्तया । पञ्चदशद्वादशाश्च पक्षो मासस्तथैव ॥ मरणान्तं तथा चान्यद् दश पक्षास्तु सूते । दक्ष VI 2-3, referred to by विश्वस्व on या III. 30 and q. by कल्प (on छुद्रि) p. 5, अपराकं p. 894, परा मा I, 2. p. 207.

614. अस्नात्वा चान्यहुत्वा च ह्यदस्ता ये ह भुञ्जते । एवंविधाना सर्वेषां यावज्जीव ह हृतकम् ॥ व्याधितस्य कर्पूरस्य कण्ठग्रस्तस्य सर्वदा । क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य क्षीणितस्य विशेषतः । व्यस्तमासकचित्रस्य पराधीनस्य नित्यश । अद्धात्यागविहीनस्य भस्मान्तं सूतक भवेत् ॥ दक्ष VI 8-10 q. by विश्वस्व on या III. 30, कल्प (on छुद्रि) p. 15, हारलता p. 14, अपराकं p. 895 The last verse of पञ्चशीति is to the same effect as the first verse quoted above The कूर्म (उत्त.), 23. 9 provides 'क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य महारोगिण एव च । पथेष्टाचरणस्येह मरणान्तमशौचकम्' q. by हारलता p. 15.

inference can probably be drawn from Tai. Br. II. 1. 1.3, where it is said 'therefore people do not take the milk of a cow for ten nights when a calf is born.'⁶¹⁵

Abortion in the first four months⁶¹⁶ of pregnancy is called *srāva*, abortion in the 5th or 6th month is called *pāta* and from the 7th month of pregnancy onwards it is called *prasūti* or *prasaṇa* (according to Parāśara III 16, Sadaśīti verse 9). When there is *srāva* the mother incurs impurity for three days, in the case of *pāta* the mother has to observe impurity for as many days as correspond to the months of pregnancy (i. e. 5 days or 6 days). The impurity consists in the mother being untouchable. The father alone has to bathe when there is *srāva*, but when there is *pāta* the father and sapindas have to observe impurity for three days (according to Madana-parijāta p. 380-381 and others) but they don't incur impurity as on death. These rules hold good for all castes. But when the foetus comes out dead in any month from the 7th or the child is still-born, then the impurity is for ten days for both parents and the sapindas for all varnas or for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varnas as laid down in Yāj. (III. 22) and the samānodakas have to observe āśauca for three days and sagotras for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427). The above rules are more or less laid down by Gautama 14. 15-16, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 136, Parāśara III. 24, Manu V. 66, Yāj. III. 20 (latter half) and the first verse of Āśaucadaśaka. The mother is untouchable for ten days on birth, still-birth or abortion in 7th, 8th or 9th month but the father and sapindas⁶¹⁷ when they take a bath after the *prasaṇa* are not untouchable (Yāj. III. 19). In ancient times there were several differing views about *jananāśauca* for the father as vouched for by Baud.⁶¹⁸ Dh. S. I. 5 125-128. Although a woman

615 अजनि वै ते पुत्रो यजस्व माऽनेनेति। स होवाच यदा वै पशुर्निर्दशो भवत्यथ स मेधो भवति। ऐ. ब्रा. 33 2; तस्माद्वत्सं जातं दशरात्रीं दुहन्ति। तै. ब्रा. II 1.1.3.

616 आचतुर्थान्नवेत्तावः पातः पञ्चमपष्ठयोः। अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रसूतिः स्याद् दशाहं सूतकं भवेत्॥ श्रुते मातुस्त्रिरात्र स्यात्सपिण्डाशौचवर्जनम्॥ पाते मातुर्थमासं पित्रादीनां दिनत्रयम्॥ मरीचि q by मितो on या III 20, हरदत्त on यौ 14.15, स्मृतिश्च (आशौच) p 4. The first is पराशर III 16 and is quoted as such in छुद्धिय. p 16.

617. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 452-455 for the meaning of sapinda and samānodaka (H of Dh. vol III. pp 752-753). These words mean in this section generally (unless otherwise expressly stated) persons descended from a common male ancestor through unbroken male descent.

618. जनने तावन्मातापित्रोर्दशाहमाशौचम्। मातुरित्येको। तत्परिहरणात्। पितुरित्यपरे द्वाकमाधान्यात्। अयोनिजा ह्यपि पुत्रा श्रूयन्ते मातापित्रोरेव न संसर्गसामान्यात्। बी. ध. पृ. I. 5. 125-128 q. by स्मृतिश्च (आशौच) p. 9.

becomes touchable in ten days after delivery she is not fit to take part in religious rites for 20 days after she becomes touchable (i. e. 30 days from birth) if she gave birth to a son but for 30 days (i. e. 40 days from birth) if a daughter was born.⁶¹⁹ Women of all varnas become pure (i. e. touchable) ten days after delivery—says Pracetas.⁶²⁰ Devala states that there is no āsauca on the ground of birth when the period of (ten or twelve) days has expired.⁶²¹ If a woman was delivered at her father's or brother's house, then her parents and her brothers staying with the father had to observe āsauca for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427), but if a woman was delivered of a child at her husband's house then her father or brother had to observe no āsauca (on birth). Even when *sagotras* have to observe āsauca on birth they are not untouchable (Śaṣāṣīti verse 6).

It would be better to state here certain general rules once for all. When any text employs the word day (*ahah*) or night (*rātri*) in prescribing the duration of āsauca what is meant is *ahorātra* (both day⁶²² and night). When counting the days of āsauca one has to begin from the day of the cremation, if the deceased was an *āhūtāgri*, but from the day of death in the case of one not an *āhūtāgri*⁶²³ (Āsauca-dasaka verse 4, Kūrma, Uttarārḍha 23. 52). Birth and death are causes of āsauca only when they are known to the person who is to be affected by it and not by the mere fact of the birth or death. This follows from certain

619. यथाह संवर्तः। जाते पुत्रे पितुः स्नानं सचैलं न विधीयते। माता ह्युभयेददशाहेन रजनात् स्पर्शनं पितुः। माता ह्युभयेददशाहेनेत्येतच्च सव्यवहारयोग्यतामाचम्य। अष्टद्वयं पुनः कर्मसु पैठीनसिना विशेष उक्तः। स्त्रुतिका पुत्रवर्ती विंशतिरात्रेण कर्माणि कारयेत्। मातेन श्रीजननीम्। इति। नितः. on पा III 19.

620. स्त्रुतिका सर्ववर्णाणां दशाहेन विध्युष्यति। कर्तौ तु न दृष्टम् शौचं सर्ववर्णैर्व्ययं विधिः। मचेतस् १ by हारलता p. 20, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on verse 6 सूत्रिच. (आशौच-काण्ड) p. 5 quotes it but explains it differently.

621. नाशौचं प्रसवस्यास्ति स्पर्शतेषु दिनेष्वपि। देवल १. by कुल्लुक on मनु V. 76; रघुनाथ in his com. on त्रिशङ्खोकी verse 6 p. 27 reads 'नाशुद्धिः प्रसवाशौचे स्पर्शतेषु दिनेष्वपि'.

622 अत्राशौचप्रकरणे अहर्ग्रहणं रात्रिग्रहणं चाहोरात्रोपलक्षणार्थम्। नितः. on पा. III. 18

623. हृदं चाशौचमाहिताग्नेरपरमे संस्कारदिवसमश्नुति कर्तव्यम्। अमाहिताग्नेसु मरणदिवसमश्नुति। नितः on पा III 20, दाहादाहिताग्ने मरणदिवसतोऽन्यत्र कुर्यादशादम्। त्रिशङ्खोकी verse 11 (second पाद). दाहादाशौचं कर्तव्यं द्विजानामाग्नेशोविनाम्। सपिण्डानां च मरणे मरणादितरेषु च ॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 23. 52).

passages of Pāraskara gr. III. 10 and Manu V. 75-76 and the Brahmapurāṇa. Pāraskara (III. 10) provides: ⁶²⁴ 'if one who had gone abroad dies, (his relatives) should on hearing (of his death) sit down and offer him water and should remain untouchable for the days that remain out of the proper period (viz. 10, 12, 15, 30 days); if the prescribed period (of āśauca) has expired they should observe āśauca for one night or three nights,' Manu (V. 75-76) is to the same effect. The Brahmapurāṇa states: 'if a donor makes a gift and the acceptor accepts it when both are not aware of there being a birth or death in their family, no blame attaches.'

We should now turn to āśauca on death. Here again there is no unanimity and therefore the views preferably of the latest works (such as the Dharmasindhu) will be set out after referring to a few smṛti passages. Āśauca on death renders those who incur it untouchable and unable to perform religious rites. Pār. gr. III. 10, 29-30 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 357) stated generally that the impurity caused by death lasts through three nights and that according to some teachers through ten nights. If a child dies within ten days of birth, the father and mother have to observe *Jananāśauca* and become purified by the end of the āśauca on birth and the father remains untouchable for those days (Kūrma-purāṇa q. by S. K. p. 21). If a child died before it struck teeth the *sapindas* had only to undergo a bath, while the parents had to observe āśauca for three days if the child was a son and for one day if a daughter (vide Yāj. III. 23, Śankha 15. 4, Atri 95, Āśaucadaśaka verse 2). If the child died after striking teeth but before Cūḍā (or the end of the third year) the *sapindas* had to observe āśauca for one day and night (Yāj. III. 23, Śankha 15. 5), but the parents had āśauca (of death) for three days. If the child was a girl the *sapindas* became pure by a bath up to the girl's third year. If death occurs between Cūḍā (or three years) and *upanayana* or marriage (in the case of girls) the *sapindas* including the father have to observe āśauca for three days and *samānodakas* become purified by a bath alone. After *upanayana* all *sapindas* have to observe āśauca (on death) for ten days (Gaut. 14 1, Manu V. 59, Āśaucadaśaka 2) and all *samānodakas* for three days. In the case of a śūdra dying

624 श्रोतितश्चेत्येवात् अवयवमभूति कुतोदकाः कालोपनासीरजतीतश्चेदेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा । पारस्करव्याख्या III. 10.

after three and before marriage or 16 years the āsauca is three days for all sapindas. After sixteen years or marriage (in the case of a sūdra) it is the āsauca prescribed for his caste. In the case of a girl dying after three years and before *vāgdāna* (betrothal) the parents have āsauca for three days and the sapindas (up to three generations) one day. If a girl dies after *vāgdāna* and before marriage the sapindas of her father as well as of the proposed bridegroom had to observe āsauca for three days. In the case of women and sūdras if death takes place after marriage or after 16 years (if the Sūdra was unmarried) the period of āsauca for all sapindas is ten days. If a woman dies at her father's house after marriage, her parents, step-mother, full brothers and step-brothers have to observe āsauca for three days and her paternal uncle and the like that stay in the same house with her father for one day. Some say that if the married daughter dies in a village other than that of the father, the parents have to observe āsauca for a *pakṣmī* ⁶²⁵ (i. e. two nights with a day between or two days with a night between). There are other views on this point which are passed over. For example, *Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra* (22, 32-34) says that in the case of a married woman there is no āsauca on the parents' side; but when she is delivered of a child or dies in the father's house then the impurity is for one day or three days respectively. ⁶²⁶ A married woman has to observe āsauca for three days for the death of her parents or step-mother if ten days have not elapsed from the day of death or for the remaining days out of the period of ten (*Yāj. III. 21* latter half). If the married daughter hears of the death of the parents or step-mother at a time more than ten days after the death or within one year she has to observe āsauca for a *pakṣmī*. If a brother whose *upanayana* has been performed dies at his married sister's house or vice versa, āsauca has to be observed for three days by them, but if they do not die at each other's house but in a different one

625. *Gaut Dh S. 14 17* (श्रुता चेत्तु दशम्या पक्षिणी), *Manu IV 97* and *V 81* employ the word पक्षिणी *हरदत्त* explains 'अहर्द्वयमध्यगता रात्रि पक्षिणी परिर्द्धयमध्यगतमहर्वा'. The *अमरकोश* gives only the first meaning 'आगामिवर्तमाना-हर्षुक्तायां निशि पक्षिणी'. The *शुद्धिमकरा* p 36 remarks 'इत्यहर्द्वयमध्यगता रात्रि पक्षिणी-रपक्षिणीयते—इति भट्टनारायणभूतवचनात् । पक्षहृत्यो दिवसौ पार्श्वयोः स इति पक्षिणी रात्रिरिति ।'.

626. स्त्रीयां विवाहः संस्कार । संस्कृताद्यु स्त्रीषु नास्तीत्यं भवति पितृपक्षे । तत्प्रसवमग्रे चेत्पितृपक्षे स्थातां तत्रैकाग्रं निरामं च । *विष्णुधर्मसूत्र* 22, 32-34.

then the āsauca is for a paksini and if the death occurs in another village then there is āsauca only for one day. The same rules apply to step-brothers and step-sisters and also among sisters. A married woman on the death of her paternal grand-father or paternal uncle has to undergo only a bath. If a maternal uncle dies, the nephew and the niece have to observe āsauca for a paksini. If the maternal uncle dies in the house of the nephew then there is āsauca for three days and for only one day if the maternal uncle had not his upanayana performed or died in another village; the same rules apply to one's mother's step-brother. If the wife of a maternal uncle dies, the nephew or the niece of the maternal uncle have to undergo āsauca for a paksini. If a nephew whose thread ceremony has been performed dies, his maternal uncle and maternal aunt have āsauca for three days. The same rules apply if the deceased be the son of a step-sister of the maternal uncle. If the niece (sister's daughter) dies there is only a bath for the maternal uncle. If a maternal grandfather dies, the grandchild (the son or daughter of a daughter) has to observe āsauca for three days, but only for a paksini if the maternal grandfather dies in a different village. On the death of the maternal grandmother the grandchildren have to observe āsauca for a paksini. Some works do not prescribe āsauca for a female descendant such as a niece or grand-daughter. If a daughter's son, whose upanayana had been performed, died, the maternal grandfather and grandmother had to observe āsauca for three days and for paksini if the daughter's son had not upanayana performed for him. On the death of a daughter's daughter the maternal grandfather and mother incur no āsauca. In all these matters the general rule is that a male whose upanayana had been performed and a married woman alone are liable to undergo āsauca for any relative other than the parents (i e. on the death of a parent a male though without upanayana and a woman though unmarried are liable to undergo āsauca).

If a man's father-in-law or mother-in-law die near (in the house of) the man, he has to undergo āsauca for three days, but only for paksini if the death is elsewhere than with the son-in-law. On the death of a son-in-law, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law have to observe āsauca for one day or they have only to take a bath, but if the son-in-law dies in the house of the father-in-law then the āsauca is for three days. On the death of one's wife's brother, the āsauca is for one day i

upanayana had been performed; but if no upanayana was performed or if he died in another village a mere bath is enough.

On the death of one's mother's sisters (full or half) the person (whether man or woman) has to undergo śāuca for a paksini; the same rule applies on the death of the father's sister. If it is a step-sister of the father then a mere bath is enough. The father's sister has to undergo a bath if the nephew dies. If one's father's sister or mother's sister dies in one's house then the śāuca is for three days.

In the case of *bandhus* (described by the Mit. on Yaj. II. 135 as *bhinnagotra sapindas*) of ⁶²⁷ the three kinds, the śāuca is for a paksini, provided the bandhu is *upanita* but if he died before upanayana then śāuca is for one day and if the bandhu died in one's house then for three days. If the daughter of the father's sister (and of the other bandhus enumerated in the three verses) dies married, the śāuca is one day, but if they die unmarried only a bath is necessary. Among the three kinds of bandhus, a man himself and his three *ūtmabandhus* have to observe śāuca for each other's death; but the case is different as to *pitrbandhus* and *mātrbandhus*. If any one of these latter dies, there is śāuca for the man whose bandhus they are, but if a man dies, his *pitrbandhus* and *mātrbandhus* have to observe no śāuca.

If an adopted son dies, his natural father and adoptive father have to observe śāuca for three days (the Vyavahāramayūkha differs from this) and the sapindas for one day.

If the adoptive or natural father dies, the adopted son has to observe śāuca for three days and for one day for the sapindas of any one of them. On the death of the son and the grandson of an adopted son, the sapindas of the natural father and the adoptive father have to observe śāuca for one day and

627 The bandhus are of three kinds, आत्मबन्धु, पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु. In three verses variously attributed to Baudhāyana or Sātātapa three illustrations of each of the three kinds of bandhus are given आत्मपितृबन्धुः पुत्रा आत्ममातृबन्धुः सुताः । आत्ममातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया आत्मबान्धवा ॥ पितृ पितृबन्धुः पुत्रा पितृमातृबन्धुः सुता । पितृमातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया पितृबान्धवा । मातृ पितृबन्धुः पुत्रा मातृमातृबन्धुः सुता । मातृमातृपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवा ॥ १ by the Mitā. on Yaj. II. 135, व्यव. नि. p 455, परा मा III p 528, मद पा. p. 674. For further details, vide H. of Dh vol. III. pp 754-762.

vice versa. These rules apply if the son adopted is not a sapinda or samānodaka of the adopter, when he was in his family of birth. But if a sagotra sapinda or a samānodaka be adopted, then the āśauca is for ten or three days respectively.

If one's ācārya⁶²⁸ dies, the pupil has to observe āśauca for three days, but only one day if he dies in another village (Gautama 14, 26, 52, Manu V. 80). On the death of the ācārya's wife or son the āśauca is for one day.⁶²⁹ On the death of a *guru* (who instructs in Vedic mantras) the āśauca is three days and paksini if he dies in another village. On the death of a teacher who imparted instruction in grammar, astronomy and other *aṅgas* (subsidiary lore) of the Veda, the āśauca is one day. Similar rules are laid down about the death of a pupil, *rtvik* (sacrificial priest), a sacrificer, a dependent śrotriya, a fellow-student, a friend, which are all passed over as not now useful. Vide Gaut. 14, 19-20 (which prescribe one day's āśauca on the death of a fellow-student or a dependent śrotriya).

These provisions about āśauca on the death of the ācārya and *rtvik* who were not sapindas show how closely the bond between teacher and pupil was thought to be in ancient times, almost equalling the tie of blood. When a *yati* (ascetic) dies,⁶³⁰ all his sapindas have simply to undergo a bath (and nothing more). Conversely, a *yati* and brahmachārin have to observe no āśauca. Manu V. 82, Yāj III. 25, Viṣṇu 22.45, Sankha 15.15 provide that on the death of the ruler of the country in which one resides one has to observe āśauca up till

628. An ācārya is defined by Manu II. 140 as one who performs the upanayana of his pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpasūtra and Upaniṣads. *Rtvik* is defined by Manu II. 143 as one who is chosen for the performance of Agnyādheya, the *pākayajñas* and the solemn sacrifices like Agnistoma.

629. आचार्यपत्नीपुत्रोपाध्यायमातुल्यश्चरुश्चक्षुर्यसहाध्यायिज्ञिष्येष्वातीतेष्वेकरात्रेण । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 44. *श्चक्षुर्य* means wife's brother, Manu (V. 80-81) prescribes three days' āśauca on the death of the ācārya, his wife and son, and śrotriya. Gaut. 14.26 does the same.

630. वानप्रस्थे यती चोपरमति कुलजे वण्डके चाह्वन. स्यात् । त्रिशङ्खोकी 5th verse, 3rd पाद. Vide मनु V. 91 (= Viṣṇu 22.86) about a ब्रह्मचारिन् carrying the corpse of his parents.

the coming of the day or night next to that on which the king dies.⁶³¹

As long as a corpse is not removed from the village in which a man dies, the whole village is in *āsauca* Āp Dh. S. 1 3 9 14 declares that there is no Veda study till a corpse lies in the village. The Smṛti-muktaphala (p 541) quotes⁶³² several smṛtis to the effect that in a village in which a corpse lies unremoved, there is to be no eating, no Vedic study and no sacrifice, but that this does not apply where in a village there are more than four hundred brāhmanas. The Dharma-sindhu (p 433) also says the same about a village, but adds that this rule does not apply to a town.

The ideas of ritualistic purity went so far as to provide (as stated in the Śuddhitattva quoted by the Nirṇayasindhu) that if a dog died in a brāhmana's house the house became impure for ten days, that, if a śūdra,⁶³³ a *patita* or a *mleccha* died in a brāhmana's house, the house became impure for a month, two months or four months respectively and the house had to be abandoned if a *śvapāka* died therein.

Atika āntāśauca (impurity on coming to know of birth or death after the several periods fixed). The general rule⁶³⁴ is

631 मेते राजानि सज्योतिर्यस्य स्याद्विषये स्थित । मनु V 82 सज्योतिः is explained by the *Mitā* as 'ज्योतिषा सह वर्तते इति सज्योतिराशौचम् । आग्निं चेद्यावत्सूर्यदर्शनं राज्ञौ चेद्यावत्क्षत्रवर्शनमित्यर्थः ।'. या. III 25 (निवासराजनि मेते तदद्य शुद्धिकारणम्) is explained by the *Mit* in the same sense as मनु V. 82, but the *सुद्धिम* p. 36 holds that the *āsauca* for king's death is for a whole day and night provided he is a good king protecting his subjects.

632 स्मृत्यन्तरे । ग्रामस्यै शवचण्डाले शुद्राद्यशुचिसंनिधौ ॥ नाप्येतस्य न भोक्तव्यं न होतव्यं कदाचन ॥ इति । ..स्मृत्यन्तरे विशेषो दर्शितः । चतुःशताधिकवर्षे सम्पूर्णं ग्राममक्षयम् । विशेषः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि अपहोमार्चनं प्रति । अन्तः शवस्य दोषस्तु नास्ति तत्र समाचरेत् । स्मृतिषु (आशौच) p. 541

633 शुद्धितत्त्वे बृहन्मनु । श्वश्रुद्वयपतिताश्चान्यथा मृताश्चेद् द्विजमन्दिरैः शोचं तत्र प्रदद्यामि मनुना भाषितं यथा । दशरात्राच्छुनि मृते मासाच्छूद्रे भवेच्छुचिः । द्वाभ्यां तु पतिते गेहमन्त्ये मासचतुष्टयात् । अत्यन्त्ये वर्षेयद्वेहमित्येव मन्त्रवचोदत् । अन्यो म्लेच्छः । अत्यन्त्य श्वपाक इति वाचस्पतिः । निर्णयसिन्धु III p 528, these verses are quoted by शुद्धिम. p 100 also

634 देशान्तरगतः श्रुत्वा कुल्याना मरणोद्भवौ । यच्छेषं दशरात्रस्य तावदेवाशुचिर्भवेत् ॥ शङ्ख 15.11. The स्मृतिच० (आशौच) p 47 reads 'कल्याण मरणं तथा' in the 2nd पाद. The same verse occurs in अग्निपुराण 157 12-13 which reads देशान्तरस्य श्रुत्वा तु, शोषितश्चेत्येषाच्छूयणमभूति कालक्षेपमासीरक्षतीतश्चेद्वेकरात्रं विरात्र या । पार य III 10,

that, if a person stays in a different country and hears of a birth or death among his sapindas, he has to observe āśauca not for ten days after hearing but for that number of days that are short of the ten days (counting from birth or death) prescribed for sapindas. Vide Manu V. 75, Yāj III. 21 (latter half), Śankha 15.11, Pār. gr III. 10. Āśauca interferes very much with one's activities and it is hence that often-times people send a closed letter to their relatives living in a different place stating thereon that it be opened on a particular day (which is the 10th day from the death of a sapinda). Everyone knows the meaning of such a direction and by such a subterfuge inconvenience is avoided and the dictates of the śāstra are deemed to be satisfied. If a son hears of the death of a parent he has to observe āśauca for ten days from the day of hearing, but if he hears of the death of a parent before the collection of bones then he has to observe āśauca only for the days that remain (Smṛti-muktāphala p. 534). There is great divergence about the period of āśauca if the death of a sapinda comes to one's ears more than ten days after the day of death. Manu V. 77 provides that on hearing of the death of a sapinda or the birth of a son after ten days (from the event) a man becomes pure after plunging into water with the clothes on and Yāj III. 21 (last pāda, 'pūrṇe dattvodaḥkaṁ śuciḥ') states that he becomes pure after (a bath and) offering water when the period fixed has passed off. From the words of Manu that only the father, even if he hears of the birth of a son more than ten days after the event, has to take a bath the Mit. infers that there is no atikrāntāśauca for sapindas on birth⁶³⁵. The Mit. quotes Devala in support (vide note 621 above). The Dharma-sindhu follows the Mit. Manu V. 76, Śankha 15.12, Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārḍha) 23.21 state that when ten days have passed after the event of death, the man who hears of the death is impure for three days and if he hears of the death more than a year after death, he becomes pure after a bath. In order to remove the conflict among smṛtis Vṛddha-Vasistha lays down 'āśauca is for three days if the news of death is heard within three months (but later than ten days after death), for a paksiṇi if it is heard within six months (but later than

635. जन्ममृतिकान्ताशौचं सपिण्डानां नास्तीति शङ्कते। पितुरेव निर्देशोऽपि जनने रक्षानमस्येव श्रुत्वा पुत्रस्य जन्म च इति वचनात्। एतच्च पुत्रग्रहणं जन्मनि सपिण्डानां मृतिकान्ताशौचं नास्तीति ज्ञापकम्। अन्यथा 'निर्देशं ज्ञातिमरणं श्रुत्वा जन्म च निर्देशम्' इत्येवावश्यम्। न चोक्तम्। मिता. on Yāj III. 21 (latter half).

three months), for one day if heard before nine months (but later than 6 months) and thereafter (i. e. up to one year but later than nine months) one becomes pure by a bath. But the Mit. says ⁶³⁶ that this holds good as to all except one's parents and quotes Paithinasi and another smṛti for the proposition that whenever a son staying in a distant country hears of the death of a parent whether within a year or after a year he has to observe śāuca for ten days from the day he becomes aware of it. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (20.88) lays down the same exception in the case of a son. The Mit. (on Yaj. III 21 last half) further says that the rules about *atīkrāntīśāuca* apply only to a deceased person whose upanayana had been performed. The Dharmasindhu (p 433) remarks that there is no *atīkrāntīśāuca* as regards the periods of one day and three days prescribed on the death of one whose upanayana had not been performed or as regards the periods of paksini and 'three days on the death of the maternal uncle and others of a different gotra. Similarly, there is no *atīkrāntīśāuca* with reference to the śāuca for three days prescribed in the case of *samānodakas*; but in these cases even after the lapse of the fixed time a bath is necessary. The rules about *akṣa āntīśāuca* apply only to śāuca on death for ten days. As in the case of the son, so in the cases of husband and wife and of co-wives among themselves even after the lapse of more than a year and even if the death is in a different country the husband or wife or co-wife has to observe śāuca for ten days. The parents, even when they hear of the death of an *aurasa* son after a year, have to observe śāuca for three days. On the news of the death of a sapinda living in the same country coming to a sapinda's ears after ten days but up to three months, the period of śāuca is three days, paksini up to 6 months, up to nine months one day and up to one year a bath. Here also there are various views such as those of Mādhava and others. Vide *Suddhiprakāśa* pp. 49-51 for various views.

The Mit. on Yaj. III 21 (latter half) makes a distinction between knowledge of the death of a sapinda staying in the

636. तथा च वृद्धवसिष्ठ । मासत्रये त्रिरात्र स्यात्पण्मासे पक्षिणी तथा । अदृष्टं नवमाद्वर्षपूर्व स्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ इति । एतच्च मातापितृव्यतिरिक्तविषयम् ।.. सर्वस्तरादूर्ध्वमापि त्रेतकार्यमाशौचदानादिकं कार्यं न पुनः स्नानमात्राच्छुद्धिरित्यर्थः । मित्ता on Yaj. III. 21 (latter half) The परा. मा. I 2 p. 232 quotes a similar verse of वेदल 'आ त्रिपक्षात् त्रिरात्र स्यात्पण्मासात् पक्षिणी तत । परमेकाहमा वर्षादूर्ध्व स्नातो विमुच्यते ॥ इति । The पद्धतीति (34) includes the verse of वृद्धवसिष्ठ. The verse मासत्रये occurs in Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti 20 86

same country coming to a person's ears after ten days from death and of the death of a sapinda staying in another country separated by a big river &c In the latter case the sapindas coming to hear of the death after ten days but even before three months are purified by a mere bath. It quotes ⁶³⁷ a smṛti verse 'on hearing that a person (sapinda) died in another country and in the case of the death of an impotent person or a forest hermit or an ascetic purification follows after a bath and the same applies to *sagoṭra* sapindas in the case of abortion.' The Śaṣaṣiṭi (35) has a similar verse ⁶³⁸ The Mit. quotes two verses of Bṛhaspati which define what *deśāntara* (a different country) means ⁶³⁹ 'Where there is a large river or there is a mountain which separates (one territory from another) or where the languages differ then there is *deśāntara*. Some say that a different country means the distance of sixty *yojanas*, while others put it down at forty *yojanas* and still others at thirty *yojanas*.' There is a difference of opinion as to whether in order to constitute a different country all three must co-exist (viz. a large river, a mountain and difference of speech) or any one of the three will suffice or whether 60, 40 or 30 *yojanas* would constitute a different country or whether the requirement of ten days for news to be carried to a place would constitute *deśāntara* The Sm. C and Śaṣaṣiṭi 37 hold the view that any one of the above three is sufficient while others hold other views. The Śuddhiviveka ⁶⁴⁰ holds that a distance of 60 *yojanas* constituted *deśāntara* by itself, but even within sixty

637. यस्तु नद्यादिष्ववहिते देशान्तरे सुतस्तत्सपिण्डानां दशाहादूर्ध्वं मासत्रयादूर्ध्वगपि सद्यः शौचम् । देशान्तरमुतं श्रुत्वा कृषि वैज्ञानसे यती । सुते स्नानेन शुध्यन्ति गर्भजाश्च च गो-
मित्रा ॥ इति । मिता on या. III. 21.

638 क्वातिमुत्सौ यदाशौचं दशाहादु बहिः श्रुतौ । एकदेश इदं गोकं स्नात्वा देशान्तरे
शुचि ॥ षडशीति 35.

639. देशान्तरलक्षणं च बृहस्पतिनोक्तम् । महानद्यन्तरं यत्र गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः ।
वाचो यत्र विभिद्यन्ते तद्देशान्तरमुच्यते ॥ देशान्तरं वदन्त्येकं षष्टिपोजनमायतम् । चत्वारिंशद्द-
न्त्यन्ये त्रिंशद्वन्ये तथैव च ॥ इति । मिता on या. III 21. The first verse is ascribed
to बृहस्पतु by अपराकं p 905, स्मृतिच (आशौच) p 52 and to बृहस्पतु by शुद्धिम.
p. 51. The स्मृतिच. p 53 adds one more verse and शुद्धिम p 51 and the com
on षडशीति 37 add the same and another half verse from बृहस्पतु viz देशान्त-
रदीर्घमेदो निकटे यत्र वै भवेत् । तेन देशान्तरं गोकं स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवा ॥ दशरात्रेण या वार्ता
यत्र न श्रूयतेऽर्थात् । लघ्वाश्वलायन 20 87 ॥ पूर्वतश्च (स्व?) महात्मया व्यवधानं भवेद्यदि ।
त्रिंशद्योजनदूरं वा सद्यःस्नानेन शुध्यन्ति ॥

640 एतेषां च पक्षाणां देशपरिग्रहेण व्यवस्था । शुद्धिविवेके तु षष्टिपोजानान्तरत्वं तद-
भ्यन्तरोपि भाषामेदगिरिमहानदीत्यवधानानि चेति लक्षणद्वयमेव निष्कर्षेणोक्तम् । स्मृताथ on
त्रिंशद्योजकी verse 6 p 29.

yojanas if a large river, a mountain and difference of speech occurred together, that could give rise to *deśāntara*. The *Smṛtyarthasāra*⁶⁴¹ avers that *deśāntara* is differently described in the *Smṛtis*, *Purānas* and the works on *tīrthas*. For *yojana*, vide H of Dh. vol. III n 185 pp. 145-146

The *Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) provides that if the bones of an *āhitāgni* were not found and only an effigy of *palāsa* leaves were burnt, still the *āsauca* is for ten days even if he died in a different country and a long time had elapsed. Similarly, in the case of the effigy of one who is not an *āhitāgni*, the *āsauca* is for ten days for his son and wife if they have not already observed any *āsauca* for him but if they had observed it (on hearing of his death) then for three days (on the burning of the effigy). For other *sapindas* (than the son and wife) in the same circumstances three days and bath are respectively prescribed.

It is provided in the *Grhya kārīkas*, the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p 94), *Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) and other works that if a man⁶⁴² went to a distant country and no news of his being alive was heard, then his son (or other relative), after the lapse of 20 years from the time when no news was heard if the man went away when he was young or 15 years if he left when he was of middle age or 12 years if he left later in life, should perform three *cāndrāyanas* or thirty *krochras*, prepare an effigy of the man with *kuśas* (or with *palāsa* leaves), should burn it and then observe *āsauca* and perform *śrāddhas* &c.

To summarize the above discussion it is clear that as indicated by *Medhatithi* on *Manu* V. 58 there is a distinction as regards the periods of *āsauca* and the persons affected by it in several ways (1) There is a distinction between *āsauca* on birth and *āsauca* on death; (2) As to *āsauca* on death numerous distinctions arise viz (a) when there is abortion (*garbhasrāva* or *garbhapāta*, as in *Śankha* 15 4, *Brhat-Parāśara* VI p 186); (b) when the foetus comes out from the 7th to the 9th month of

641 देशान्तरमनेकधा स्मृत स्मृतिपुराणतीर्थकल्पेषु। स्मृत्यर्थसार p 90.

642 देशान्तरगतस्य तु जीवद्वातानाकर्णने विशेषो गृह्यकारिकायाम्। दूरदेशान्तरगते जीवद्वाती पुन पुनः। इतस्ततः सन्निवृत्तेरप्यलीच्य गतागते॥ तस्यासंशुपमाणाया वय काल-विशेषतः। तस्य पूर्ववयस्करस्य विशिष्टवृद्धोद्धेत क्रिया॥ ऊर्ध्वं पञ्चदशान्दानु मध्यमे वयसि स्मृता॥ चान्द्रायणत्रय कृत्वा विशिष्टवृद्धाणि वा सुते। कुक्षौ प्रतिकृतिं तस्य दग्ध्वासीचादिका क्रिया॥ कार्या इति शेषः। रघुनाथ's com on विशिष्टवृद्धांकी verse 15 p. 97.

pregnancy or the child is still-born or dies after being born but before the appearance of teeth (Yaj. III. 23, Atri 95); (c) after the appearance of teeth but before cūḍā or three years (Viṣṇu 22. 29, Yaj. III. 23); (d) after cūḍā or three years up to upanayana (Manu V. 67), (e) after upanayana (Yaj. III. 23, Manu V. 59, Gaut. 14. 1); (f) as to āsauca on death after upanayana the duration at one time depended in the case of brāhmaṇas on Vedic study, the performance of *śrauta* rites and whether the brāhmaṇa subsisted on ears of corn left in the field after the crops were harvested⁶⁴³ (Parāśara III 5, Śaṅkha 15 1, Atri 83, Agnipurāṇa 158. 10-11), (g) the duration of āsauca depended on caste (Gaut. 14. 1-4, Yaj. III. 22 &c); (h) the duration of āsauca depended on nearness of blood i. e. whether the person affected was a sapinda or a samānodaka (Gaut. 14. 1 and 18, Manu V. 59, 64); (i) the duration depended also on the nearness or distance from the place of death (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 85, 89), (j) it also depended on whether the deceased died in a different country separated by a large river, a mountain or thirty yojanas (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20.87); (k) duration depended on the time that elapsed before it came to the knowledge of the relative; (l) the duration depended upon whether another āsauca supervened when the period of the first was not over.

If a person is born or died at night or news thereof is received at night, a question arises as to from what day the periods of āsauca are to be calculated. For example, if a man died at 1 A. M. on Monday, was Monday to be included in counting ten days of āsauca or was it to be excluded? There are two views on this point.^{643a} One view is that any time before midnight is to be counted as belonging to the previous day, while any time after midnight is to be taken as belonging to the next day. On this view in the above illustration Monday would be excluded in the calculation of ten days. The other view is that the night is to be divided into three

643 शिलोच्छ्वासाच्चितैर्जीवन् सद्यः शुष्येद् द्विजोत्तमः। संग्रहकार q. by परा मा. I. 2 p. 216 For शिलोच्छ्वासि vide मनु X 112 and या I. 128.

643 a. रात्रौ जननमरणे रात्रौ मरणज्ञाने वा रात्रि त्रिभागां कृत्वा प्रथमभागद्वये पूर्वदिनं तृतीयभागे उत्तरदिनमारभ्याशीचम्। यद्धार्यरात्रात् याक् पूर्वदिनं परतः परदिनम्। अत्र देशाचारदिना व्यवस्था। धर्मसिन्धु p 435. This view is based on verses of पारस्कर and काश्यप 'अर्धरात्रादुत्ताञ्जेष्वतके सूतके स्यात् पूर्वमेव दिनं याज्ञमूर्ध्वं ज्ये-
दुत्तरेऽग्निः॥ रात्रिं कुर्यात्त्रिभागं तु द्वौ भागौ पूर्ववासरः। उत्तरांशं परदिनं जातेषु च सूतेषु च॥ पारस्कर q. by स्मृतित्व. (आशीच) pp. 118-119.

parts and if death occurs in the first two of the three parts then the day is to be included in the calculation; if the time of death falls in the 3rd part, the ten days are to be calculated from the next day. On this view Monday would be included in the ten days. The *Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) remarks that in this matter the usage of the country is to be followed. Vide *Madanapārijāta* pp. 394-395 also.

Several rules are mentioned in the *smṛtis* about the periods of *āśauca* for the relatives of higher castes when they marry women of lower varnas (i.e. when there are anuloma marriages). For example, *Dakṣa* VI. 12 says that if a *brāhmana* has married wives of the four varnas, then the impurity on the delivery or death of these women respectively lasts for 10, 6, 3 or 1 day. *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* (22, 22-24) provides that when a *kṣatriya* has sapindas of the *vaiśya* or *sūdra* varna the *āśauca* on the birth and death of these lasts for six or three days, if a *vaiśya* has a *sūdra* as sapinda then impurity is removed after six days. But when people of lower varnas have sapindas of higher varnas then impurity on birth and death ceases when the impurity of the higher varna sapindas ceases. *Laghu-Hārita* 84 (= *Āpastambasṁiti* IX verse 13) has similar provisions. Other *smṛtis* and *purāṇas* like the *Kūrma* (*Uttarārḍha* 23, 30-36) mention differing views quoted in *Hāratalā* pp. 54-60, *Smṛ. M.* pp. 495-496. The *Madanapārijāta* remarks (pp. 425-426) that some say that these varying provisions may be discarded or that they may be assigned their proper place according to the usages of the several countries or they should somehow be explained as based upon the person affected being possessed of virtues or not or they may be held to be applicable to seasons of distress or otherwise.

According to the *Mit.* on *Yāj.*⁶⁴⁴ III. 22 persons belonging to the *pratiloma* castes have no periods of *āśauca*, but they have to observe rules of purification similar to those relating to answering the call of nature. Others like the *Smṛti-muktāphala*⁶⁴⁵ p. 495 aver, relying on *Manu* (X. 41), that the *pratiloma* castes are like *sūdras* and have to observe the *āśauca* prescribed for *sūdras*. The *Hāratalā* (p. 12) quotes *Ādipurāṇa* to the effect that *varnasankaras* (i.e. *pratilomas*)

644. प्रतिलोमानां स्वाशौचाभाव एव प्रतिलोमा धर्मेहीनाः—इति महत्स्मरणम्। केवलं मृतौ प्रसवे च मलापकर्षणार्थं मुखपुरीषोत्सर्गवत् शौचं भवत्येव। मिता on या III 22 प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्मेहीनाः is नौ 4. 20.

645. सङ्करजातीनां शूद्रेष्वन्तर्मात्रेण शूद्रवदाशौचम्। स्मृतिरु (आशौच) p. 493,

should follow the śūdras in the matter of āśauca and purification. The Smṛtyartha-sāra (p. 92) states that those born of pratiloma unions should observe āśauca if they perform prāyaścitta, but if they do not perform prāyaścitta then there is no āśauca for them.

It has already been stated (p. 215) how it was the duty of sapindas to take out the corpse and to cremate it and how carrying the dead body of a poor brāhmana was highly eulogised (Parāśara III. 39-40). But, as Manu V 101-102 provide, if a brāhmana carried through affection the dead body of one⁶⁴⁶ who was not his sapinda, as if he were a bandhu or carried (the dead body) of his mother's bandhus (such as mother's brother or sister) he became pure after three days; but if he partook of the food of those who were bereaved by death he became pure after ten days and if he does not stay in the house of those bereaved nor partakes of their food he becomes pure in a day (but if he stays in their house though not partaking of their food he has to observe āśauca for three days). Vide Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārḍha 23, 37) and Viṣṇu 22, 7-9 also. Gautama (14, 21-25) has rules on the same subject but they somewhat differ and Haradatta remarks that this āśauca is somewhat different from the āśauca observed by sapindas, viz. he becomes untouchable but he need not follow the other rules such as sleeping on the ground &c. If a person carried a dead body through greed (for money), a brāhmana, kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra had to observe āśauca respectively for 10, 12, or 15 days or a month. This was called nirhārāśauca, the word 'nirhāra'⁶⁴⁷ including the covering of the dead body with a garment, decking it with garlands, perfumes and ornaments, carrying it and cremating it. Sapindas who are observing āśauca for the death of the same person may dine in the same house and partake of the food cooked, but not others who are not undergoing the same āśauca.⁶⁴⁸

646. अतपिण्डं द्विजं मेत विप्रो निर्हृत्य बन्धुवत् । अशित्वा च सदोषित्वा दशरात्रेण क्षुप्यति । कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्धे 23, 37) । नाशौचे कस्यचिदन्नमन्नीयात् । ब्राह्मणादीनामाशौचे च सकृदेषाक्षमङ्गति तस्य तावदाशौचं यावत्तेषाम् । आशौचापगमे प्रायाश्चित्तं कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22, 7-9.

647. निर्हाराशौचार्थः । स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शितः । मेतस्य वास सगन्धभूषणायैरलंक्रिया । यदनं दहनं चेति निर्हारायै निरुच्यते । इति । q. by स्मृतिह (आशौच) p. 544.

648. तथा स्तकाक्षभोजनमपि न कार्यम् । उभयत्र दशाहानि कुलस्याक्षं न शृज्यते-इति यमस्मृत्यात् । उभयत्र जननमरणयोः कुलस्य स्तकयुक्तस्य सगन्धयुक्तमसक्तुत्यैर्न भोक्तव्यम् । सकुल्यानां पुनर्न दीपः । स्तके तु कुलस्याक्षमदीपं मन्दुरज्ज्वलत्-इति तेनैवोक्तत्वात् । मिता on पा. III 17. कल्पतरु (on आशौच) p. 23 and अपरार्क ascribe (p. 892) the verse उभयत्र= to मन्त्र Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 17.

Gaut 14. 29, Manu V. 103, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 42 prescribe that a brāhmana should not follow the funeral procession of a deceased brāhmana, but if he does so, he has to bathe, touch fire, take in ghee and then he becomes pure. Parāśara III. 43-46 and Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārḍha 23 45) provide a rising scale of the days of āsauca if a brāhmana follows the corpse of a ksatriya (āsauca for one day and pañcagavya), a vaiśya (āsauca for two days and six prāṇāyāmas), a śūdra (āsauca for three days, bath in a river going to the sea, 100 prāṇāyāmas⁶⁴⁹ and drinking of ghee) Vide Trīmśac-chloki verse 13.

If a brāhmana who is not a sapinda of the deceased went to the bereaved family and wept along with the relatives before the collection of bones he had to observe āsauca for a day and then a bath if the deceased was a ksatriya or vaiśya, but āsauca for three days if the deceased was a śūdra; but he had to undergo only a bath if he went after the collection of the bones, when the deceased was a śūdra and the weeping took place after the collection of bones he had to observe āsauca for a whole day and night. Vide Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārḍha 23 46-47), Agnipurāṇa 158 47-48, Par M 12 pp 283-285, Smr M (āsauca) p. 543 and Āśaucadaśaka verse 9 (for *nirhāra*, following a funeral procession and weeping)

Persons⁶⁵⁰ undergoing an āsauca on birth or death for one person were forbidden to touch other persons undergoing āsauca for the birth or death of another person altogether. If they did so they had to perform prāyaścitta (Prājāpatya or Santapana)

Even if a person's wife left him and lived in illicit relationship with a person of the same or higher caste he had to observe on her death āsauca for one day. But if she lived with one lower in varna than her husband, the latter had not, on her death, to observe any āsauca at all (Yāj III 6) Similarly, one had to observe one day's āsauca on the death of sons that were not *aurasa* (such as ksetraja) Vide Yāj III. 25 and Viṣṇu 22 42-43

Certain exceptions were recognized to the above rules about partaking of food at the house of one who is afflicted with

649 एकादाशविधे शुद्धिर्विधे च त्वाद् द्वयेन तु । पृथे दिनत्रयं मोक्षं ज्ञानादा-
हंतं पुन ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23 45) पृ 12 शुद्धितत्त्व p. 293, शुद्धिम् p. 63

650. आशौचिनामन्योन्यसंस्पर्शं निषेधति श्रुतं । शास्त्रार्थाच्च सख्यमेव धनं च तिस्र-
विधम् । अन्वाशौचयतां स्पर्शो न कर्तव्यो द्विजन्मनाम् ॥ आशौच्यव्यवधानाच्च स्पर्शोऽपि च
कामत । चेत् सान्त्वयनं कृच्छं ज्ञानापत्यमकामत. ॥ स्मृतिस्तु (आशौच) p 502,

āśauca. While a marriage⁶⁵¹ rite (as also *caula* and *upanayana*), festival in honour of a deity and a sacrifice (like *Jyotistoma*) are in progress, if impurity due to birth or death overtakes the performer, the materials (money and other things) already set apart for them may be dedicated or donated to the deity or *brāhmanas* and no fault is incurred. As regards food, a *smṛti* text⁶⁵² quoted by the *Mit.* says 'if in marriage, in a festival in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice āśauca on birth or death intervenes, the cooked food should be served through others (not affected by the āśauca) and the donor and the partaker of the food incur no blame. Acc. to *Angiras*,⁶⁵³ *Paithinasi* (q by *Sm. C.*) and *Visnu Dh. S.*, when once a sacrifice (like a *Somayāga*), a marriage, a sacrifice or festival in honour of the mother Goddesses or a deity or the dedication or foundation of an idol or temple has been begun a supervening āśauca does not matter. Even in modern times this is followed as regards *upanayana* and marriage. When exactly a sacrifice or marriage ceremony may be said to have begun is laid down by *Laghu-Visnu* as follows⁶⁵⁴ in the case of a sacrifice it may be said to begin when the priests are chosen, in the case of *vratas* and *japa* when the *sankalpa* (declaration) is made, in the case of marriage when the *Nandīśrāddha* is performed, and in the case of a *śrāddha*, when the food meant for the *brāhmanas* has been cooked completely. Certain things could be taken from the house of one who was undergoing āśauca⁶⁵⁵ on birth or death and who was the owner thereof (though not actually

651. विवाहोत्सवपक्षेषु ध्वन्तरा सूतसूतके। पूर्वसङ्कल्पितं द्रव्यं दीयमानं न दुष्यति॥ पराकार III. 27. The latter half is also ascribed to *kr̥tu* by the *mita*. on *ya*. III. 29.

652. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञादिध्वन्तरा सूतसूतके। शेषमन्नं परैर्देयं दातृन्मोक्षं न स्पृकोत्॥ q. by *mita*. on *ya* III. 29 and परा मा I. 2. p 262. *Haralata* (pp. 105-106) quotes a very similar verse from *Ādipurāṇa* 'विवाहयज्ञयोर्मध्ये सूतकमग्निं चान्तरा। शेष ..स्पृकोत्'.

653. Vide सूतविच (आशौच p 70) for the verses of अङ्गिरस् and पैठीनसि. न देवमतिशान्तिराहयो पूर्वसम्भृतयोः न देशविभ्रमे आपद्यति च कटाशाम्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22 53-55 q. by *mita* on *ya* III. 29 (with variants)

654. व्रतयज्ञविवाहेषु आद्धे होमार्चने जडे। प्रारब्धे सूतके न स्यादनारब्धे तु सूतकम्॥ प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे सङ्कल्पो व्रतजापयो। नान्दीश्राद्धं विवाहादौ आद्धे पाकपरिक्रिया॥ लघुविष्णु q by शुद्धिप्रकाश p 94, मद् या p 423. The *Smृत्यर्थसार* p. 17 begins प्रारम्भादूर्ध्वमाशौचे विवाहः कार्य एव च, then has the verses प्रारम्भो वरणं ..परिक्रिया and adds 'निमज्जनं वा आद्धे तु प्रारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृतिः।'

655. फलानि पुष्पं शकं च लवणं काष्ठमेव च। तर्जनं दधि सूतं तैलमौषधं क्षीरमेव च। आशौचिनां गृहाद्याद्य शुष्कान्नं चैव नित्यकः। कूर्मपुराण, उत्तरपर्व 23 66 q. in *Haralata* p. 31.

from his hand, but with his permission). The Kūrmapurāna enumerates such articles. They are 'fruits, flowers, raw vegetables, salt, firewood, butter-milk, curds, ghee, oil, drugs, milk and dry food' (like *laddus*, *lājas*). Marici (q. by Mit on Yaj III. 17) and Trīmśac-chloki verse 20 present even longer lists of such things.

Some smrtis and commentators lay down rules about the āśauca to be observed by slaves when their masters are in āśauca. Vide Visnu Dh. S. 22.19, Devalasmṛiti verse 6, Brhaspati quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. 14.4. But as slavery has long been abolished this topic is passed over here.

Āśaucasampāta or *āśaucasampāta* (the knowledge of another āśauca coming to a person already observing one āśauca)⁶⁵⁶ The rules about this matter were promulgated early enough and they are based on convenience and common sense. The rules try to give relief to persons who may be sorely tried if it were held that, when another āśauca supervenes while a person is already in the midst of one, he has to finish all the days of the first āśauca and then begin the period of the second āśauca. The Gaut. Dh. S. 14.5 starts by saying that if another āśauca supervenes on one already being undergone, purification results after the remaining days of the first āśauca are over. Then sūtras 6 and 7 provide that if the second āśauca supervenes in the last night of the first āśauca then purification results in two days after the first āśauca ends and if the second āśauca comes to be known in the last watch of the night of the last day of the first āśauca, the second ends in three days after the first ends. Baud Dh. S. I. 5. 123 appears to be similar to Gaut. 14.5-6. Manu V. 79, Yaj. III. 20, Visnu Dh. S. 22. 35-38, Śankha 15. 10, Parāśara III. 28 lay down the general rule promulgated by Gautama 14.5.

Some general rules concerning this topic may first be stated. The first rule is that in a conflict between āśauca on death and āśauca on birth, that on death is stronger⁶⁵⁷ The

656. सम्पातो नामाशौचिनमिकाशौचित्वज्ञाने पराशौचित्वज्ञानम् । धर्मसिन्धु p 436.

657. अघाना यौगपद्ये तु शुद्धिर्ज्ञेया गरीयसा । मरणोत्पत्तियोगे तु गरीयो मरणं भवेत् ॥ देवल p by शुद्धिकल्प p 31. स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p 57. शुद्धिम् p 74, and as from कूर्मपुराण by परा मा I 2. p 265 ; सूतकाद् द्विष्टुं शानं ज्ञावाद् द्विष्टुणमार्तनम् । आर्तनाद् द्विष्टुणा सति द्वातेश्च शब्दादक ॥ लघ्वानि (Jiv. vol I p 10) chap V, अद्विष्टुं according to हर्दत्त on गो. 14.5, वृद्धानि according to निर्णयसिन्धु p. 539. प्रागशौचे समुत्पत्ते

2nd rule is that if both āśaucas are of the same kind and the second is of the same duration or of lesser duration than the first then a man gets rid of both at the end of the first, but if the second, though of the same kind, has a longer duration than the first, then purification follows at the end of the one that is of longer duration. It has to be remembered that birth and death give rise to āśauca⁶⁵⁸ only when they are known by a person.

On this topic there is a good deal of divergence between the views of the followers of the Mitaksarā, of the Gaudas and Maithilas (vide Śuddhiprakāsa pp 74-82, Nirṇayasindhu 536-540). Following the Nirṇayasindhu it may be said that twelve alternatives are possible, when another āśauca supervenes on an already existing one. They are set out here. (1 & 2) If both āśaucas are due to birth and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the first āśauca there is purification from both (Visṇu 22.35, Śāṅkha 15.70); (3) If both āśaucas are due to birth and the second one is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śāṅkha 15.10, Śadaśīti 19); (4 and 5) If both āśaucas arise on death and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the period of the first āśauca there is purification from both; (6) If both āśaucas arise on death and the second that intervenes is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śadaśīti 21); (7, 8 and 9) When the first āśauca is one arising from birth and an āśauca due to death intervenes, the āśauca on death must run its full course (i. e. there is no purification by the lapse of the first āśauca due to birth), whether the āśauca for death is of lesser duration than the āśauca on birth, or whether it is of the same or of longer

(Continued from the last page)

सूतकं तु यदा भवेत्। शौचेन ह्युच्यते सूतिर्न सूतिः। शौचशौचयोः॥ लङ्घहारित verse 80, यद्-
विश्रान्त according to हारदत्त on गौ 14.5 and परा मा. I. 2 p. 264, यदि त्याग्यसूतके
सूतिर्मरणे वा सूतिर्भवेत्। शेषेणैव भवेच्छुद्धिरहं शौचे त्रिरात्रकम्। मरणोत्पत्तिभेदे तु मरणेन
समाप्यते। कर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23 18-19) q by शुद्धिम्. p 74 (reads त्रिरात्रकम्);
सूतके सूतके चेत्याप्तसूतके त्वथ सूतकम्। तत्राधिकृत्य सूतके शौचं कुर्यात् सूतकम्॥ अङ्गिरसम्
q by परा मा I 2 p 264, मद वा p 438. This occurs in अग्निपुराण 158 64.

658. समानं लब्धशौचं तु प्रथमेन समानयेत्। असमानं द्वितीयेन धर्मराजवचो यथा॥
अग्निपुराण 157. 11-12. This echoes शङ्ख (q. by हारदत्त p. 65) 'ममानाशौचं प्रथमे
प्रथमेन...यथा', while परा. मा. I. 2 p. 265 reads शङ्ख as समानाशौचसम्प्राप्ते प्रथमेन ...
and explains असमानं as दीर्घकालाशौचम्. The reading समानं खलु शौचं तु printed
in शुद्धिकल्प. p. 31 makes no sense.

duration (Śadaṣīti 18); (10, 11) If the ⁶⁵⁹ first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one is due to birth and is of lesser duration than the one on death or of the same duration then both end at the expiration of the first āsauca on death (Śadaṣīti 21); (12) If the first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one arises on birth and is of longer duration, then both run their proper courses (Śadaṣīti 21)

The Dharmasindhu (p 436) generally follows the Nirṇaya-sindhu but remarks: 'Āsauca on death cannot be done away with by āsauca on birth which is of the same or greater duration; āsauca on death of the extent of paksini cannot get rid of āsauca on birth which is three or ten days in duration and āsauca on birth extending to ten days cannot be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of three days' duration' These are the views of many writers. A certain writer says that āsauca on birth though longer in duration can be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of lesser extent

The Mit on Yāj. III, 20 (first half) states an exception to the above rules about āsauca-sannipāta. When a person's mother dies and then, while the period of āsauca for the mother's death is not over, the father dies, it does not follow that the āsauca for the father comes to an end with the end of the āsauca for the mother, but the son has to observe the full period of ⁶⁶⁰ the āsauca for father's death. Similarly, if the father died first and then, while the period of āsauca for the father was not over, the mother died, it does not follow that the āsauca for the mother's death comes to an end with the end of the first period of āsauca for the father, but the son after observing the period of the father's āsauca has to observe āsauca for the mother for one paksini in addition. It may be remarked that Aparāha construes this verse differently by stating that if the father dies during the period of āsauca for the death of the mother, then the general rule applies, viz that purification follows at the end of the āsauca for the mother

659 जातके नैव वृत्तकं क्षयं याति न संक्षयः । बृहस्पत IV 20, जानके वृत्तकं वा रक्षा हं तके वृत्तकं तथा । वृत्तको वृत्तके शुद्धिर्द्वये शुद्धिस्तु वृत्तके ॥ लघुहारीत 58

660 तथा सजातीयान्त पातितेपि दास्य कश्चिद्वर्षेदेन शुद्धेभारः स्रुगन्ते दर्शितः । नावर्षेये प्रसीतयान्ताहौ श्रियते पिता । पितु भेषेण शुद्धिं स्वन्मातुः कुर्वामु पक्षिणीम् ॥ नित्ता on या III 20 The verse is ascribed to शुद्धि by अपरालः p 503, परा ना I 2 p 267, शुद्धिमहातः p 76 Verses 24-25 of the पक्षिणीति contain the same idea, नदः पा. p 438 ascribes it to अहिरक्ष

(pp. 340-341) explains ⁶⁶⁴ 'sadyaḥ' as meaning 'a portion of the day or of the night' and cites several authorities in support. The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 92) explains that 'sadyaḥśauca' in some contexts means 'absence of āsauca,' while in others it means 'bath' and with reference to those killed in battle and the like (to whom pinḍas have to be offered) it means 'a part of the day or of the night.' The Smṛtimuktāphala ⁶⁶⁵ (āsaucakānda) p. 481 says that 'sadyaḥśauca' means 'impurity that comes to an end by a bath.' That pinḍas have to be offered to those about whom there is 'sadyaḥśauca' is stated by the Ācīpurāṇa ⁶⁶⁶. According to the Śuddhikaumudī (p. 73) 'sadyaḥśauca' has two meanings, viz. (1) the entire absence of āsauca as in the cases of sacrificial priests &c (Yāj. III. 28), (2) āsauca that is removed by a mere bath (as in Manu V. 76).

The rules about āsauca for several days do not operate in five classes of cases, viz. certain persons are exempted altogether, certain activities of certain persons who would ordinarily be untouchable owing to āsauca are allowed without causing pollution, certain articles can be taken by anybody without fear of pollution from those who are affected by āsauca, no āsauca is to be observed for certain deceased persons owing to their faults, in the case of certain persons express texts say that no āsauca need be observed for them. These five classes will briefly be dealt with in order. In the principal texts these five classes of cases are rather mixed up. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13⁷ it is provided that there is sadyaḥśauca on the death of a child, or of a person dying in another country, of a patita, or of an ascetic or on the death of a person committing suicide by water, fire or hanging. Vide also Gaut. 14.11 and 42 and Vāmanapurāṇa 14.99.

664 अत्र सद्य एदमहोरात्रार्थपरम् । हे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिगुण्यैकाहिकं स्मृतं । द्वावहोत्रिकरात्रिञ्च पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते ॥ इति भट्टनारायणवचनात् । हे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिगुण्यैकाह उच्यते । दिनद्वयैकरात्रिस्तु पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते इति नगधर्षणानुष्ठानवचनात् । सद्य एकाहिनाशौचमिति पारिजाते सद्य एकाहिनेति स्मृतिसारे । एकनदः सद्य इति शाल्वपत्रवर्णदर्शनाच्चेति । तद्यार्थं दिनमात्रं रात्रिमात्रं च । एतदेव क्वचित् सज्योति पदेन व्यपदिश्यते । द्वाहिकं सत्त्वं pp. 340-341. सुद्धिमकाश p. 93 states that the verse हे सन्ध्ये सद्य occurs in the गोभिलभाष्य of नारायणभट्ट.

665 सद्य शौचे नाम स्नानान्ममयम् । सद्य शौचे तु तावत्प्रदादाहं च स्तिपनरं तु । यावत्स्नानं न कुर्वन्ति सचैलं बान्धवा वरि ॥ इत्यङ्गिरस्मरणात् । स्मृतितु F. 481

666 दिवसे दिवसे पिण्डो देय एव क्रमेण तु । सद्य शौचेपि दाताया सर्वेपि द्युपसमा । आदिष्टराण q. by हारलता p. 165 The latter half is cited as from ब्रह्मपुराण by रघुनाथ on त्रिशङ्खोकी verse 28 p. 249 It is not unlikely that the ब्रह्मपुराण which is mentioned in several works as the first of the 18 पुराण was therefore called आदिष्टराण.

Yāj. (III. 28-29) prescribes that there is sadyahśauca (purification after a bath) in case of birth or death (of a sapinda) for priests chosen for a sacrifice (after they are offered Madhuparka), for those who have undergone *dikṣā* for a vedic sacrifice (like *Somayāga*) and those who are engaged in performing the constituent parts of a Vedic sacrifice, those who continuously distribute food at a charity house, those who are engaged in *prāyaścittas* like *cāndrāyana* or the vows of *śrāutas*, for brahmacārins (when performing the duties of their *śrāma*), for persons who everyday make gifts of a cow, gold etc (at the time of making the gift), for those who have realized Brahman (ascetics); there is sadyahśauca at gifts (when once begun), at marriage, in a Vedic sacrifice, in battle (for those who are about to be engaged in it), when there is commotion in a country (through invasion), and in a severe calamity (like famine when one can accept food from any body). Gaut. (14. 43-44) says that there is sadyahśauca in the case of kings as otherwise there will be obstacles in their duties and also in the case of brāhmanas in order to prevent the cessation of their duties of teaching. Śāṅkhalikṛita say the same 'Rāja dharmāyatanam sarvesām tasmādanavaruddhaḥ pretaprasa-vadosaḥ' (Śuddhikalpataru p. 62). It is stated in Manu V. 93 that kings,⁶⁶⁷ those engaged in *vratas* and *sattras* (like *Gavām-ayana*) are not liable to undergo the blemish of śauca, because they (kings) occupy the position of Indra (ruler) and are like Brahma (which is free from all taint) and Manu V. 94 clinches the matter further by observing 'sadyahśauca is ordained for the position of a king which can be obtained only by great merit (in past lives) for the sake of the protection of the subjects and the reason of this (rule) is the position that he occupies.' Similarly, Gobhilasūrti⁶⁶⁸

667. न राजामयदोपोस्ति ब्रतिना न च सत्रिणां। ऐन्द्रं स्थानमुपासीना ब्रह्मयूता हि ते सदा॥ राज्ञो नादृष्टिर्नै स्थाने सद्यः शौचं विधीयते। प्रजानां परिरक्षणार्थमात्मनं चात्र कारणम्॥ मनु V. 93-94. The first verse is the same as Vasistha 19.48 (Further's text is corrupt, which must be corrected into नायदोपोस्ति) which cites it as Yama's. It is the position that he holds that renders the king (whether a ksatriya, brāhmana or śūdra) free from śauca. The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र (22. 47-52) restricts the absence of śauca by saying 'kings are free from śauca when they are performing the duties of a king (such as administration of justice)': 'न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि न ब्रतिनां ब्रते न सत्रिणां सत्रे न कारुण्यां स्वकर्मणि न राजाज्ञाकारिणां तदिच्छया।'

668. न त्यजेत्सुते कर्त्तुं ब्रह्मचारी स्वक कश्चित्। न वीक्षणात्परं यज्ञे न कृद्वादि तपश्चरन्॥ पितर्यपि सुते नैषां दीयो भवति कश्चित्। गोभिलसूति III. 64-65 q. by शारदा p. 107, अपरार्क p. 919, शुद्धिकल्प. p. 64.

(III. 64-65, often quoted as Chandogapariśista of Kātyāyana) states 'in a sūta, a brahmacārin should not give up his peculiar duties (Veda study and vratas), a sacrificer his various actions (required) in a sacrifice after he has undergone dīksā, one who is practising penance should not give up krochra and the like; these do not incur impurity even on the death of their father (or mother)' The Kūrmapurāṇa⁶⁶⁹ provides 'no impurity is declared on death in the case of perpetual or temporary brahmacārins, forest hermits or ascetics'. Similar rules are given by Atri 97-98, Linga-purāṇa, pūrvabhāga, chap. 89.77. The Mit. on Yaj III. 28 remarks that in the case of the three āśramas of *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha* and *yati* there is freedom from impurity in all cases and at all times; ascetics and brahmacārins have to undergo a bath with clothes on the death of their father or mother (Dharmasindhu p. 442); in the case of several others such as those who are continually making gifts or are observing vratas there is freedom from impurity only when they are engaged in those particular actions and not when they are engaged in any action whatever or when they mix up among others for everyday work.⁶⁷⁰ Similar rules occur in Parāśara III.21-22. It has already been stated following Manu V. 91 (= Viṣṇu 22.86) that a brahmacārin was not to perform the last rites (of carrying the corpse, cremation) for anybody except for five persons (viz. his parents, upādhyāya, ācārya and guru) He did not incur āśauca by performing the funeral rites of his parents and offering water and pinda to them. But if he did so for any one other than the five mentioned by Manu he had to observe āśauca for ten days, and to undergo prāyaścitta and had his *upanayana* performed again. A brahmacārin had to observe after *samāvartana* (returning from the Vedic teacher) āśauca for three days for all relatives that died during the period of his studenthood (Manu V. 88, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.87). Gautama (14. 42-44) says generally⁶⁷¹ that on the death of child-

669. नैष्ठिकानां व्रतस्थानां यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । नाशौचं कीर्तितं सन्निः पतिते च तथा मृते ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23 61 q by हारलता p. 114, परा ना I 2 p. 254. देवल has almost the same verse, नैष्ठिकानां ..शौचं सतके प्रोक्तं शौचे घापि तथैव च ॥ q. by परा. ना I. 2 p. 254, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 543 A similar verse occurs in लिङ्ग-पुराण (पूर्वार्ध) chap 89 77.

670 सन्निपां व्रतिनां सन्ने व्रते च छुद्धिर्न कर्मसाधे संन्यवहारे वा ।.. ब्रह्मविद्यति । एतेषां च त्रयाणमाश्रमिणां सर्वत्र छुद्धिः । विशेषे प्रमाणाभावात् । मिता on य. III 28.

671. बालवेशान्तरितमवजितासपिण्डानां सद्यःशौचम् । राज्ञां च कार्यविरोधम् । ब्राह्मणस्य च स्वाध्यायनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । गौ 14 42-44 पराशर III. 10 and कामन्दुराण 14.99-100 contain verses almost in the same words as the first sūtra.

ran (before the appearance of teeth or before Cūḍā), of those who are separated by a country, of ascetics and of those who are not sapindas, the relatives are purified by only a bath; so also there is sadyahśauca for kings, for otherwise there would be conflict with their duty (of protecting the subjects) and for a brāhmana also in order that there may be no cessation of Vedic study.⁶⁷² The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 93) remarks that though there is no āśauca (as stated by Yāj III. 28) yet a sacrificial priest and a diksita had to bathe on the death of a sapinda, a brahmacārin also would have to take a bath if he followed the funeral procession of his father or mother &c, but an ascetic would not have even to bathe and that usage was the same in its day.

The second class of exceptions refers to cases where certain persons, though they have incurred āśauca, are allowed to do certain acts or carry on their activities without bringing pollution to those with whom they deal or come in contact. For example, Parāśara (III. 20-21) says; 'craftsmen (such as those who draw pictures or washermen), workers (cooks and the like), physicians, male and female slaves, barbers, kings and śrātrīyas are declared to be sadyahśauca, as also one observing a vrata (cāndrāyana &c.), one purified by being engaged in a sattra (such as Gavām-ayana), a brāhmana who has established śrauta fires; the king has not to observe āśauca and also any one (such as his purohita) whom the king for his own purpose desires not to observe it' The Ādipurāṇa⁶⁷³ gives the reason why craftsmen, physicians and others were allowed not to observe āśauca when engaged in their peculiar tasks, viz. what these people do cannot be done by any one else at all or at least so well or so easily.

672 शिल्पिनः कारका वैद्या दासीदासाश्च नापिता । राजान् श्रोत्रियाश्चैव सद्यःकौचाः मकीर्तिताः ॥ सत्रतः सत्रपुत्रश्च आदितामिश्रं यो हिजिः । राज्ञश्च सूक्तं नास्ति यद्यं ज्ञेच्छति पार्थिवः ॥ पराशर III. 20-21,

673 तथा चादिपुराणे । शिल्पिनश्चित्रकाराद्याः कर्म यस्माध्वयस्यलम् । तत्कर्म नान्यो जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धा स्वकर्मणि । सूत्रकारेण यत्कर्म करणीयं नरोपबिह । तदङ्गो नैव जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धः स सूत्रकृत् ॥ चिकित्सको यच्छ्रुते तदङ्ग्येन न ज्ञायते । तस्माच्चिकित्सकः स्पर्शो ह्यङ्गो भवति नित्यशः ॥ दास्यो दासाश्च यत्किञ्चित् कुर्वन्त्यपि च लीलया । तदङ्गो न क्षमः कर्तुं तस्मात्तैश्च सदा ॥ राजा करोति यत्कर्म स्वमेव पश्यत्य तत्कथम् । एवं सति ह्यपः शुद्धः संस्पर्शो ह्युत्तमस्तु ॥ यत्कर्म राजभृत्यानां हस्त्यश्वगमनादिकम् । तस्मास्ति यस्मादङ्ग्यस्य तस्मान्ते शुचयः स्तुता ॥ q. by परा ना I 2. pp 255-256 Three of these from सूत्रकारेण are quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by हरलता p 110, as from आदिपुराण by शुद्धिन्त pp. 289-90 and all from सूत्रकारेण onwards are quoted from आदिपुराण by शुद्धिम् p 95, the verse चिकित्सको is q. by मिता, on या III. 27.

It has ⁶⁷⁴ to be noted that the absence of āśauca in the case of craftsmen, physicians and the like has to be restricted to the peculiar activities of these and does not extend to all actions such as religious rites, śrāddhas and gifts. This is clear from the words of the Visnudharmasūtra ⁶⁷⁵ 22. 48-52. The Trīmśacchloki (verse 18) ⁶⁷⁶ gives a long list of such peculiar activities. The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārḍha 23 57-64) has nine verses on this topic which are quoted by the Hārata (p. 114).

It has already been seen (pp 238-240) that Par gr. III 10 (nityāni vinivartante vaitanavarjam), Manu V. 84, Yāj III 17 (latter half) provide that even those who have to undergo āśauca on death should not stop rites to be performed with śrauta fires, but should perform them themselves or get them performed through others. Thus certain religious rites were allowed to be done even by those who were āśaucin.

The Dharmasindhu (p 552) emphasizes that this exception to āśauca should be availed of only when there is no other alternative or in a season of distress.

It has already been stated how certain materials and things can be received without any pollution from those who are undergoing āśauca. That is the third class of cases which are exceptions to the rules of āśauca.

The fourth class of cases where rules of āśauca do not apply relate to persons deceased to whom some fault or taint attaches. Gaut. (14. 11) ⁶⁷⁷ and Śāṅkha-Likhita provide that there is sadyahāśauca for those who kill themselves (i. e. commit suicide) by starting on the great journey (to the Himālaya), by fasting, by a weapon (like a dagger), by fire or poison or water or by hanging or by falling down from a precipice.

674. अथ चाशीचाभावस्तत्तदसाधारणकर्मण्यस्तु इत्यत्रमतिविधिरूपो बोध्यः, न तु सर्वेषु दानभाक्षादिधर्मकृत्येष्वभासौचमाभावः। ब्रुह्मिय p 93.

675. (आशौच) न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि। न व्रतिना व्रते। न सत्रिणा सत्रे। न कार्त्तिकाकारकर्मणि। न राजाज्ञाकारिणा तद्विच्छया। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22 48-52.

676. तत्तत्कार्येषु सत्रिवतिष्ठपक्षपक्षीक्षितस्त्रिंश्वदेशनेशापत्त्वप्यनेकश्रुतिपठनविष-
क्षाकशिल्प्यातुराणाम्। संपारब्धेषु दानोपनयनयजनआङ्गयुद्धमतिष्ठापूजातीर्थार्यानाजप-
रिणपनाद्युत्सवेष्वेतदर्थे॥ त्रिशच्छ्लोकी 18. द्रष्टवत् means द्रष्टवक.

677. For गौ 14 11 vide note 522 above, मायाशिविषावकोद्धरणप्रपत्ते-
श्चेच्छताम्। अथ राज्ञां राजाकारिणोऽप्युजल-विषमपणेष्वेवमेव। शङ्खलिखितौ q. by
हारता p. 113; भृगुप्रपाशकाभोभिर्दुतानामात्मधातिनाम्। पतितान च नाशीचं विदुस्त-
त्ताश्च ये॥ अश्विपुराण 157.32. Vide वामनपुराण 14 99-100

Yaj. III. 6 provides ⁶⁷⁸ that women that have gone over to heterodox views and practices, that do not belong to any particular āśrama, that are thieves (of gold and the like), that (attempt to) kill their husbands, that are unchaste and the like, that drink liquor and that attempt suicide, do not deserve to have water offered to them (on death) and no āśauca should be observed for them. This verse applies to men also as far as possible. Manu V. 89-90 are to the same effect. The Kūrmapurāṇa also prescribes ⁶⁷⁹ that for him who kills himself by means of fire, poison and the like, no āśauca, no cremation and no offering of water is prescribed, there is no cremation for *pāṭitas*, nor *antyeṣṭi* nor collection of bones, no shedding of tears and no pinda and no śrāddha should be performed for them. It is provided by Angiras quoted by Mit. on Yaj III. 6 that 'death results to evil-minded men from cāṇḍālas (with whom a quarrel is purposely got up), from water, from a snake, from a brāhmana, from lightning and from animals that have sharp fangs (like tigers). If water and pinda are offered to such people (who die wilfully in these cases) they (water and pinda) do not reach them and perish in mid air.' These verses refer to death in a wrathful fight with tigers, snakes and the like or suicide in water through wrath or sorrow. But, if one died in water or by fire through inadvertence or negligence, then Angiras ⁶⁸⁰ himself provides that water should be offered and āśauca should be observed. Long passages are quoted from the Brahmapurāṇa by Haradatta on Gaut. 14. 11, Suddhiprakāśa pp. 56-57, Nirṇayasindhu p. 550, which elaborate the same ideas as those of Yaj. III. 6, Angiras and others and wind up by stating that if any one offers water or śrāddha to *pāṭitas* through affection or cremates them, he has to undergo prāyaścitta (viz. two Taptakrobras).

678. For Yaj. III. 6 read p 222 above अपरार्क reads 'पापण्डानाभिता' and explains 'पापण्डानाभिता तद्दीक्षायां यद्विष्टा', while the मिता reads पापण्डानाभिता and makes two different classes

679. पतिताना न दाहः; vide note 522 above; the अग्निपुराण (159. 2-4) states 'आत्मनस्तपग्निना नास्ति पतितानां तथा क्रियाः। तेषामपि तथा गाङ्गे तीर्थेऽस्थानं पतनं दिवम्। तेषां वृत्तं जलं चार्क्षं गगने तत्पत्नीयते। अनुग्रहेण सहता प्रेतस्य पतितस्य च। नारायणपतिः कार्यस्तेनाश्रयहमश्नुते॥'

680. यदि कश्चित्पलादेन श्रियेतान्मुदकादिभिः। तस्याशौचे विधातव्यं कर्तव्या खोदक-क्रिया॥ अङ्गिरसु q. by मिता. on Yaj III. 6 A similar verse is औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. vol I p 540), chap. VII.

If an *ūhitāgni* were killed by *cāndālas* in defiant fight with them or commits suicide, his corpse should be got cremated by *sūdras* without proper mantras and *Gobhilasmr̥ti* (III, 49-51) provides for the disposal of his *srauta* fires and sacrificial implements. Though suicide was generally condemned, the *sm̥rtis* (such as *Atri* 218-219) and *Purānas* allowed certain exceptions, viz. very old men (above 70), very weak men who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or those who have no desire left for the pleasures of the senses or who have carried out all tasks and duties, may start on *Mahāprasthāna* or die at *Prayāga*. Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp 926-928 for detailed treatment of this topic. If a man killed himself in the way allowed by the *śāstra* then there was no blemish and *śauca* had to be observed and water and *śrāddha* had to be offered. It may be noted that starting on *Mahāprasthāna* and suicide on the part of old men by falling down from a precipice or in fire are forbidden in the *Kali* age. Vide H of Dh. vol. III p. 939 and pp. 958-959

The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III, 6 quotes *Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya* and *Chāgaleya* to the effect that in the case of those who commit suicide in any manner that is not sanctioned by the *śāstras*, *Nārāyanabali* should be performed one year after their death and then the rites of *śrāddha* may be performed thereafter. The *Mit.*,⁶⁸¹ on *Yāj.* III, 6) relying on *Viṣṇupurāṇa* describes the *Nārāyanabali* as follows. On the 11th day of the bright half of a month, having worshipped *Viṣṇu* and *Yama*, one should with the face to the south offer near them on *darbhās* with ends turned towards the south ten *pindās* laved with honey and ghee and mixed with sesame after bringing to mind the deceased⁶⁸² who should be looked upon as having the form of *Viṣṇu* and having uttered the name and gotra of the deceased; he should honour the *pindās* with sandalwood paste and the rest and having performed all the rites up to the removal of *pindās*, should cast them in a river and not give them to the

681 एवं नारायणबलिं प्रेतस्य श्राद्धयापादनद्वारेण श्राद्धदि संयुक्तान्वये योग्यतां जनयतीति औषधदेहिकमपि सर्वं कार्यमेव । अत एव पदत्रिंशन्मतेऽपि औषधदेहिकस्यारम्भद्वारा दह्यते । गोत्राह्वयहताना च पतिताना तथैव च । ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कुर्वीतसर्वमौषधदेहिकम् ॥ इति । एवं संवत्सरादूर्ध्वमेव नारायणबलिं कुर्वीतसर्वदेहिकं कार्यम् । नितान् on वा III, 6 The same provisions are recommended by परा मा. I 2 pp 225-227, स्मृतिसु p 489 Vide गृह्य, प्रेतखण्ड, 40 15-65 for नारायणबलिं

682. The सकल्प will be अनुकरोन्नत्यग्निकस्य दुर्मरणात्मकान्नद्वयेनाग्नौर्ध्वं देहिकसंयुक्तान्वयेत्यतस्त्रिंशदर्थं नारायणबलिं करिष्य इति सकल्प्य । निर्णयनिष्ठ p. 559.

wife or to others. Then on the night of the same day he should invite an uneven number of brāhmanas, should observe a fast, should worship Visnu the next day, in the noon he should perform all the rites from washing the feet of brāhmanas up to the query about the gratification of the brāhmanas (by the food served to them) according to the procedure of *ekodāśa śrāddha*, then he should silently go through all the rites from *ullekhaṇa* (drawing lines) up to *avanejana* (anointing) by the procedure of *Pinda-pitrayajña*. He should offer four pindas to (images of) Visnu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama together with the attendants, should remember the deceased by name and gotra, should utter the name of Visnu and then offer the 5th pinda. Then having gratified the brāhmanas (after they have sipped water) with fee, he should bring to his mind one (of the brāhmanas) that is the most qualified of all as representing the deceased and having gratified him to the utmost with the gifts of cows, land and money, should then make the brāhmanas that have *pauṇḍras* on their hands offer to the deceased water together with sesame and should then take his meal along with his relatives.

The passage quoted by the Mit. makes it clear that Nārāyanabali is meant only for those who commit suicide and is to be offered one year after the death of the person guilty of suicide. The *Hāratala*⁶⁵³ (p. 212) also says the same and explains a verse of Visnu extending the performance of Nārāyanabali to those killed by cows and brāhmanas and those who become *patita* as a usage restricted to a certain country only.⁶⁵⁴

The *Antyestipaddhati* of Nārāyanabhāṭṭa describes (on folio 187) Nārāyanabali rite at greater length than in the *Mitaksarā*. One or two details may be pointed out. Five *kalasas* (jars) are to be placed over a quantity of rice or *yavas*, then filled with water, then have the three mantras 'Āpo hi sthā'

653 आत्मघातिन इत्यभिधानात् आत्मघातकमात्रस्त्वेवं विधानं न तु महापातक्यादी नामिति दुर्लभम्। विष्णुः। गोघ्राहणहतानां च पतितानां तथैव च। ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सराकुप्योत् सर्वमवोष्यदेहिकम् ॥ एतच्च देशविशेषव्यवस्थितमिति आदिपुराणवचन एवोक्तं न तु दास्या पदतोपदानान्तराण्यगलिदानयोः प्रथमसंवत्सराभ्यन्तरविषयत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यम्। हारलता p 212. A long passage is quoted from *आदिपुराण* in *हारलता* pp 203-205, the last verses of which are. क्रियते पतितानां तु गते संवत्सरे कश्चित्। देशधर्ममणल्लात् गयाकूपेऽप्युत्तरभिः। मार्तण्डपादमूले वा आर्द्धं हरिहरं स्मरन्।

654. Nārāyanabali is described in the Appendix B to the Sholapur District Gazetteer in Bom. Gaz. vol. XX. pp. 522-523.

(Rg. X. 9. 1-3) repeated over them, then copper plates are to be placed over them on which five images of Brahmā, Visnu, Śiva, Yama and the deceased are to be drawn and the worship of these five is to be performed respectively with the Purusa-sūkta (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X. 121 1-10, Rg. I. 43. 1 (= Tai. Ā. X. 17), Rg. X. 14. 13 and the name and gotra of the deceased, sixteen oblations of cooked rice are to be offered to Nārāyaṇa with the sixteen verses of the Purusa-sūkta (Rg. X. 90). Ten pindas⁶⁸⁵ are to be offered on *darbhas* to the deceased after repeating his name and gotra (as stated in the note below). After the ten pindas are cast in a river, there is *tuṣṭi* of the deceased sixteen times with the sixteen stanzas of the Purusa-sūkta. Then *bali* is offered separately to Visnu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama with his servants.

In the *Mitākṣarā*, there is no *homa* nor *bali*, both of which are described in the *Āntyestīpaddhati* and the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (pp. 85-86) copies verbatim the procedure given in the *Mit. Brhatparāśara* (V. pp. 175-176) contains the same procedure that is set out by the *Mit.* from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. The *Nirṇaya-sindhu* first describes Nārāyaṇabali as gathered from Hemadri and the *Garudapurāṇa* (III. 4. 113-119) it then describes Nārāyaṇabali to be performed for a deceased ascetic on the 12th day (along with *Pārvaṇaśrāddha*), following the procedure laid down by *Baudhāyana*. It then describes another form of Nārāyaṇabali based on *Śaunaka* which is meant for all those who commit suicide or who are killed by *cāṇḍālas*,⁶⁸⁶ snakes, lightning, animals with fangs or who die in a distant land or for ascetics and *yogins*. The *Vṛddha-Haritasmṛti* (IX. 123-143) describes another method of Nārāyaṇabali for devotees of Visnu.

The *Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra* (X. 9) sets out a rather brief procedure of Nārāyaṇabali which was intended for the benefit of men who committed suicide or were slain and for ascetics and provides that the same may be performed for those guilty of *mahāpātakas* after twelve years from their death. The

685. अर्चितदेवसमीपे अशुक्लगोत्रायशुक्लशर्मणे प्रेताय विष्णुरूपिणेऽपि विष्णु - इति मधुघृताहुतास्तिलमिश्रान्दश पिण्डान् विष्णुरूपिण प्रेतमनुस्मरन् प्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उच्चार्य दक्षिणार्धे शुभेण दक्षिणाह्नोऽपसव्येन दत्त्वा । ततः पुरुषसूक्तेन प्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उक्त्वा अशुक्लं नारायणरूपं तर्पयामीति षोडशवार तर्पयेत्पट्टचम् । अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति

686. चाण्डालाबुधकासर्पाद्व्याघ्रणाद्वैद्युतादपि । वृद्धिभ्यश्च षष्ठ्यश्च मरण पापकर्मिणाम् ॥ औ य शेषस्तु III. 21. The same is q. by अपराक P 877 as यम's, as स्मृत्यन्तर by छुद्धिप. p. 56 and without name by the *mita*, on *ya*, III. 5.

Baudhāyana-grhya-śeṣasūtra III. 20 and 21 contain two different sets of the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali, the latter of which appears to be the later one. The latter contains the well-known verse about death at the hands of cāṇḍālas, from a snake &c.

The 5th class of exceptions to āśauca rules comprises those that are declared by express texts as not liable to observe an āśauca. Gautama (14. 8-10) provides⁶⁸⁷ that (the sapindas) of those that met death for the sake of cows and brāhmanas, of those that met death through the wrath of the king and those that were killed in battle have to observe no āśauca but only 'sadyahśauca'. Manu V. 95 and 98 state⁶⁸⁸ that (the sapindas) of those that are killed in a sudden affray or by lightning or by the king (for an offence) or of those that met death in protecting cows and brāhmanas and of one who was killed in the fashion of ksatriyas in a battle by the sword have to observe no āśauca, as also he whom the king desires (for his purpose) to observe no āśauca. It is provided by Śāṭatapa⁶⁸⁹ that as regards a *yati* dying, his sons and other sapindas are not to offer water or pinḍa to him or to observe āśauca for him. The Dharmasindhu (p. 449) says that this applies to all ascetics, whether they be *tridanḍin* or *ekadanḍin*, *hamsas* or *paramahamsas*. So also on the death of a *vānaprastha* there is no āśauca. In the case of one who has performed his own *brāddha* while alive his sapindas have an option either to observe āśauca or not. On the death of a *brahmacārin* āśauca is to be observed. The Dharmasindhu further notes that in all works it is stated that there is no āśauca⁶⁹⁰ for one killed in battle, but at least

687. गोब्राह्मणहृतानामन्वक्षाम् । राजकोषाच्च । युद्धे । गौ. 14 8-10. हरदत्त explains 'अन्वक्ष्यते मृत्युवन्ते शवस्तावत्संस्कारान्ते स्नात्वा ह्युष्येरक्षिति', while the *mita* on ya III 21 (first half) explains 'तत्सम्बन्धिना चान्वक्ष्यमहुतमक्षमन्वक्षं सद्य शौचमित्यर्थः'. The *mita* takes the corresponding passage of Yāj. III 21 (first half) to mean 'of those that were killed by the king, by bulls or brāhmanas'. The *mita* reads राजकोषाच्चयुद्धे, while हरदत्त says that he does not like to read अयुद्धे but would read आयुद्धे.

688. द्विग्राह्ये हतानां च विद्युता पाथिवेन च । गोब्राह्मणस्य चैवार्थे परस्य चेच्छति पाथिवः ॥ मनु V. 95 द्विग्राह्य is explained by कुल्लूक and हारलता (p. 111) as 'द्वपति-रहितं युद्धं', while हरदत्त takes द्विग्राह्य to mean जनसंसर्ग and अपराकं p. 916 explains द्विग्राह्य as अशस्त्रकलह and युद्धिकलपतस्य as अशस्त्रकलहः संमर्दो वा (p. 46).

689. एनोदितं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं त्रेतसत्त्विकम् । न कुर्यात्प्राणदानं च ब्रह्मभूतात् भिक्षवे ॥ शातातपः स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 171 ascribes this to वसिष्ठ.

690. उद्धृतं प्याशौचं नेति सर्वग्रन्थेषु पल्लभ्यते न त्वेव ब्राह्मणेषु गिष्टाचार इति । धर्मसिन्धु p. 449.

among brāhmanas (i. e. as to brāhmanas killed in battle) the usage of the *śiṣṭas* is different (i. e. *śāuca* is observed).

Parāśara (III. 12-13) provides that, if a man has gone for many years to a distant land and it is ascertained that he died there but the exact date of his death is not known, then either of three *tithis* viz. the 8th or 11th day of the dark half or the *amāvāsyā* should be accepted as the day of his death and water, *pinda* and *śrāddha* should be offered on that date and the Par. M. I. 2 p. 237 adds that *śāuca* also must be calculated from that date. On the other hand Laghu-Hārita says that if there is some obstacle at the time of a *śrāddha* or when the date of death is not known, then the funeral rites should be performed on the 11th *tithi* of the following dark half (*Śuddhikaumudī* p. 17)

The digests lay particular emphasis on the fact that in matters of *śāuca* the usages of a country must be observed. The *Hārata* (pp. 55, 205) quotes passages from the *Ādipurāṇa* where special reference is made to the authority of the usages of a country (*deśa-dharmapramānatvāt*). The *Śuddhitattva* p. 275 quotes⁶⁹¹ a verse of Marici 'one should not disregard the manner of observing *śāuca* and religious usages that are current in particular localities; the dharma is of that sort alone in those localities'. On p. 276 it quotes a passage of the *Vāmanapurāṇa* to the same effect.

It deserves to be noted that Dakṣa⁶⁹² (VI. 15) states that all rules about *śāuca* apply when the times are easy and peaceful but when a man is overwhelmed by distress there is no (enforcement or application) of the (rules of) *śāuca*.

Viṣṇu (19. 18-19) provides⁶⁹³ that at the end of the period of *śāuca* one should go out of the village, get himself shaved and take a bath after applying a thick paste of sesame or white mustard to the body, change garments and then re-enter the house. Then he should perform a *śānti* (propitiatory rite)

691 तथा च मरीचिः । येषु स्थानेषु यच्छौचं धर्माचारश्च यादृशः । तत्र तत्साधनमेत
धर्मस्तत्रैव तादृशः ॥ रुद्रधर इति छुद्रितिवेक (D. C. ms No 309 of 1887-91, folio 77 b),
छ. कौ p 360, छुद्रितत्त्व p. 275, "तथा च वामनपुराणं 'देशाद्विशेषे कुलधर्मसम्प
रवगोत्रधर्मं न हि सत्यजेच्च' छुद्रितत्त्व p. 276.

692 स्वस्थकाले तथा सर्वं सुतकं परिकीर्तितम् । आपद्ग्रस्तस्य सर्वस्य सुतकोपि न
सुतकम् ॥ दक्ष VI 15.

693. ग्रामाजिष्कृत्याशौचान्ते कृतश्चक्रमार्गास्तिलकलैः सर्वपकलैश्च स्नानात्
परिवर्तितवाससो ग्रवं मण्डितः । तत्र शान्तिं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणानां च पूजनं कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र
19.18-19

and honour brāhmanas. Many medieval digests provide for a more elaborate procedure. For example, the Śuddhikaumudī (pp. 155-164) sets out the procedure of the 11th day separately for the followers of the three Vedas. A few salient points may be mentioned. After a bath for the whole body, the sapindas should touch a cow, gold, fire, *dūrva*, clarified butter and repeat the name of Govinda, then engage brāhmanas to sprinkle śānti water over them and say 'svasti'. If a brāhmana cannot be had one should himself perform śānti. The Hāratala and others say that without śānti water āsauca is not completely removed. The followers of Sāmaveda should sing the Vāmadevagāna for śānti or should repeat the four Vāmadevya verses viz. 'kayā naśoitra,' 'kastva satyo,' 'abhi sū nah' (No. 682-684 of the Sāmaveda) together with the last verse of the Sāmaveda ('svasti na Indro') preceded and followed by the sacred Gāyatrī; these form the śānti mantras for Sāmavedins. For followers of Yajurveda seventeen mantras beginning with 'roam vācam prapadye' and ending with 'dyauh śāntiḥ', preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī form the śānti mantras; the Rgvedins should employ for śānti Rg. X. 9. 4, VII. 35. 1, V. 47. 7 &c. preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī. Then some gold with silver as daksina should be donated to a brāhmana, then the Vaitarani cow should be donated, if one was not given at the approach of death, then a gift of the bedstead &c. should be made.

We have seen (p. 270) that originally the sūtras (like Śān Śr.) and smrtis (like Manu) emphasized that one should not increase the number of the days of āsauca and that men learned in the Veda and consecrating śrauta fires had to undergo only one day's āsauca (Parāśara III 5, Dakṣa VI 6). But ultimately a flat period of ten days of āsauca (Manu V. 59) for all sapindas came to be prescribed. In the old days the means of communication were very limited, and hence the news of a birth or death must have taken considerable time to reach relatives staying even at a short distance and hence the restrictions imposed by the rules of āsauca were not felt to be very irksome. It is on account of this reason and also the great *penchant* of dharmaśāstra writers for all sorts of divisions, sub-divisions and classifications that we find medieval writers bestowing an enormously exaggerated attention in very exuberant and enthusiastic style on such a subject as āsauca. Most nations have their own usages to indicate that a person (male or female) or a family is in mourning. But probably no country in the world

can equal (much less surpass) the Dharmaśāstra writers in the elaborate rules evolved in books about āśauca on birth and death. In these days when there is a State postal system and the means of communication abound owing to railways, air-mail, telegraph and wireless, the ancient and medieval rules of āśauca are felt by all people to be most galling and troublesome. Mischievous people sometimes create trouble in the celebration of marriages by sending information about a death or a birth to persons against whom they have a grudge. Devices have to be employed for dodging the inconvenience due to rules of āśauca. It is therefore necessary to introduce substantial changes in the rules about āśauca that will prevent trouble, loss of time and work and would at the same time be more or less in agreement with the spirit of the dicta of the smṛtis and the sentiments of most common people. At the end in the appendix note 693a is added which gives the text of the Āśauca-daśaka with Sanskrit explanation.

As regards āśauca on birth I would recommend that hereafter in the changed set-up of society in these days one simple rule should be observed, viz. it is only the mother that has to observe impurity for ten days and no one else has to observe impurity on birth. This is in general accordance with the ancient smṛtis set out above.

As regards impurity on death four rules should ordinarily suffice.^{693a}

(1) *Āśauca* for ten days on death should be observed by the father and the mother for the son and by the son for the parents, by the wife for the husband and *vice versa* and by one who performs the rites of cremation and the rites after death.

(2) For others (than the above) staying near the deceased as members of a joint family āśauca for only three days should suffice.

(3) For all other relatives of the deceased whenever the news of death may reach them within a year after death, only a bath should be enough.

(4) When the death occurred more than a year before the news reached the relatives not even a bath should be required in the case of any relative except those mentioned in the first rule, who should be held clean after a bath.

Practices observed among ancient and modern primitive tribes show that the most important *tabus* were those on the dead, on women in child-birth and women in their monthly illness. Among the ancient Israelites all that were unclean through the dead were put outside the camp and they were not allowed to offer an offering at the Passover (Numbers V. 1-4 and IX 8). Among the Syrians those who belonged to the family of the dead man were *tabu* for 30 days and could then enter only with shaven heads. Child-birth made a woman unclean and the number of days that she was to be unclean depended on whether the child was a male or a female (Leviticus 12 2-5). In India also the ancient Aryans probably inherited their ideas about uncleanness on death and child-birth from their remote ancestors. If one may surmise one can say this it must have been found out by the remote ancestors of the Vedic Aryans that if a person touched a dead body or used the clothes worn by the dead man when living, he also suffered from the same disease (particularly in the case of contagious diseases like plague, cholera, typhoid &c.) and that segregating such a person for ten days from other members of the tribe or community made the latter immune from the attack of such diseases. Therefore, those who touched the dead or carried the corpse for cremation or burial and the members of the family were thought to be unclean and were segregated for ten days. Gradually the ideas about the uncleanness on death and the necessity of segregation were made applicable to death due to all diseases or causes whatever. The uncleanness on child-birth might have been a case of extension by analogy derived from the *tabu* on death. At all events *smṛti* writers put both on the same level (e. g. Manu V 61 "Just as impurity on death is ordained for ten days in the case of sapindas the same holds good in the case of birth"). Rules about women in their monthly illness were prescribed as early as the *Taj. S.* and have been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 802-805.

We have now to turn to the subject of *suddhi* apart from *śauca*. *Suddhi* of a *dravya* means the⁶⁹⁴ removal of a taint attaching to a thing and it is of two kinds, purification of the body and the purification of an external object (Manu V. 110 and *Aparārka* p 253). It has already been seen (note 555

694. द्रव्यस्य दोषापगमः शुद्धिः । तत्र द्विविधा शुद्धिः । शरीरशुद्धिर्बोध्यशुद्धिश्च । अपरांशे pp 252-253, तत्राशुद्धिर्नाम द्रव्यादेः स्पर्शनाद्यनर्हतापादको दोषविशेषः । शुद्धिस्तु संस्कारविधौत्पत्तिरिति । हेमाद्रि (on *भ्रातृ* p 787).

above) how even the Rg. lays great emphasis on *suddhi* and being pure (*śuci*). There are Vedic⁶⁹⁵ passages laying down that the cups (*grahas*) used in Jyotistoma and other sacrifices were to be cleansed with a strainer of wool, but not the *camasas*. In the Ait. Br. 32.4 it is provided that if the milk of an *agnihotram* that was heated by him for the *homa* became impure (*amedhya*, by an ant or worm falling therein), the milk is to be taken up in an *agnihotrahavanī* and was to be poured upon the ashes near the *Āhavanīya* fire. This shows that great care was taken about the purity of vessels to be used in sacrifices and about the offerings to be made. *Sauca* is one of the eight qualities of the soul (*ātmaguṇas*) mentioned by Gaut 8.24, Atri (verses 33, 35), Matsyapurāṇa 52, 8-10, Brhaspati (q. by Aparārka p. 164). Haradatta on Gautama quotes a verse that *sauca* is of four kinds viz. monetary purity, mental purity, bodily purity and purity in speech; while Atri and Brhaspati⁶⁹⁶ (q. by Aparārka p. 164), aver that *sauca* is constituted by avoiding what ought not to be eaten, by associating (only) with those who are not censured (i. e. are not reprehensible) and by firmly abiding by one's own prescribed duties. Many works divide *sauca* into two varieties viz. *bāhya* (external) and *āntara* or *ābhyantara* (internal). Vide H. of Dh vol. II, pp 651-52 for passages from Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I 5, 3-4), Harita, Dakṣa and others defining and subdividing these. Agni 372, (17-18) is the same as Dakṣa V. 3. The Vanaparva 200, 52 speaks of purity in speech, in actions and that brought about by water. The Padma (II, 66, 86-87) emphasizes that it is the mental attitude that is the highest thing and illustrates it by saying that a woman embraces her son and her husband with different mental states. There is an interesting passage in the Lingapurāṇa 8, 34-36 (not quoted there) which after stating that *ābhyantara* *sauca* is superior to *bāhya* *sauca* (verse 31) remarks⁶⁹⁷ that one void of inner purity is dirty even after a

695 अस्ति ज्योतिष्टोम । तत्र श्रूयते दशापवित्रेण ग्रहं समाष्टि इति । तत्रैवार्थे समधिगतं सर्वे ग्रहा समाजितव्या इति । इदमिदानीं सन्दिह्यते किं चमसा अपि समाष्टि वा उत नेति । शबर on जै III, 1 16

696 अभक्ष्यपरिहारश्च संसर्गश्चाप्यनिन्दितैः । स्वधर्मे च व्यवस्थानं शौचनेतृत्वकीर्तितम् ॥ बृहस्पति (q. by अपरार्क p. 164). अत्रि verse 35 (reads आचारेषु व्यवस्थानं)

697. अवगाह्यापि मलिनो ह्यन्तः शौचविवर्जितः । शैवला ह्यपका मत्स्याः सत्सामस्योपजीविनः ॥ सदावगाह्य सलिले विशुद्धा किं द्विजोत्तमा । तस्मादाभ्यन्तरं शौचं सदा कार्यं विधानतः ॥ आत्मज्ञानाभ्यासं स्नात्वा सकृदालिप्त्य भावतः । सुवैराग्यमुदा ह्युदा शौचमेव यकीर्तितम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराण 8 34-36, भावशुद्धिं परं शौचं-प्रमाणं सर्वकर्मसु । अन्यथा लिङ्गिते ज्ञान्ता भवेन दुहितान्यथा ..अन्यथैव ततः पुत्रं भार्यपर्यवस्था पालित् ॥ पद्म (पुस्तिका 66 86-87)

bath, that moss, fish and animals subsisting on fish are always immersed in water, that in spite of that no one would call them pure, that therefore one must always endeavour to secure inner purity and that one should bathe in the water of correct knowledge of the Self, apply once the sandal paste of faith and purify oneself by the clay in the form of desirelessness and that this is declared to be (the real) *śauca*. Manu V. 106 provides that of all kinds of purity mental purity is the highest. He who is pure as to wealth (i. e. who does not deprive another of wealth by unjust means) is the (only) pure man and not he who is purified by water and earth. Visnu 22. 89 is the same except that for wealth (*artha*) it substitutes food (*anna*). The Trikāṇḍamandana (prakīrnaka 21) has the same verse as Manu V. 106. Vide also Anuśāsana 108. 12 (for purity of conduct, of mind, of a holy place, purity due to correct philosophical knowledge); Brahmāṇḍa III. 14. 60 (*śucikamā hi devā vai*), and Yogasūtra II. 32 (for *śauca* as one of the five *niyamas*).

External purity of the body by various means (rinsing the mouth, bath & c.) has already been described in detail in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 648-668. The ancient and medieval Indians insisted on a daily bath for all, recommended two baths a day in certain cases and three baths to a hermit and did not subscribe to the view of some of the early Christians. St. Agnes was canonized primarily for her refusal to bathe and St. Francis of Assisi considered dirt as one of the proper insignia of holy poverty.⁶⁹⁸

In śrauta rites (such as Agnistoma) the sacrificer had to undergo a severe discipline of consecration (or *dikṣā*), one item of which was the purification of the intending sacrificer's body by the *adhvaryu* priest by rubbing the former's body twice with three bunches of seven darbhas each (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1136) Śatātapa 9 by Sm. C. I p. 120, Śuddhiprakāśa p. 147 provide bath for one who has sexual intercourse with his wife during the period from the 5th to the 16th day after monthly illness begins, but for intercourse after these days the purification is the same as for urination and voiding ordure; bath is also prescribed for vomiting after sunrise, after shaving, after a bad dream, on the touch of foul men (such as *cāṇḍālas*).

698. Vide Reginald Reynolds' work on 'Cleanliness and godliness' p. 36 (chapter IV).

The Ap Śr. II 12 provides⁶⁹⁹ that *Pavitrestī* should be performed by him who is desirous of *suddhi* and that if one performs in each season the three *stis*, viz *Vaiśvānari* (to Agni *Vaiśvānara*), *Vrātapati* (to Agni *Vratapati*) and the *Pavitrestī* one purifies ten generations (of his family).

The following pages will deal with the purification of things (*dravyasuddhi*). But a few general observations must first be made. The Ap Dh. S (II 6. 15 17-20) states that infants do not become polluted or impure (by the touch of a woman in her monthly course) up to the time the *samskāra* of *annaprāśana* (taking cooked food for the first time), that, according to some, up to one year or as long as they cannot distinguish between the different directions or up to the time of *Upanayana* according to others. *Manu* V. 127-133, *Yaj* I. 186, 191-193, *Visnu* Dh. S 23. 47-52, *Baud.* Dh. I 5 56-57, 64, 65, *Śaṅkha* 16 12-16, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 35 19-21 state that the following are always pure.—what is not seen to be polluted; what is cleansed with water; what is commended expressly (by a *brāhmaṇa* as pure, when there is a doubt), water collected on (pure) ground that is not visibly polluted by an impure thing and that in quantity is so much that a cow can slake its thirst therein and that has the smell, colour and taste (of pure water); the hand of a craftsman (such as a washerman or a cook while engaged in his peculiar work); articles exposed for sale in a market such as rice and barley (though touched by many intending buyers); alms (collected by a *brahmacārī* though walking from house to house on the road), the mouth of a woman (at the time of dalliance), meat of animals seized or killed even by dogs, *cāṇḍālas*, and carnivorous birds, rays (of the sun), fire, dust, the shadow (of a tree or the like), a cow, a horse, land, wind, dew drops, flies, a calf at the time of making the cow flow with milk from the udder—these latter are pure when they come in contact with a person. Then it was said that certain birds and animals were either always pure or as to certain parts of the body e. g. *Yaj* I. 194 says that the mouths of goats and horses are pure but not of the cow. *Baudhāyana*⁷⁰⁰ quoted by *Aparārka* p. 276 provides that

699 शुद्धिकामो वा । तद्व्याभिषङ्गमाया गीयते । वैश्वानरं व्रतपतिं पवित्रेष्टं तथैव च ।
क्रतव्यौ यज्जानो हुनन्ति दशपौरुषम् ॥ इति । आश्व श्री II 12

700. मुखवर्जं तु गोमूत्रेण मार्जारश्च दुःकमे (। श्वानमे) शुचिः । श्रीयजुष्य q. by अपरार्क
p. 276, almost the same words occur in *ṣaṅkha* 16 14 (latter half).

the cow is pure except as to its mouth, and a cat when it is leaping or moving about. Brhaspati⁷⁰¹ and Yama (q. by Aparārka p. 276) state: 'the feet of brāhmanas, and the mouth of goats and horses, the backs of cows and all limbs of women are pure; the cow as to its back, the elephant as to its shoulder, the horse as to all its limbs and the dung and urine of cows, all these are pure'. Atri (240, 241) contains several verses⁷⁰² on this point. 'Things taken out from a mine or from kitchens (or places where grain is pounded &c.) are never impure, since all such places (where anything is prepared in the mass) except a place for the manufacture of liquor are pure. All fried (or roasted) things, fried barley and grain, dates, camphor, whatever else is well fried is pure'. In Atri V. 13 we read⁷⁰³ 'flies, a continuous stream (of any liquid), the earth, water, fire, a cat, a wooden ladle and a mongoose are always pure'. Parāśara (X. 41) states:⁷⁰⁴ 'space (ākāśa), wind, fire, water fallen on the earth, darbhas are not to be deemed polluted just as camasas in sacrifices are held to be not polluted.' Par. M. quotes a verse of Caturvimsatimata⁷⁰⁵ that raw meat, ghee, honey, oils extracted from fruits—these even when contained in vessels belonging to candālas become free from taint the moment they are taken out of these vessels. Brhaspati provides:⁷⁰⁶ 'machines for crushing grapes and sugarcane stalks, mines, the hands of craftsmen, the milk pail, fluids that come

701. बृहस्पति । पादौ शुची ब्राह्मणानामजाश्वस्य कर्षं शुचि । गवां पुटानि मेघपानि सर्वनात्राणि दोषिताम् ॥ यमः । पुटलो गौरिजः स्तम्बे सर्वतोऽश्वः शुचिस्तथा । गोः पुरीष च मूर्धं च सर्वं मेघपानि स्थितिः ॥ पुटशब्दोत्र शुक्लपतितिरुक्तिपथः । अपराकं p 276.

702. आकारादुत्तवस्तुनि नाशुचीनि कदाचन । आकारः शुचयः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा श्रुतकारम् ॥ दृढा दृढपथाश्चैव तथैव चणकाः स्तुताः । खरुरं चैव कर्पूरमप्यहं दृष्टतरं शुचि ॥ अत्रि 240-241. आकारः. कारम् occurs in कौ. ध. ह. I. 5 58. The शु. कौ. (p. 258) after quoting शब्द 16 13 (शुद्धं नदीगतं तोयं सर्वं एव तयाकारः) explains. सर्वं एवाकारा यन्मादिनदङ्गस्थानानि तथा अकलाजादिनिष्पत्तिस्थानानि चेत्यर्थः ।

703. मक्षिका सन्ततिपारा भूमिस्तोषा हुताशनः । नार्जारश्चैव दर्वी च नकुलश्च सख्य शुचि ॥ अत्रि V. 13. विश्वरूप on वा. I. 193 quotes it without name as मक्षिका विनोमे नापौ भूमिः. दर्वी च मारुतश्च etc. मार्जारश्च...मारुतश्च—occurs in लघुहारीत 43. शुद्धिकौस्तुभे p 357 explains: सन्ततिः शिशुः यश्रवर्षाम्पन्तरवयस्कः धारा तु एतन्ती ।

704. आकाशं वायुरग्निश्च मेघं भूमिगतं जलम् । न प्रदुष्यन्ति दर्भाश्च यज्ञेषु चमसा यथा ॥ पराशर X. 41.

705. आमं नांतं पूर्णं क्षौद्रं स्नेहाश्च फलसम्भवा । अन्त्यभाण्डस्थिता ह्येते निष्कान्ताः शुचयः स्तुताः ॥ चतुर्विंशतिनठ q. by परा. मा. II 1 p 115 माय. विवेक p. 328 quotes the verse as यम's reading स्नेहभाण्ड. शु. कौ. p 318 also ascribes it to यम.

706. द्राक्षेड यन्त्राकाराकुरुत्ता गोदोहनी यन्त्रविनिस्तुतानि । बालैरप्यग्निमिद्वद्धि-तानि मत्स्यद्वानि शुचीनि तानि ॥ बृहस्पति q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 106.

out from crushing machines, actions (such as cooking) done by women and children when they are impure (by walking barefooted on the road) and are seen to be so, are still free from taint. One's⁷⁰⁷ own bed, garment, wife, child, water pot—these are free from taint for oneself, but these are impure to others. Śāṅkha 16.15 is to the same effect.

Śāṅkha⁷⁰⁸ states that whatever removes the dirt (or pollution) that is natural to a substance or arises from contact with another polluting substance must be declared to be its purifier. Śāṅkha-Likhita⁷⁰⁹ declare that the substances that bring about purification of all (polluted things) are water, clay, the powder (or paste) of soap berries, bilva fruit, rice and mustard cake, salts (ashes), cow's urine and dung and that according to some when a substance is heaped up in a big mass, sprinkling with water. Manu V. 118, Yaj. I. 184, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.13 also provide that sprinkling with water is the mode of purification when large quantities of corn or clothes are polluted, but when the quantity is small they must be washed with water. The quantity is said to be large when it is more than what one man can carry as a load (according to Kullūka on Manu V. 118).

The general rule laid down by Gaut. I. 45-46, Manu V. 126 (= Viṣṇu 23. 39), Yaj. I. 191 about the purification of things or bodies that are smeared with foul matter is that water and earth are to be employed for purification till the foul odour and the contact of the foul thing is entirely removed⁷¹⁰. Devala (q. by Aparārka p. 270) defines *śauca* as the removal by means of clay, water, cowdung and the like of the besmearing, the oiliness and odour of a thing that cause impurity.

707. आत्मशय्या च वस्त्रं च जायापरं कमण्डलुः । आत्मनः शुचीन्येतानि परेशान-
लुचीनि तु ॥ अपस्तम्बस्मृतिः II 4, औधायन I 5 61 (reads शय्यासनं यत्). अपस्तम्ब
p. 257 quotes it as औधायन's.

708. सर्वं सयोगजं तज्जं यत्प येनोपहृत्यते । तस्य तज्जोधनं शोकं सान्त्वयं द्रव्यशुद्धि-
कृत् ॥ शङ्ख q. by अपरार्क p. 256, दीपकालिका on या I. 191. मद या p. 451 reads
मलसंयोगजम्.

709. सर्वेषामायो मृदरिक्तकेतुद्विलग्नतण्डुलसर्वपल्लवशरगोमृद्वगोमयादीनि द्रव्य-
द्रव्याणि संश्रुतानि मोक्षणान्त्येकैः । शङ्खलिखिते q. by चतुर्वर्ग vol. III part I p. 517.

710. लेपगन्धापकर्षणं शौचमनेष्ट्याकर्षणं । तदन्ति पूर्वं मृदा च । यो पृष्ठ I 45-10.
Almost the same words occur in बसिष्ठ III.48, यावत्कापैर्यनेष्ट्यात्पादयो लेपय-
तच्छतः । तावन्मृद्वादि-चावेय सर्वास्तु द्रव्यशुद्धिषु ॥ मनु V, 126 = विल्ह 23.39.

Gaut. Dh. S. (I. 28-33) briefly deals ^{710a} with the purification of things as follows: Purification of metallic substances (like bell-metal), earthenware, substances manufactured from wood, cloth made of threads or yarn is brought about respectively by rubbing (or scouring) them, by baking in fire, by chiselling or planing, by washing in water; objects made of stones, jewels, shells and pearls are purified by the same means as metallic substances; bones (ivory and the like) and mud (floor of houses) are purified in the same way as wooden substances; and earth (when polluted) is also purified by adding to it earth (brought from another pure spot); ropes, chips of bamboos and reeds, leather are purified by the same means as cloth or they may be abandoned when they are extremely polluted (as by the spilling of wine or urine or ordure). Vas (III. 49-53) has almost the same words, employing the word 'bhasmaparimārjana' (scouring with ashes and washing) for 'parimārjana'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 17. 10-13) ⁷¹¹ provides: 'If one gets a used vessel only, he shall eat from it after having heated it thoroughly; a vessel made of metal is purified by being scoured with ashes and the like; a wooden vessel becomes pure by being scraped; at a sacrifice, vessels must be cleaned according to the precepts of the Veda.' Yaj. (III. 31-34) states; time (lapse of ten days or a year as to āśauca), fire, religious rites (like Āsvamedha or performing of *sandhyā*), clay, wind, mind, spiritual knowledge, austerities (such as *krochra*), water, repentance (in the case of sins), fasting—all these are the causes of purification. Gifts are the (main) cause of purification for those who do what is forbidden, flow of water in the case of a river, clay and water are means of *suddhi* in the case of substances that are not clean, *sannyāsa* (order of asceticism) in the case of the twice-born, austerities in the case of those that have studied the Veda when they commit a sin (through ignorance), forbearance in the case of those who know the Self, water in the case of dirty limbs, silent recital of Vedic mantras (*japa*) is the means of purifica-

710 a इत्यथुद्धि परिमार्जनमदाहृतक्षणनिर्णयनानि तैजसमार्तिकद्वारवतास्तवानाम् । तैजसवदुपलमणिकृत्तुक्तानाम् । दाहवदस्त्रियभूयो । आवपनं च भूमे । चैलवद्वज्रविदल-
चर्मणाम् । उत्सर्गो वात्यन्तोपहतानाम् । गो 1 28-33. अत्यन्तोपहत is explained by
विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.1 as 'शरीरेभ्यः सुताभिर्मध्ये वा यदुपहतं तदत्यन्तोपहतम् ॥'

711. अनामिती क्षणमे भोक्तव्यम् । अमिती चेदभिदग्धे । परिद्वष्टं लोहं प्रयत्नं
निर्लिखितं दाहमयम् । यथाग्नं यज्ञे । आप ध. सू. I. 5. 17. 9-13 हरदत्त explains,
'अमिती कश्चित्कार्ये पाकादावुपयुक्तम् . अग्निहोत्रहवणी दर्भरज्जि . यशालिता सोमपात्राणि
माजालीये यशालितानि आर्यपात्राण्युष्णेन वारिणा ॥'.

tion for those guilty of secret sins, truth in the case of the mind (that is full of or is polluted by sinful thoughts), austerities and esoteric knowledge in the case of the man who identifies his soul with the body, correct knowledge in the case of intelligence, knowledge of God is the pre-eminent purifier of the soul. *Mānu* V. 107-109 (= *Viṣṇu* 22.90-92) contain almost the same ideas in almost the same words.

In prescribing the methods of cleaning polluted objects certain matters have to be considered according to a verse ascribed to Baudhāyana⁷¹² by the *Mit.* (on *Yāj* I. 190) which states: 'One should prescribe means of purification after considering the time, the place, the body (or himself), the thing (to be purified), the purpose for which the thing is to be used, origin (of defilement), the condition (of the thing or person defiled).'

There is some divergence of views about the means of purifying or cleansing certain objects. It is unnecessary to set out in detail these differences. It is proposed to take certain objects one after another and to specify how they were rendered pure according to several of the *smṛtis* and digests.

Certain foul things were said by the *Smṛtyarthaśāstra* p 70 to be the causes of extreme pollution and certain others as causes of lesser or insignificant pollution. For example, excreta, urine, semen, blood, fat, marrow, liquor and intoxicants were the causes of great pollution; while dogs, village swine, cats, their urine, the wax from the ear, nails, phlegm, discharge from the eyes, perspiration are the causes of insignificant pollution.

Baud. Dh. S. I. 5 66 provides⁷¹³ that the purification of the ground is brought about by means of sweeping with a (faultless) broom, by sprinkling (cow's milk, urine or water), by smearing with cowdung, by scattering (pure clay on it) and by scrubbing away (or scraping) some of the soil, when these are employed according to the situation of the ground and the particular impurity (of which it is to be purified) Baud. Dh.

712. देशं कालं तथारामं द्वयं द्वयप्रयोजनम्। उपपत्तिनदर्या च क्षान्ता रीचं प्रकल्पयेत्। बोधायन q also by विश्वस्व on *Yāj*, I. 195 and नेमातिथि on *ननु* V. 118. बोधायनधर्मसूत्र I. 5 55 reads देशं ..वर्यां च विज्ञाप शौचं शौचज्ञं कुर्वतो धर्मोऽस्माच्छेत्। The verse is *ह्युपराति* 55 which reads कालं देशं The *mita* reads *स्वा* मानं which means 'the bulk' (or extent of the thing to be purified)

713. भूमेस्तु संमार्जनमोक्षणोपलेपनावस्तरणोर्हस्यैर्दधारणं दोषविशेषान्तरम्। बो. ध. *S.* I. 5 66 वसिष्ठ III. 56 is almost the same

S in another place states:⁷¹⁴ when firm soil is polluted it is purified by smearing it with cowdung, hollow ground (one having holes) is purified by ploughing, ground wet (with impurity) by covering it (with pure clay brought from elsewhere) after removing the impure thing. Land is purified by means of four viz., being trodden under the foot of cows, by digging it up, by burning (firewood or grass thereon), by pouring over it (water, cow's urine or milk &c.) and fifthly, by smearing it (with cowdung) and sixthly, by the lapse of time. Vasistha III 57 quotes a verse which mentions five means of purification almost in the same words as those of Baudhāyana (except the sixth viz time) Manu V. 124 mentions five means of purification, viz. sweeping with a broom, smearing with cowdung, sprinkling, digging (and removing), the stay of cows thereon (for one day and night). Visnu Dh S. 23 57 adds *dāha* (burning) to the five of Manu Yāj. I 188 mentions seven means of the purification of the ground by adding *dāha* (burning) and *kala* (lapse of time) to the five mentioned by Manu. According to⁷¹⁵ the Vāmanapurāṇa the ground is purified by digging, burning, sweeping, treading by cows, smearing of cowdung, scrubbing and by sprinkling water. Devala quoted by the Mit and Aparārka on Yāj. I 188 gives a more elaborate treatment. According to him polluted ground (*bhūmī*) is of three kinds, viz. *amedhyā* (impure), *dustā* (soiled), and *mahnā* (dirty). Where a woman is delivered of a child or dies or is cremated or where a spot has been inhabited by cāṇḍālas or where there are heaps of ordure and the like, ground that is full of foul things in this way is declared to be *amedhyā*,⁷¹⁶ That ground which is polluted by the contact of dogs, pigs, asses, camels and the like becomes *dustā* (soiled) and it becomes *mahnā* (dirty) by charcoal, husk, hair, bones or ashes. Then

714 घनाया भूमेरुपमात उपलेपनम् । हविराया, कर्पणम् । क्लृप्ताया मेघपमादृश्य
प्रच्छादनम् । चतुर्भिः शुध्यते भूमिर्गमिराक्रमणालेखनाद् दहनान्दभिर्वर्षणात् । पञ्चमाञ्जोपले-
पनात्पटात्कालात् । बौ. ध. सू. I 6.17-21 quoted and explained by शु. कौ. p. 100.

715. भूमिर्विशुध्यते खातदाहमार्जनगोक्रमैः । लेपादुल्लेखनान्तेकादिदमसंमार्जनार्चनात् ॥
वामनपुराण 14 68.

716. यत्र प्रसूयते नारी म्रियते दह्यतेपि वा । चण्डालाधुषितं यत्र यत्र विद्यादिसंहतिः ॥
एवं कश्मलशुषिषा भूमेरेषा प्रकीर्तिता । स्वस्कारखरोद्यादिसंस्पृष्टा दुष्टतां व्रजेत् । अङ्गार-
तुपकेशास्थिभस्माद्यैर्मलिना भवेत् । मिता on या I 188. अपरार्क reads यत्रारिष्टादिसङ्घतिः
in the first verse and धूम for तुप. शु. कौ. p. 101 reads प्रसूते गर्भिणी यत्र म्रियते
यत्र मातुः । ..यत्र वा दह्यते शवः ॥ विष्णुजोषहर्तं यत्र कुणपो यत्र दह्यते । एवं कश्मलः.
The definitions of दुष्टा and मलिना as quoted from देवल by शु. कौ. p 101 and
शुद्धिः p 99 are different.

Devāla⁷¹⁷ prescribes the purification of the three kinds of ground: 'Purity is of five kinds, viz. digging up, burning (with wood or grass), smearing (with cowdung), washing (with water) or the fall of rain. Even *amedhyā* ground may be purified by these five means employed together (where a corpse is cremated or *candālas* dwell) or by four (i. e. omitting rainfall or burning in other cases of *amedhyā*); ground that is *dustā* is purified by three (digging up, burning and smearing with cowdung) or two (viz. digging up and burning) and *malinā* ground is purified by one (i. e. by digging up).

The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (pp. 73-74) provides that if an idol made of iron or other metal is slightly polluted (as defined above) then it can be purified by means of *pañcagavya* after rubbing it with ashes; similarly a stone idol, when slightly polluted, should be washed with water mixed with the clay from an ant-hill and becomes pure after being treated with *pañcagavya*. Any idol, if polluted with ordure, urine or village mud would become pure after first being flooded for five days with *pañcagavya*, after being well washed with cow's urine, cowdung and clay from an ant-hill and by being again installed (with all installation rites). Questions about the pollution of temples by the entry of the so-called untouchables or by the entrance of persons other than *brāhmanas* in the inmost shrine (*garbhagrha*) have come before the courts e. g. in *Gopala Muppanar v. Dharmakarta Subramama* 27 Madras Law Journal p. 253 at p. 258, where reference is made to the ceremonies for the removal of pollution according to the *Āgamas* and *Tantras*. In *S. K. Wodeyar v. Ganapati* (37 Bom. L. R. 584) the point arose whether, when a custom was alleged that in a temple at Banavasi in the Canara district none could enter the inner sanctum except persons belonging to the ten sub-divisions of *brāhmanas* and a *Lingayat* entered it in spite of the protests of the worshippers in charge of the temple, his entry polluted the temple and whether he was liable to pay for the sum spent over the purification of the temple, the High Court of Bombay held that the custom alleged viz. of excluding from the inner sanctum all that were not *brāhmanas* was proved and that the *Lingayat* gentleman who entered it in spite of protests was liable to pay damages for the wrongful entry. In the *Nirnayasindhu* (III

717. दहनं स्नानं भूमेरवलेपनवापने । पर्जन्यवर्षणं चेति शौचं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ॥ पञ्चवा वा चतुर्था वा भूमेरेष्या विज्ञेयति । द्विधा त्रिधा वा दुष्टा तु शुद्ध्यते मलिनैका ॥ देवल प. ७५
 शु. को. P. 101 which explains वापनं as हृदन्तरेण पूरणम्.

pūrvārdha pp. 351-52), the Dharmasindhu (III p. 324) and other medieval digests provision is made for the re-consecration (punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā) of an idol in a temple when the idol is polluted by the touch of cāṇḍālas or wine or is burnt by fire or is defiled by the touch of sinners or the blood of a brāhmana ⁷¹⁸ If the idol be broken in two or more pieces or if it becomes broken (irregularly), if it be burnt or falls from its pedestal or be insulted, is without worship or is touched by an ass or the like animal, or falls on foul ground or is worshipped with the mantras of other gods,—in these ten circumstances Godhood ceases to indwell in the idol. If an idol be touched by robbers, cāṇḍālas, *patita* people, by a dog or a woman in her courses or if it be polluted by the touch of a corpse re-consecration is necessary.

The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (23. 34) provides that idols when polluted should be purified in the same way in which the substances of which they are made (such as stone or copper &c.) is purified and then they should be re-consecrated. If the worship of an idol already consecrated is stopped for a day, two days, a month, or two months or it is touched by śūdras or a woman in her monthly course, then at a proper time *puṇyūhavācana* should be performed, an even number of brāhmanas should be fed, the idol should be submerged in water for a night and next day bathed with *pañca-gavya* from a jar full of it to the accompaniment of the respective mantras, then another jar should be filled with pure water and therein the nine kinds of precious stones should be cast, the jar should then have the

718. अथ पुन प्रतिष्ठा । तानाधिकृत्य हपशीर्षपञ्चरात्रे । चाण्डालमद्यस्तस्पर्शद्विषिता
 बाह्निनापवा । असुप्यजनसंस्पृष्टा विपक्षतज्जुषिता ॥ संस्कार्येति शेषः । पदार्थादर्शं ब्राह्मे । खण्डिते
 स्फुटिते दग्धे भटे नानविजर्जिते । पागहीने पशुस्पृष्टे पतिते हुष्टभूमिषु । अन्ममन्त्राक्षिते चैव
 पतितस्पर्शद्विषिते । दशस्तेषु नौ चक्रुः संनिधानं दिवौकसः ॥ याम. पूजा पशु गद्वैभादिः ।...
 सिद्धाप्रशोखरे । चौरचण्डालपतितस्पर्शद्विषितास्येति सति । श्वाद्युपहतौ चैव प्रतिष्ठा पुनराचरेत् ॥
 . शुद्धिविवेके विष्णुः । द्रव्यवत्कृतशोचानां देवताचर्यानां भूयः प्रतिष्ठापनेन शुद्धिरिति । अर्चाः
 प्रतिष्ठा । तद्द्रव्यस्य तावदादेकशोचैव कृत्वा पुनः प्रतिष्ठा कुर्यादित्यर्थः । तद्विधिर्नोपायनसूत्रे ।
 पूर्वमतिष्ठितस्याङ्घ्रिपूर्वकनेकरात्रं द्विरात्रमेकमासं हिमासं वा अर्चनादिविच्छेदे शुद्धरजस्वलाद्यु-
 पस्यन्ते पूर्वोक्तं काले पुण्याहं वाचयित्वा पुनमाद ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा निशायां जलाधिकासं
 कृत्वा श्रोतरे कलशपूर्णेन पञ्चगव्येन तत्तन्मन्त्रैः स्नापयित्वा अन्यं कलशं शुद्धोदकेनापूर्वं
 तस्मिन्मन्त्रेणानि शस्यन्त तं कलशं तत्तद्वायुप्यादसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वाभिमन्त्र्य
 तेनोदकेन देवं स्नापयेत्ततः शुद्धोदकेन स्नापयेदष्टसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वा पुष्यसूक्तेन
 मूलमन्त्रेण च । ततः पुण्याणि दत्त्वा यथासम्भवमर्चयित्वा शुद्धोदनं लिखयेदिति । ब्रह्मिपूर्वं
 तु विच्छेदे पूर्वोक्तं प्रतिष्ठां पुन कुर्यात् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्थ pp 351-52 The passage
 from पूर्वमतिष्ठितस्याङ्घ्रि to the end is a quotation (with some omissions and
 additions) from कौषायनशुद्धशेषसूत्र II.19 (Mysore Un, ed.)

Gāyatrī mantra appropriate to the idol repeated over it 1003 or 108 or 28 times and the idol should then be bathed with that water, it should be bathed with pure water to the accompaniment of the *Puruṣasūkta* (Rg. X. 90) and the *mūlamंत्रा* 1003, or 108 or 28 times. Then flowers should be offered and worship of the idol should be performed and a *naivedya* of boiled rice and jaggery should be offered.

Recently after the attainment of Independence some of the Provincial Legislatures in India have passed laws (e.g. Bombay Act 35 of 1947, C. P. and Berar Act 41 of 1947) throwing open all Hindu public temples to people who were once called untouchable. This is not the place to discuss in detail the arguments for and against these measures. Many orthodox Hindus hold that their inmost feelings are hurt by this tyranny of the majority in the Legislatures. They feel that these measures are contrary to the four freedoms that are promised in many constitutions viz. freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. These measures are likely to be followed by serious consequences. It is felt that the younger generation now being educated has hardly any faith in religion or in anything being sacred, that the so-called untouchables themselves when once they have asserted their right of entering Hindu temples scarcely ever care to frequent them and the orthodox Hindus also often cease to worship therein. There is the further fear that, if religious feelings even when unreasonable according to progressive views could be trampled upon by the views of the majority, there is no knowing where the process would stop. There would be temptation for the majority in a country to say that the sacred places of other religions should either not exist at all or be opened for any one not belonging to the faith of the minorities. It would have been far better that, while removing all the disabilities of the so-called untouchables as to employment, public places, courts and education, temples had been left alone for some years to come. The entrance of one set of people into the temples often entails the departure of another set, as said by P. C. in *Sahlat v. Bella* 28 Bom. L. R. 161, which is not a very desirable thing. The equality of the former untouchables in all secular matters is sure to spread in a generation or so to other non-secular matters and so to entry into temples. Adjustments on an unprecedented scale are taking place in modern India with regard to usages cherished for ages and the entry into temples of the so-called untouchables would have been effected in a few years without recourse to the threat of

punishments and without bitterness and rancour in the hearts of many people.

From very ancient times water has been regarded as a great purifier. Rg. VII. 47 and 49 are hymns addressed to waters as divinities and they are there described as themselves pure and as purifying others (as in Rg. VII. 49. 2 and 3 'sucayah pāvakah'). Similarly Rg. X. 9 and 30 are hymns addressed to waters, in the former of which the waters are invoked to remove whatever sin or wrong one may have committed (Rg. X. 9. 8 'idam-āpaḥ pra vahata yat kiñca duritam mayi') Atharva-veda I. 33 is a hymn addressed to waters, wherein also they are described as 'sucayah pāvakah' (in A. V. I. 33. 1 and 4). The Vaj S. VI. 17 (closely following Rg. X. 9. 8) invokes waters to remove whatever is censurable and dirty.⁷¹⁹ In Vaj S. IV. 2 the sage prays 'May the Waters, our mothers, purify us!'⁷²⁰ The Śat. Br. I. 7. 4. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 213) states 'water is a means of purification.' Viśvarūpa on Yaj. I. 191 quotes a long Vedic passage⁷²¹ wherein it is said "what-ever creates doubt (whether it is pure or impure) should be touched with waters; then it becomes pure." It is therefore that water (hot or cold) is said to be the purifier of various kinds of vessels and of the ground in Yaj. I. 182-183, 188, Manu V. 109, 112, 126. Gobhila (I. 31-32)⁷²² lays down that when a man engaged in any religious rite hears a mantra addressed to the *pitrs*, scratches his body, looks at a man of the lowest caste, or allows the wind to escape from his intestines, laughs loudly or speaks an untruth, touches a cat or a mouse, or uses harsh language, has a fit of anger, he should perform *ūcamana* (or touch water).

According to Yaj I. 187 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.56 a polluted house is purified by being swept and cowdunged. But more stringent rules were laid down if a dog, a śūdra, a *patita*, a *mleccha* or a *candāla* died in a brāhmana's house (vide note 633 above). After keeping the house vacant for the periods

719 इदमपि प्रवहतावद्यं च नलं च यत् । यज्वाभिद्रोहादृतं यच्च शोपे अभीरुणम् । आपो ना तस्मादेनसः पवमानश्च सुञ्जतु । बाज. सं VI. 17.

720. आपो अस्मान्मातरः शुन्धयन्तु घृतेन नो घृतजः शुनन्तु । बाज. सं IV. 2.

721. तथा चाम्नायः । वाग्वै देवेभ्योऽपाक्रामत्.. तस्माद्यजन्मीमांसं स्यात्तच्छद्भिः शुशोत् शुन्देव भवति । विश्वरूप on या. I. 191.

722. पित्र्यान्ब्राह्मण आत्मात्म्येऽधनेक्षणे । अधोवायुससुतर्गे महासेऽध्वमायणे ॥ नाजोरद्वयस्पर्शे आहुते क्रोधतन्मवे । निमित्तेष्वेव सर्वत्र कर्म कुर्वन्नपः शुशोत् ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 31-32, quoted by कृत्स्नरत्नाकर p 50.

stated in note 633, it is provided by Samvarta⁷²³ that a house that is polluted by the existence of a corpse inside it should be dealt with as follows: earthen pots and cooked food should be cast away and thrown out of the house which should then be smeared with cowdung and then a goat should be made to go about in it smelling it and then the whole house should be sprinkled over with water in which gold and *kūśas* are put in by brāhmanas rendered holy by the repetition of the Gāyatri mantra; then the house becomes pure. Marici prescribes⁷²⁴ that if a candāla (merely) entered a house, it can be purified by plastering it with cowdung, but if he were to stay in it long, purification can be had only by heating it and making flames of fire lick its walls.

The ground in a brāhmana's house, in a temple, in a cow-pen should, says Yama, always be regarded as pure (unless it has been polluted).

A great deal is said in the smṛtis and digests about the purification of water. Āp. Dh. 8, I. 5. 15, 2 says⁷²⁵ in a general way that a person after sipping water from what is collected on the ground becomes pure. But the Baud. Dh. 8 I. 5. 65, Manu V. 128, Yaj. I. 192, Śāṅkha 16. 12-13, Markandeya-purāṇa 35.19 and others add that water collected on the ground that is of such volume that a cow can slake its thirst therein, that is in its natural state and is not polluted by any thing impure and that has natural colour (is transparent) and taste and odour (either no odour or a fragrant odour) is pure. Śāṅkha says⁷²⁶ the same about water collected on a stony surface and adds that the water of a flowing river is always pure. Devala states⁷²⁷ that water brought in clean vessels is

723. सर्वतोः पृथङ्मुद्रि प्रवक्ष्यामि अन्त स्थानवद्बुधे । प्रोत्सृज्य शुभ्रमय भाण्डं सिद्धमलं तत्रैव च ॥ पृथावपातय तत्सर्वं गोमयेनोपलेपयेत् । गोमयेनोपलिप्ताय छात्रेणाम्रापयेद् बुधः । ब्राह्मणैर्मन्त्रपूतैश्च हिरण्यकुशवारिणा । सर्वमशुद्धयेद्देह्य ततः शुधययस्तंतापम् ॥ अपराकं p. 265, छुद्रिम pp. 100-101, छुद्रिको. pp. 303-304.

724. पृथिव्यातिसर्पको छुद्रिः स्वादुपलेपनात् । संवत्सो यदि जायेत दाहनापै- विनिर्विषेत् ॥ मरोचि q. by अपराकं p. 266, छुद्रिम p. 101, छु को p. 303 (reads दाहलेपैः).

725. भूमिगतास्त्वप्त्वाचम्य भयतो भवति । आप. ध. सू. I 5.15.2.

726. भूमिष्ठशुक्लं छुद्रं छुचि तोयं शिलागतम् । वर्णगन्धस्त्वैतुर्देवजितं यदि तद्भवेद् ॥ १६ १२-१३ q. by छु. को. p. 297, छु. म. p. 102.

727. उदृताभ्यासि शुधयन्ति छुद्रैः पानैः सशुद्धाः । एकरात्रोपिता आपस्त्याग्याः छुद्रा अपि स्वयम् ॥ देवल q. by मिता and अपराकं on या. I. 192.

pure but when it is (stale owing to its being stored) for one night (or more) it should be thrown though it was pure (when originally brought). There ⁷²⁸ is no taint in water that cannot be agitated by any beings and in the water of springs (that flow from hills). Tanks (that are so deep) that they cannot be agitated, rivers, wells and lakes (that are similar) should not be used by the usual way of descent (the *ghat*) if they come in contact with *candālas* and other impure persons or things. In *Narhari v. Bhumrao*, the Bombay High Court had to deal with the question whether a certain tank at Mahad in the Kolaba District could not be resorted to by untouchables for taking water and held that the untouchables were not prevented from using it (vide 39 Bombay L. R. p. 1295).

Brhaspati provides that if in a well the dead body of an animal with five nails (man or beast) is found or if the well is otherwise extremely polluted all the water of the well should be taken out and the rest should be dried up by means of clothes, then if the well be built with burnt bricks flames of fire should be made (to lick the surface of the walls), and then *pañcagavya* should be poured over when fresh water begins to flow in (from the springs) ⁷²⁹. Āpastamba (q. by Śuddhikaumudī p. 299) states the circumstances when a well may be said to be extremely polluted: 'hair, excrements and urine, menstrual discharge, a dead body—when a well is defiled by these one should take a hundred jars of water from it' (and further purification by putting *pañcagavya* in it should be resorted to if there is more water). Parāśara VII. 3 says the same about wells (with steps), wells without steps and tanks.

Yāj. I. 197 (= Visnu Dh. S. 23. 41) provides that mud and water on roads which come in contact with lowest castes (like *candālas*), dogs and crows and buildings (like *mathas*) constructed with burnt bricks are purified by the wind alone

⁷²⁸. अक्षोग्यानि तद्भागानि नवविपरीतं च । चण्डालाद्यशुचिस्पर्शं तीर्थतः परित्यजेत् । अक्षोग्याणामपि नास्ति प्रसृतानां च दूषणम् । देवल q by अपराक p. 272
शु. ५ p. 102 (reads कश्मलाद्युच्युक्तानि) and explains कश्मलं as क्षमादि and अशुचि as विषमूत्रम्.

⁷²⁹. मृतपञ्चनखात्कृपादत्यन्तोपहतात्तथा । अप. ससुद्धरेत्सर्वाः शेषं वस्त्रेण शोधयेत् ॥
षष्ठिमन्त्रालनं कृत्वा कृपे पकेष्टकाचिते । पञ्चमस्यं न्यसेत् पश्चात्ततोयससुद्धये ॥ बृहस्पति
q by अपराक p. 272. The first is quoted as a text of Uśanas by शु. की. p. 298
and reads शास्त्रेण (शास्त्रविधिना) for वस्त्रेण. The two verses are विष्णुधर्मसूत्र
23.44-45.

(blowing on them). Parāśara VII. 34 states⁷³⁰ that mud and water on roads, boats, paths, grass and whatever is constructed with burnt bricks are rendered pure by the wind and the sun.

Rain water after it fell on the ground was supposed to be impure⁷³¹ for ten days. Similarly Yogyajñavalkya (q. by S. K. p. 291) remarks that water of a river (dried up in summer) coming down in a flood for the first time (after rains) should not be taken (as pure) and also water that is agitated by some one (with the feet &c.) and waters that start in a separate stream by themselves from a holy river (like the Ganges). Even when a well (without steps) or a well (with a flight of steps) or a reservoir with a dam is constructed by men of the lowest castes, no *prāyaścitta* is prescribed for bathing therein or for drinking water therefrom.⁷³²

Visnu Dh S 23. 46 provides⁷³³ that the purification of small reservoirs of water that are static (i. e. from which no streams flow down) is made in the same way as that of wells (without steps), while in the case of large reservoirs no pollution is recognised. It is declared that waters are purified by the rays of the sun and the moon and the contact of the wind and by cowdung and the urine of cows; some of these ideas are supported by modern scientific discoveries.

A verse q. by Aparārka p. 273 provides⁷³⁴ that even the water at a *prapū* (a shed where water is distributed gratis to

730 रथपाकार्दमतोयानि नात्र पन्थास्तृणानि च । मरुतार्केण ह्युपयति पक्वेष्टकाचितानि च ॥ पराशर VII. 34. दीपकालिका on या. I. 197 and छु कौ p. 304 quote it but read रथर्षनाक्ष मनुष्यन्ति पक्वे and the latter explains 'रथर्षनाक्षमप्यजातीनानित्यर्थः.' निन्दक does not comment on या. I. 197 saying that it is superfluous, for the verses रथपाकार्दमतोयानि नात्र पन्थास्तृणानि च मरुतेनैव ह्युपयन्ति vide वामनपुराण 14. 73.

731. अजा गावो महिषश्च माह्वणी च मरुतिका । दशरात्रेण ह्युपयन्ति भूमिष्ठ च निषेदकम् ॥ यम q. by छु कौ. p. 297, while अपराक p. 293 ascribes it to मनु.

732. अन्त्येष्टये छते कूपे सेतो वाण्यादिके तथा । तत्र स्नात्वा च पीत्वा च मायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥ शातात्प q. by सिता and अपराक on या. I. 192. बृद्धिमकाश p. 106 remarks 'इति स्वल्पन्तापद्विषयमिति श्रुतिपाणि..'

733. अलाशेषेणवालेषु रथावरेषु महीतले । कूपवत्कायिता ह्यद्धिर्महत्त्व च न हूषणम् । सैमदूर्गाद्युपातेन साततस्पर्शेन च । गवा मूत्रपुरीषेण ह्यध्वन्त्याप इति स्मृतम् ॥ विष्णु q. by अपराक p. 273 The first is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.46 and the 2nd is almost like आपस्तम्ब (in verse) II. 7.

734. मपास्वरूपे चटर्गं च कूपे द्रोण्यां जलं कोशशातस्तस्थाप । कवेपि शुद्धाचद्वयेप-माह्वरापद्वयः कोक्षितवत् पिबेत् ॥ यम q. by अपराक p. 273 and छु न p. 104 (which reads 'भूमिगता पिबेत्'). This reading would mean that he should pour such water on the ground and when it is as much in volume as would slake a cow's thirst he may drink it. The first half occurs in अत्रि 233, आपस्तम्बस्मृति II. 2. छु म. p. 103 quotes इदं लिखितं to the same effect

thirsty travellers) in a forest or from a jar placed near a well (for drawing water by any body) or the water in (a stone or wooden) trough (meant for all and sundry) and water from a leather bag even though these may not belong to a śūdra are unfit for drinking, but one may drink even such water as much as he desires when in distress. This shows that even in ancient times water was carried in leather bags or drums where there was scarcity of water and was allowed to be used even by twice-born people.

We may now turn to the purification of metals and vessels. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34-35 and I. 6. 37-41, Vasistha III. 58 and 61-63, Manu V. 111-114, Yaj. I. 182 and 190, Visnu 23.2, 7, 23-24, Śaṅkha 16. 3-4, Smṛtyarthasāra p. 70 and others lay down rules about the purification of metals which do not agree in details. Therefore it is proposed to set out only what is said by Manu and one or two others. Manu (V. 113 ff.) says 'The wise declare that the purification of metals (like gold), of precious stones (like emerald), of all articles of stone is brought about by ashes, water and clay. Articles of gold that are not smeared (with dirty things like leavings of food &c.) become pure by means of water alone; the same holds good of articles that are found in water (coral and shells), that are made of stone and are made of silver on which no craftsmanship (such as drawing lines or figures) has been expended. Gold and silver sprang forth through the union of water and fire; therefore their purification is brought about best by their causes, viz, water (in case of slight pollution) and fire (in case of extreme pollution). The purification of copper, iron, bell-metal, brass, tin and lead should be brought about by salts (ashes), acids and water according to circumstances (i. e. pollution caused). Vasistha (III. 58, 61-63) says: 'bell-metal is purified with ashes, gold and silver with water alone and copper with acids.' Yaj. I. 190 says 'the purification of tin, lead and copper is brought about by salt water, acids and ordinary water, of bell-metal and iron by ashes and water.' The Lingapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, 189. 58) says: bell-metal is purified by ashes, iron articles by salt; copper, tin and lead by acids; golden and silver vessels are purified by water and jewels, stones, conches and pearls are purified in the same way as metallic vessels. Vide Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 70) which states that copper pots are purified by acids, tin and lead ones by salts, bell-metal by ashes and water. Medhātithi on Manu V. 114

quotes a verse ⁷³⁵ which says 'vessels of bell-metal (or brass) when licked (or breathed over) by cows, in which śūdras have taken their food and which have been defiled by dogs and crows are purified by being scoured ten times with ashes (salts).' Śātatapa has a similar verse (vide Par. M. vol II part 1 p 172).

Elaborate rules are laid down about the purification of polluted pots and vessels used in ordinary life, in Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34-50, I. 6. 33-42, Yaj. I. 182-183, Viṣṇu 23. 2-5, Śāṅkha 16. 1-5 and others. There is some variation in all these, but, as the Mit. on Yaj. I. 190 remarks, it is not an absolute rule that copper must be purified by acids alone but if purification is possible by other means, they may be resorted to. It is not necessary to set out the different modes of purifying vessels. A passage from the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 117-118 would be sufficient to indicate how this matter of *pātraśuddhi* (cleansing of polluted vessels) was dealt with in medieval India. "vessels made of gold, silver, conches, shells, stones, precious stones, bell metal, brass, tin, lead are purified by mere water, provided they have no dirt or pollution sticking to them, if these vessels are polluted by the contact of leavings of food &c. they are purified by ashes and water or acids and water according as anyone of these is appropriate; the vessels made of the above substances that are polluted for a long time owing to being used by śūdras or owing to contact with leavings of food should first be scoured with salts (ashes) and water three times and should be then cast into fire so long as it can be borne (without the vessels being broken, melted or burnt up) and then they become pure. Vessels of bell metal when polluted by only dogs, crows, śūdras and leavings of food only once or licked by cows become pure by being scoured ten times with salts and water; but if they are polluted by the above several times then they have to be scoured 21 times for becoming pure. If in a vessel belonging to the three higher *varṇas* a śūdra takes his meal, it becomes pure after being washed four times with salts and being cast in fire and then taken up with hands that are washed clean with water. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted once by the leavings of a

735 गवाभ्रातानि कार्त्तानि क्षुद्रोच्छिद्यानि यानि च। क्षुध्यन्ति दशभिः क्षौः श्वका-
कोपहतानि च॥ १. by मेधा on मनु V. 113 and मिता. on या I. 190 This is
लघुशातप 141. This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस by शु क्रौ p 307 and to
शातप by शु. म. 116. This occurs in पराशर VII. 23, where the words क्षुद्रो-
च्छिद्यानि and श्वकाकोपहतानि are transposed.

woman freshly delivered or by intoxicants or liquors becomes pure after being heated in fire; but if it is polluted several times then it becomes pure by being again manufactured. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted by being frequently used for holding the water expelled from the mouth after rinsing it or the water in which the feet are washed should be buried in the ground for six months, then heated in fire and then it becomes pure (compare Parāśara VII. 24-25); but if it is polluted thus only once it becomes pure after (being buried in the ground) for ten days. All metal vessels polluted for a short time by the bodily dirt such as urine, excrement, semen become pure after being placed for seven nights in cow's urine or in a great river; but if they are polluted as above many times or are polluted by the contact of a corpse, a freshly delivered woman or a woman in her monthly course they become pure after being thrice washed with salts, acids and water and after being heated in fire till they can bear it, but if these are polluted by urine and for a long time and frequently they become pure by being beaten into shape (manufactured) again.

Viṣṇu (23. 2 and 5) provides that all metal vessels when extremely polluted (as stated in note 710) are purified by being cast into fire and that vessels of wood or clay when extremely polluted should be given up, but Devala⁷³⁶ and others provide that wooden vessels when slightly polluted become pure by being planed or chiselled or by means of clay, cowdung or water and that earthen vessels if not extremely polluted become pure by being baked in fire⁷³⁷ (also Yāj. I. 187). But Vas. III. 59 provides that an earthen vessel if polluted by the contact of wines, urine, excrement, phlegm, tears, pus and blood is not purified even by being burnt in fire.⁷³⁸

Special rules are provided for the purification of vessels and implements used in Vedic sacrifices. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 51-52)⁷³⁹ remarks that the *camasa* vessels used in sacrifices

736 काष्ठानां तक्षणाच्छुद्धिर्द्विद्विगुणमयजलेरपि । सृष्ण्यानां तु पात्राणां दहनच्छुद्धि-
रित्येते ॥ देवल p. by शुद्धिम्. p. 118. Vide मनु V. 115 for the same rule about
wooden vessels

737. Vide Leviticus 11. 32-33 about unclean vessels of wood and
earthenware and their purification.

738 मद्यैर्मूत्रैः पुरीषैर्वा श्लेष्मदूपाश्चक्षोणितैः । संस्पृष्टं नैव शुष्येत पुनःपाकेन दूग्मयम् ॥
वासिष्ठ III. 59 = मनु V. 123. It may be noted that मेधातिथि does not comment
on this verse and quotes it on मनु V. 122 without naming the source

739. वचनायज्ञे चमसपात्राणाम् । न सोमेनाच्छिद्य भवन्तीति श्रुतिः । नौ. ध. सू.
I. 5. 51-52 Vide H of Dh vol. II p 1177 n. 2598, for the drinking of soma
from *camasas* by the priests one after another.

are purified according to the special Vedic texts, since the Veda says that *camasa* vessels do not incur the fault of being *ucchuṣṭa* when it is soma liquid that is drunk from them. Manu V. 116-117, Yāj. I. 183-185, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 8-11, Sankha 16. 6, Parāśara VII. 2-3 and others lay down rules about the purification of sacrificial implements. For example, Manu (V. 116-117) provides 'sacrificial vessels should be first rubbed with the right hand (or with darbha or strainer) and then *camasas* and cups are to be washed with water before using them in the sacrifice; the *carusthālī* (the vessel in which the oblation of boiled rice is prepared), *śruc* (a wooden vessel used for pouring clarified butter on sacrificial fire), and *śruva* (wooden ladle of a semicircular shape) are purified by being washed with hot water; the *sphya* (wooden sword), the winnowing basket, the cart (for bringing the soma plant), wooden mortar and pestle, are purified with water (or sprinkling water according to Yāj. I. 184).

Several rules were laid down about the purification of polluted corn and polluted cooked food. A reference has already been made to the purification of heaps of corn. Common sense, convenience and the loss that may be caused by very stringent provisions are the considerations which prompt the rules on this subject. Viṣṇu 23.25 provides ⁷⁴⁰ that where a heap of rice (or other grain) is polluted, one should throw away only that portion of it which is actually defiled and should submit the rest to pounding and washing with water; cooked food that exceeds in volume one *drona* and that has been defiled does not all become tainted, but that throwing away the defiled portion alone, one should sprinkle over the rest water mixed with gold on which the sacred Gāyatrī verse has been repeated and should hold it before a goat to see it and should also bring fire near it. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 6. 44-48. 'If grains of rice are polluted they should be washed and dried. But if it is a large quantity then sprinkling with water is enough; husked rice (if polluted) should be cast away. The same rule applies to cooked offerings. But in the case of large heaps of cooked food that portion which is polluted by dogs or crows should be cast away and the rest should be sprinkled with the *Anuvāk*.'

740. असिद्धस्याक्षरस्य शब्दन्मात्रमुपहतं तन्मात्रं परित्यज्य शेषस्य कण्ठनमशालने कुर्यात्। द्रोणाधिकं सिद्धमक्षमुपहतं न दुष्यति। तत्सोपहतमात्रमपास्य शायज्याभिमानितं सुवर्णान्म. प्राप्तिपेक्षं परतस्य च मदर्शयेदमेव। निष्णुः 23 11. The छादिकौ p 317 reads 'सूर्यस्य दर्शयेदमेव'.

paramāṇaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 48). Gaut. 17. 9-10 provide⁷⁴¹ that one should not partake of food that was cooked along with hair and insects (like ants), nor food that is polluted by the contact of a woman in her monthly illness, by a crow or by being struck with the foot (of some one). But where food is already cooked and then it is smelt by a cow or it is polluted by the falling into it of hair, insects, flies, then Yāj. I. 189 and Parāśara VI. 64-65 provide that in order to purify it water, ashes (with water) or loose earth (with water) should be cast over it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5 16. 24-29 provide that one should not partake of food in which hair exists (i. e. it was there from the beginning) or anything else (like nails) that is impure or of food that is touched with an unclean substance or in which an insect that subsists on impure things exists or food which is struck by the feet of any person or in which the excrement or the tail (or limb) of a rat is found.

The general rule is stated by Manu V. 118 which applies not only to corn and clothes but to many other articles viz. if there is a heap or a large quantity then sprinkling with water (*prokṣaṇa*) suffices for purification but if the quantity is small then washing with water is necessary. Manu V. 125 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.38) provides that (a small quantity of) cooked food part of which is pecked by birds (whose flesh is eaten by men), which is smelt by a cow, which is struck with the foot (by a man) and over which some one has sneezed or which is polluted by the falling in of hair and insects becomes pure by casting into it loose earth (and water). Parāśara (VI 71-74) puts the matter⁷⁴² thus: "food licked by dogs and crows or smelt by a cow or ass, if little in quantity, should be thrown away by a brahmana, but purification should be resorted to if it is a drona or ādhaka in quantity. That portion which is defiled by the saliva of a dog or crow should be thrown away and water in which gold is put should be sprinkled over the remaining portion, then flames of fire should lick the remaining

741. नित्यनभोज्यम् । केशकीटावपन्नम् । रजस्वलाकुण्ठाशुनिपदोपहतम् । शौ. 17 8-10.

742. काकश्वानावलीढं तु गवाघ्रातं खरेण वा । स्वल्पमन्नं त्यजेद्दिग्मः शुद्धिर्दोषादन्ते भवेत् ॥ अन्नस्योदृत्य तन्मात्रं यच्च लालाहतं भवेत् । सुवर्णादकमभ्युदयं हुताग्नेनैव तापयेत् । हुताग्नेन तं स्पृष्टं सुवर्णसालिलेन च । विमाणां ब्रह्मघोषेण भोज्यं भवति तत्क्षणात् ॥ पराशर VI 71-74, q. by शुद्धिमकाश pp. 128-129 (which reads यच्च लालाकृतिर्भवेत् in the 2nd verse).

food and brāhmanas should loudly recite Vedic hymns (like the Pavamānasūkta) over it and then the food becomes fit for eating". The Śuddhiprakāśa explains that the wealthy should not throw away food if it is more than a drona in quantity and a poor man if it is more than an ādhaka ⁷⁴³.

Manu V. 115 ⁷⁴⁴ says that in the case of all liquids (such as oils, ghee &c.) purification (when they are little in quantity) is brought about by means of two kuśas dipped into them (or by straining them through a piece of cloth into another pot) and if the quantity is large then by sprinkling (water). Śankha provides ⁷⁴⁵ that purification is brought about by mere proksana in the case of all exudations (Asafoetida &c.), jaggery, salts, safflower, saffron and in the case of wool and cotton. Vide note 705 above about certain articles being pure the moment they are transferred from the pots of even mlecchas &c.

A few words may be said about the purification of different kinds of cloth and garments and the materials of which they are made. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (I. 28-30) provides that a white garment is always commended for wearing (as a *dhokā*), but they are commended for wearing as upper garments and both are not defiled by the touch of anybody. Men may take their food or answer calls of nature while covered with both; *trasara* is purified by being washed while a silken garment is always pure. Manu V. 120-121, Yaj I 186-187 and Visnu (23. 19-22) provide almost in the same words that silken and woollen cloth is cleansed by saline earth (and with water and cow's urine), Nepalese blankets by the powder of soap berry, clothes made of tree bark with Bilva fruit and linen cloth by (paste of) white mustard. Visnu 23. 6 says ⁷⁴⁶ that when a garment is extremely polluted that portion thereof which when washed with water loses its colour should be cut off. Śankha ⁷⁴⁷ quoted by Vjśva-

743. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 124 for the measures of capacity called *drona* and *ādhaka*. According to most writers four *ādhakas* are equal to a *drona*.

744. द्रवाणां चैव सर्वेषां शुद्धिरुत्पन्नं सृष्टम् । शोषणं संहतानां च क्षारवाणां च तक्षणम् ॥ मनु V. 115. कुल्लूक explains 'प्रादेशयमाणकुशपत्रद्वयाम्बासुत्पन्नेन शुद्धिः', while the शुद्धिम् P. 133 remarks उत्पन्नं वस्त्रान्तरितपात्रप्रक्षेपेण कीटाद्यपनयनमित्युक्तम् ।

745. निर्यासानां घृष्टानां च लवणानां तथैव च । कुसुम्भकुङ्कुमानां च कर्णाकार्पा सपोस्तथा । शोषणात्कायिता शुद्धिरित्याह भगवान्पुनः ॥ शङ्ख 16. 11-12.

746. अत्यन्तोपहतस्य वस्त्रस्य यत्प्रक्षालितं निरज्येत तच्छिष्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.6.

747. चेलानामुत्पन्नेन प्रक्षालनं तन्मात्रच्छेदो वा । शङ्ख. 9. by विस्वरूप on या.

rūpa on Yāj. I. 182 prescribes that garments are purified by being submitted to hot steam, by washing with water or by cutting off only that portion that is defiled. Parāśara VII. 28 provides that garments made from bamboos and barks of trees, linen and cotton garments, garments of wool and birch bark are purified by mere *prokṣana*.

The *smṛtis* speak of purification of many other things, which is of little importance and is passed over here. Only a few illustrations are given here. Manu, V. 119 provides that skins and things made of split bamboos (or canes) are cleaned in the same way as clothes, while vegetables, roots and fruits are purified on the analogy of grain. Manu V. 120-121 state that the purification of conches, horns (of buffaloes and rams) and bones and tusks (of the elephant or boar) is to be caused in the same way as that of linen or with cow's urine or water and that grass, wood and straw become pure by being sprinkled with water. Visnu Dh. S. 23. 15, 16, 23 and Yāj. I. 185 are very similar.

From the above it will be clear that purification of substances depends on many circumstances, viz. whether they are metallic or are earthen, whether they are solid or liquid, whether a polluted substance is small in quantity or is a big heap, whether the pollution is extreme or insignificant and so on.

In Manu the purification of substances follows (V. 110) the means of purifying one's own body. Purification of the body by means of *ācamana* and *snāna* (bath) has already been described in H. of Dh. vol II pp. 315-316 and 652-653 (about *ācamana*), 656-668 (about *snāna*). Purification by bath on *āsauca* has already been dealt with before. Special rules were prescribed for women guilty of adultery (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 594, vol. III pp. 647-649), as also for women raped (vide vol. II p. 575). *Snāna* (bath) with the clothes on was prescribed for purification of the body when a person touches one who is *patita* (murderer of a brāhmana &c.), a *candāla*, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse or one who has touched a corpse; also when a man follows a funeral procession or touches a dog (vide Gaut. 14. 28-30, Manu V. 85 and 103, Angiras verse 152, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 15-16, Yāj III 30). Baud. Dh S I 5. 140 provides that on touching one who sells the Veda (teaches it for money), a *yūpa*, a funeral pyre, a *patita*, a dog and a *candāla* one should

undergo a bath ⁷⁴⁸ Parāśara also has a similar verse. ⁷⁴⁹ It has already been stated elsewhere (in H. of Dh vol. II, pp 175-176) how the rules about touching untouchables were relaxed when people congregated in a temple or in a religious procession, at marriages and festivals and at holy places. It is said by some that this refers not to the so-called untouchables, but to men who are untouchable owing to āśauca. But this is not correct. The explanation of the *Suddhi-kaumudī* and *Suddhiprakāśa* given below makes it clear that the untouchables are meant. In the first place, the words are quite general and not restricted. In the second place, there is no untouchability (except for the mother) on the ground of *Jananūśauca* and it is most unlikely that a person who has incurred mourning on death should visit a temple or go to a marriage or enter a religious procession, or festival. In the third place, looking to the several occasions mentioned together (particularly pilgrimages, battles, fire in a town or village and commotion or invasion of a country) it appears most unlikely that the verse refers only to āśauca on birth and death. ⁷⁵⁰

The ancient and medieval Indians put very great emphasis on purity of mind, of body, of the place where they resided or performed religious rites, of the vessels used by them and of the ingredients of their food and worship. Many of the rules about purification of substances may appear to modern minds as very stringent; but it should not be forgotten that the ancient Indians were imbued with the thought that purity of the mind followed from purity of food

748. वेदविक्रयिणं पूर्वं पतितं चित्तिमेव च। रघुना समाचरेत्तनानं श्वान च्छातयेत् च ॥
मौ. घ. छ. I, 5, 140.

749. चैत्यद्वैकाश्रितिरूपश्चाष्टालः सौमविकयी। एतास्तु ब्राह्मण रघुना सचेत्ते जल-
भाविने ॥ पराशर q by ह्य कौ p. 327, which explains 'चैत्यद्वैतो ग्रामनभ्ये देवदूत-
द्वयः, यूपोत्प्रेष्टिकर्मरूपश्चित्तिसंनिधानात्'

750. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां समाने देशविषये। मगत्ग्रामदारे च रघुरासृष्टिर्न दुष्टयति।
बृहस्पति q, by ह्य कौ p 323, ह्य म p 130. ह्य कौ, explains 'रघु अरुति
अरुद्वयो चेन स तथा' and ह्य म remarks अरुतिररुद्वयं रघुमनरुतिर्द्वयेति च बृहस्पतिः।
तेन तीर्थादी अरुद्वयेत्यग्ने नाचमनस्त्वानादि ॥'. The रघुतिव I pp 121-122 quotes
this verse and two others 'ग्रामे तु यत्र संरुष्टिर्प्राजायां कटरादिषु। ग्रामसंरुष्टये चैव
रुष्टिदोषो न विद्यते' and 'द्वेषयात्राविवाहेषु चोदु मरुतेषु च। उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु रघुरा-
सृष्टिर्न विद्यते' from शातातप and द्वात्रिंशन्त respectively and explains ग्रामे राज-
काणां चोदु.....एतच्च यावत्त्रय यत्रात्मनेन रघु इति ज्ञानं भावेन तद्विषयमिति बोधितं।
अनुचित्वाद्याविषयविषयमित्यन्ये।

(as stated in the Chāndogyopanīśad VII. 26.2 'āhāraśuddhau sattvaśuddhiḥ' and by Hārīta). It would be conceded that some of their rules about purification (such as about large quantities of corn or heaps of cooked food) are based on common sense and convenience. We are probably going to the other extreme in taking our food anywhere and in any surroundings.

SECTION III

CHAPTER IX

ŚRĀDDHA

This subject is of great practical importance from several points of view.

The Brahmapurāṇa defines śrāddha as follows: 'whatever is given with faith to brāhmanas intending it to be for the (benefit of) *pitrs* at a proper time, in a proper place, to deserving persons and in accordance with the prescribed procedure is called śrāddha'⁷⁵¹. The Mit on Yāj. I. 217 defines śrāddha as 'abandonment with faith of an article of food or some substitute thereof, intending it for (the benefit of) the departed'. The Kalpataru on śrāddha defined it as 'the giving up of sacrificial material intending it for *pitrs* and its acceptance by brāhmanas'. The Śrāddhāviveka of Rudradhara and the Śrāddhaprakāśa define śrāddha in the same way as the Mit. but in a more involved manner. Yāj. I. 268 (= Agnipurāṇa 163. 40-41) states that the *pitrs* viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas that are the deities of śrāddha, being gratified by śrāddha, give gratification to the ancestors of human beings. This verse and Manu III. 284 make it clear that the three ancestors of a man,

751. देशे काले च पात्रे च अर्द्धया विधिना च यत्। पितृभ्यो वृत्त आर्द्ध-
हृदा एतद्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by आ म p 3 and 6, आ क ल p. 3, परा मा I. 2.
p. 299; आर्द्धं नामादनीयस्य तत्स्थानीयस्य वा द्रव्यस्य भेतोद्देशेन अर्द्धया त्यागः। मितक्षरा
on या I 217; एतेन पितृभ्यो द्रव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकरणपर्यन्त आर्द्धस्वरूपं प्रधानम्।
कल्पतरु (आर्द्ध) p. 4, कल्पतरुलक्षणमप्युक्तपादैर्ग्रह्यसिनामात्मआर्द्धे देवआर्द्धे सनका-
दिआर्द्धे चत्यागते। आ कि पौ pp 3-4, अत्र कल्पतरुकार पितृभ्यो द्रव्यप्राप्तौ ब्राह्मण
स्वीकरणपर्यन्तो हि आर्द्धमित्याह तदयुक्तम्। पितृभक्ति of ओदत्त (folio 21a) The
क्षीपकालिका on या I 218 accepts कल्पतरु; आर्द्धं नाम वेदबोधितपात्रालम्भनपूर्वक-
प्रणीतपित्रादिदेवतोद्देशको द्रव्यत्यागविशेषः। आर्द्धविवेक p. 1, अत्रापस्तम्बादिसकलवचन-
पर्यालोचनया प्रणीतमात्रोद्देश्यकाकल्याणविशेषस्य ब्राह्मणाद्यधिकरणमतिपर्यङ्ककस्य आर्द्ध-
पदार्थत्वं प्रतीयते। आ म p. 4 The आर्द्धविवेक states that द्रव्यत्याग is enjoined by
the words of the Veda (वेदबोधित) and the thing abandoned is handed over
to a deserving brāhmana (पात्रालम्भनपूर्वक). प्रतिपत्ति in आ म means the
final disposal of a thing used in a sacrifice e g. in Darśa-pūrnāmāsa we have
the sentence सद् शास्त्रया प्रस्तर प्रहरति Here शास्त्रप्रहरण is प्रतिपत्तिकर्म (Jai. IV 2.
10-13) and not अर्घकर्म; similarly, the cremation of an āhitaḡṇa with his
sacrificial vessels is a प्रतिपत्तिकर्म so far as the यज्ञपात्रा are concerned.

viz. the father, paternal grand-father and the paternal great-grand-father are respectively to be identified with the three orders of superintending *pitr* deities, viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, when performing śrāddha. According to some,⁷⁵² śrāddha denotes three things, viz. *homa*, the offering of *pinḍa* (ball of cooked food) and gratification of brāhmanas invited to a dinner; the application of this word to any one of these three can only be in a secondary sense.

A firm believer in the doctrine of *kaṁma*, *punarjanma* (reincarnation) and *karma-vipāka* (explained above) may find it difficult to reconcile that doctrine with the belief that by offering balls of rice to his three deceased paternal ancestors a man brings gratification to the souls of the latter. According to the doctrine of *punarjanma* (as very clearly and succinctly put in Br. Up IV. 4.4 and Bhagavad-gīta 2.22)⁷⁵³ the spirit leaving one body enters into another and a new one. But the doctrine of offering balls of rice to three ancestors requires that the spirits of the three ancestors even after the lapse of 50 or 100 years are still capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the rice balls wafted by the wind. Further, Yaj. I. 269 (which is the same as Mār. 29.38, Matsya-purāṇa 19.11-12, Agnipurāṇa 163.41-42) provides that the grand-fathers (i. e. *pitr*s) being themselves gratified (by the offerings of food in śrāddha) bestow on men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa* (final beatitude), all happiness and kingdom. In the Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 19, verse 2) a question is asked by the sages how food which a brāhmana (invited at a śrāddha) eats or which is offered into fire is enjoyed by departed spirits that might have assumed (after death) good or evil forms of bodies. The answer given (verses 3-9) is that fathers, grand-fathers and great-grand-fathers are identified with Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas respectively according to Vedic passages, that the name and *gotra* (mentioned at the time of śrāddha), the *mantras* uttered and faith carry to the *pitr*s the offerings made, that if one's

752. होमश्च पिण्डदानं च तथा ब्राह्मणतर्पणम् । आह्नकशब्दामिधेयं स्यादेकस्मिन्सौ-
पचारिकम् ॥ q. by आह्नसार p 30 हरदत्त on आप. घ सू II. 7. 16. 2 says the same
thing. श्रीदत्त in पितृमक्ति (folko 23a) says 'पिण्डदानं तु न आह्नं किं तु आह्नं पिण्ड-
विरहेऽपि नित्यआह्नवचनात्'.

753. अयमात्मेनैव शरीरं निहत्याविद्यां गमयित्वा न्यक्नवतरं कल्याणतरं रूपं कुरुते पित्र्यं
वा मान्द्यं वा देवं वा प्राजापत्यं वा ब्राह्मं वा न्येवा वा भूतानाम् । ब्रह्म-उ IV. 4.4 ; तथा
शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णान्धन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥ गीता 2.22.

to perform it or is it because śrāddha produces no consequences or is it that it is not proved that *pitr*s and the rest are gratified by śrāddha? To the first he replies that there are such passages as 'therefore a wise man must perform śrāddha with all his efforts' that lay down the obligation; nor is the 2nd objection proper, since Yāj. I. 269 does declare the rewards (of śrāddha) viz. long life &c. Nor is the third alternative acceptable. In the śrāddha rites it is not that the mere ancestors named Devadatta and the like are the recipients and that they are denoted by the words *pitr*, *pitāmaha* and *prapitāmaha*, but that those words denote them as accompanied by the superintending deities viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas. Just as by the words Devadatta and the like what is denoted is not merely the bodies (so named) nor merely the souls, but what is denoted by the words is individual souls as particularised by the bodies; in the same way the words *pitr* and the like denote Devadatta and others together with the superintending deities (viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas). Therefore, the superintending deities viz. the Vasus and the rest, being gratified by the food and drink offered by the sons and the rest, gratify those also viz. Devadatta and the rest and endow the performers (of śrāddha) with such rewards as male progeny and the rest. Just as a woman expecting to be a mother becomes gratified by partaking of the food and drink for which she has a longing in pregnancy and which is given to her by another person for the sustenance of the child in the womb, she satiates also the child in her womb and endows those that offer her the food and drink for which she has longings by bestowing on them some reward in return. Thus the *pitr*s denoted by the words father, grandfather and great-grandfather are the deities Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, and not merely (human beings called) Devadatta and the rest. Hence these deities of śrāddha become the recipients (of gifts) in the śrāddha rite, are gratified by the śrāddha and gratify in their turn the ancestors of human beings. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā then quotes 18 verses⁷⁵⁶ from the

756. अन्नप्रकरणं यच्च मनुष्यैः कियते भुवि । तेन वृत्तिरुपायान्ति ये पिशाचत्वमागताः ॥
यदम्बु स्नानवस्त्रोत्तरं धूमो पतति ध्रुवकः । तेन ये तवतां प्रासास्तेषां वृत्तिः प्रजायते ॥ यास्तु गन्धा-
श्रुतगणिकाः पतन्ति धरणीतले । तामिराप्यायनं तेषां ये देवत्वं कुले गताः ॥ उद्धृतैष्वथ पिण्डेषु
पाश्चात्तकणिका भुवि । तामिराप्यायनं तेषां ये तिर्यक्त्वं कुले गताः ॥ ये वादग्धाः (चादग्धाः) १)
कुले बाह्याः क्रियायोग्या ह्यसंस्कृताः । विपश्चास्तेकविकिरसमार्जनजलाग्निनः ॥ भुक्त्वा
चाचान्मतां जलं यच्च जले यच्चाद्भिः शोधने । ब्राह्मणानां तथैवान्ये तेन वृत्तिं प्रयान्ति वै ॥ नाकण्डेय
28. 8-13, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205 23-28 (with slight variations), ब्रह्मपुराण 220.89-95,

(Continued on the next page)

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa many of which are found in chap. 28 (verses 3 ff) of the printed text. It is said ⁷⁵ that just as a calf finds its own mother from among many cows that are scattered about, so the mantras repeated in śrāddha carry the food to the pitṛs.

The explanation offered by the Śrāddha-kalpalatā relying on passages of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa is not satisfactory and is rather far-fetched. The Mārkaṇḍeya and the Matsya appear to agree with the doctrine of Vedānta that immediately on leaving one body the soul has recourse to another body, either as a god or a man or a beast or a snake &c. The hypothesis propounded is that the food and drink offered in śrāddhas becomes transformed into various substances for the use of the ancestors (Matsya 141. 74-75). But the great difficulty in accepting this explanation is that the ancestors might die at different places, while śrāddha may very often be performed at one place far away from those places. It is difficult to believe that the grass growing in one place where the ancestor has been transformed into a beast as a result of his evil actions is the same that might have been produced from the substances offered in śrāddha at a place hundreds of miles away. Further, if one or all the three ancestors have been transformed into beasts or the like how can they recognize their offering and bestow on them long life, wealth &c? If the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas bestow these, it is better to say so directly and affirm that *pitṛs* cannot bestow

(Continued from the last page)

quoted by स्मृतिच. (आ p 333.), आह्नसार p. 7 (the first three from मार्कण्डेय and the rest from ब्रह्मपुराण), आ. क. ल. p. 5: नामगोत्रं पितृणां तु मापकं हव्यकल्पयो। नामगोत्रकालदेशा (नाममन्त्रास्तथा देशा) भवान्तरगतानपि॥ माणिनः मीणयन्त्येते तदाहारत्वाभायताम्। देवो यदि पिता जातः ह्यभकमनुयोगतः। तस्याह्नममृतं धृत्वा दिव्यत्वेऽप्यपिठति। श्रेयत्वे भोगरूपेण पशुत्वे च तृणं भवेत्। आह्नात् वायुरूपेण सर्पत्वेऽप्यपिठति। पानं भवति पक्षत्वे शक्षसत्वे तथापिदम्। वज्रजत्वे तथा माया (मांसं?) श्रेयत्वे कथिरोदकम्। मनुष्यत्वेऽस्त्रपातानि ज्ञानाभोगरतं भवेत्॥ मत्स्य 19.4-9 (with changes in the order of verses) q. as from मार्कण्डेय by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 448), आ. क. ल. pp. 5-6, निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 394 (from मत्स्य) Vide एष (सृष्टि 10. 38-43) for same verses with variations. The मरुह (श्रेयखण्ड) 10. 4-7 are almost the same as those from देवो etc. to the end and वरुह (श्रेय 10.12 and 15 are the same as the verses नामगोत्रं...तदाहारत्वाभायताम्. The स्मृतिच. (आ. 448) explains: नामानि देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तादीनि मन्त्राः पृथिवी ते पात्रमित्यादयः आदेशा इदमज्ञादिकमनुष्मै भवत्विति एवमादिनिर्देशाः. मार्कण्डेय 29, 27-28 are similar.

757. यथा गोपु प्रनष्टासु पत्नो विन्दति मातरम्। तथा आह्वेषु दृष्टान्तो (दत्तार्त्त?) मन्त्रः मापयते तु तम्॥ मत्स्य 141. 76, वायु 56. 85 and 83. 119-120, ब्रह्माण्ड, अथर्वहृषाद् 218. 90-91, उपोद्घातपाद् 20. 12-13, q. by स्मृतिच. (आ p. 448) which reads गोदमण्डो and आह्वेषुद्विष्टं), आ. क. ल. p. 5

any thing on their progeny. It appears very probable that the worship of ancestors by means of śrāddhas was a very ancient institution and that the doctrines of *punarjanma* and *karmaripūka* were comparatively later ones and that Hinduism being all-embracing retained the institution of śrāddhas while adopting also the doctrine of metempsychosis. The institution of śrāddha is from one point of view an excellent one. It provides an occasion for remembrance of one's ancestors and relatives that were dear and near when living. The Āryasamāja objects to the institution of śrāddha and interprets pitrs in the R̥gveda as meaning living men in the Vānaprastha stage. It may be noted that the texts support both views. The Śat. Br. expressly says that food is offered to the father of the sacrificer in the words 'this is for thee.' Visṇu Dh. S. 75. 4 'He whose father is dead may put down a pinda for his father &c.' On the other hand Manu III. 284 states that fathers are spoken of as Vasus, grandfathers as Rudras &c and Yaj. I. 269 provides that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pitrs and the devatās of śrāddha. These latter are to be explained as containing an injunction to contemplate upon the pitrs as Vasus, Rudras &c.

As stated below (p. 347) with regard to the R̥gvedic passages, it was on account of the supposed power of pitrs to benefit or harm the living that the cult of the dead became a prominent feature in primitive societies. Offerings and ceremonies which may have in most ancient times been prompted in part at least by the desire to placate the ancestors are continued as tokens of pure affection and remembrance. Various beliefs about pitrs are mentioned ⁷⁵⁸ in post-Vedic Literature. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 14 summarizes a brāhmaṇa text stating that pitrs move about in the form of birds. The Auśanasa-smṛiti and Devala quoted by the Kalpataru say the same thing. In the Vāyupurāṇa ⁷⁵⁹ it is stated that at the time of śrāddha the ancestors

758. वयसां पिण्डं दद्यात्। वयसां हि पितरः प्रतिमया चरन्तीति विज्ञायते। जौ. ध. च. II. 8. 14; न च पर्येत काकादीन् पक्षिणस्तु न वारयेत्। तदूपाः पितरस्तत्र समायान्ति इत्युक्तम्॥ औशनसः (Jiv. I. p. 531), न चान्न इयेनकाकादीन् पक्षिणः प्रतिवेधयेत्। तदूपाः पितरस्तत्र समायान्तीति वैदिकम्॥ देवल p. 67 कल्पतरु on आह p. 17.

759. आह्निकाले तु सत्ततं वायुभूताः पितामहाः। आविशन्ति द्विजान् हव्वा तस्मादेतद् ब्रवीन्ति ते॥ वसैरत्नैः प्रदानैस्तैर्मदपयेस्तथैव च। गोभिरश्वैस्तथा ग्रामैः पूजयित्वा द्विजोत्तमान्। भवन्ति पितरः मोताः पूजितेषु द्विजातिषु॥ तस्मादग्नेन विधिवत् पूजयेद् द्विजसत्तमान्। वायुभूतान् 75.13-15 (= बाह्य. उत्तरार्ध 13.13-15, Venk. ed.); ब्राह्मणार्त्तं समायान्ति पितरौ ह्यन्तरिक्षमाः वायुभूताश्च तिष्ठन्ति ध्रुव्वा यान्ति परां गतिम्॥ औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. I. p. 526).

enter the brāhmanas (invited) after assuming an aerial form and that when the best of brāhmanas are honoured with clothes, foods, gifts, eatables, liquids, cows, horses and villages, *pitr*s become pleased. Manu III. 189 and the Auśanasa-smṛti also support this notion that *pitr*s enter the invited brāhmanas. The Matsyapurāṇa (18. 5-7) enjoins: *pind*as should be offered to the departed for twelve days after death, since they serve him as food on his journey and give him great satisfaction. Therefore, the soul leaving the dead body is not taken to the abode of the departed for twelve days (after death), the departed spirit hovers near his house, his sons, his wife for twelve days. Therefore for ten days after death milk (and water) should be placed (hung up) in space for ten nights for reducing all torments (or troubles of the departed) and for the removal of the fatigue of the journey (that the departed spirit has to make). The Viśṇudharmasūtra ⁷⁶⁰ (20. 34-36) provides "the departed spirit enjoys in the world of *pitr*s the food offered in śrāddha with the utterance of the word 'svadhā'; whether the departed is in the state of a god or in the place of torments (Hell) or in the form of a lower animal or a human being, the śrāddha food offered by his relatives reaches him; when śrāddha is performed, the performer and the departed soul both certainly secure vigour (or prosperity)."

The Brahmapurāṇa ⁷⁶¹ states that śrāddha is to be treated of under five heads, viz. how, where, when, by whom and with what materials. But before proceeding to deal with these five heads, it is necessary to dilate upon the underlying ideas and significance of the word '*pitarah*' from the most ancient times of which we have literary records.

The word '*pitr*' means 'father', but the word '*pitarah*' is used in two senses, viz. (1) a man's three immediate deceased ancestors, (2) the early or ancient ancestors of the human race that were supposed to inhabit a separate world (*loka*) by them-

760 पितृलोकगतश्चात्र आद्धे शुक्ले स्वधासमम्। पितृलोकगतस्यास्य तस्माच्छ्राद्धं प्रयच्छत॥ देवत्वे यातनास्थाने त्रिर्गम्यानी तथैव च। माहृत्ये च तथा मोति आद्ध वत्तं स्वधाध्वैः। प्रेतस्य आद्धकर्तृश्च शुद्धिः आद्धे कृते भुवम्। तस्माच्छ्राद्धं सदा कार्यं शोकं त्यक्त्वा निरर्पकम्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 20. 34-36 Compare मार्कण्डेय 23.49-51 (Venk. ed.) for similar verses

761. कृणुष्वं सुनिर्वाहला आद्धकल्पं सुविस्तरात्। यथा यत्र यदा येषु (v. l. येन) वैश्वदेवैस्तद्ददास्यसम्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 2.

selves.⁷⁶² For this second meaning, vide Rg. X 14. 2 and 7, X.15.2 (translated above pp. 191-92, 194) and Rg. IX.97.39.^{762a} 'That Soma which becomes stronger and stronger and makes others strong, that is strained through a strainer, that flows in a stream, protected us by means of the luminary (the Sun)—that Soma with whose help our ancestors knowing the place (where the cows were kept concealed) and the higher regions, harassed the mountain for (the sake of recovering) the cows.' In Rg. X. 15 1 the *pitrs* are said to be of three grades, lower, middling or higher. They are also said to be earlier and later ones (Rg. X. 15 2). They are all known to Agni, though all *pitrs* are not known to their descendants (Rg. X. 15 13). The *pitrs* are divided into several groups such as Angirasas, Vairūpas, Atharvans, Bhrgus, Navagvas and Daśagvas (Rg. X. 14. 5-6), the Angirasas being particularly associated with Yama who is invoked to come to the sacrifice along with the Angirasas (Rg. X. 14. 3-5). In Rg. I.⁷⁶³ 62. 2 it is said: 'through whose (Indra's) help our ancient ancestors (*pitarah*), the Angirasas, who sang his praises and who knew the place, found out the cows.' The *pitrs* called Angiras were, it appears, again subdivided into two classes viz. Navagva and Daśagva⁷⁶⁴ both of which words occur in Rg. I. 62 4, V. 39. 12 and X. 62. 6. In several passages the ancient fathers are identified with the seven sages⁷⁶⁵ as in Rg. IV. 42.8 and VI. 22.2 and sometimes the Navagvas and Daśagvas also are said to be the seven sages (Rg. I. 62 4). Angirasas are said to be the sons of Agni (Rg. X. 62. 5) and also of Heaven (Rg. IV. 2. 15). The *pitrs* are often said to regale themselves in the company of gods,

762. This idea is at least Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-European. The ancient Parsi scriptures speak of *Fravashis* that were originally the same as *pitrs* of ancient Hindu works or the Manes among the ancient Romans. They were the everlasting and deified souls of the dead. Gradually the meaning of *Fravashi* was extended and even Gods and objects like the Earth and the sky were supposed to have each a *Fravashi*. Vide S. B. E. vol 4 p. 262 for the *Fravashis* of the holy Yama and for the different classes of *Fravashis*, also S. B. E. vol 23 pp. 180, 184, 230.

762 a येना न. पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञा स्वर्विदो अभि या अद्भिष्टुण्यन्॥ ऋ X. 97 39.

763 येना न. पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञा अर्चन्तो अङ्गिरसो ना अविग्वन्॥ ऋ I. 62.2

764. नवगवास' सुतसोमास इन्द्रं दशगवांसो अग्न्यर्चन्त्यर्कैः॥ ऋ. V. 39 12, ये अग्ने. परि जङ्गिरे विरूपासो दिवस्पतिः। नवगवो दु दशगवो अङ्गिरस्तमः सच्चा देवेषु महेते॥ ऋ X 62.6.

765 अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन् सप्त ऋषयो दौर्गहि षड्यमाने। ऋ IV. 42 8; सप्त न. पूर्वे पितरो नवगवाः सप्त विभासो अभि वाजयन्तः। ऋ VI. 22 2.

particularly of Yama (Rg VII. 76. 4, X. 14. 10, X. 15. 8-10) ⁷⁶⁶ The *pitrs* are said to be fond of Soma drink (Rg. X. 15. 1 and 5, IX. 97. 39), they lie down on kuśa grass (Rg. X. 15. 5), they come with Agni and Indra to partake of the offerings (Rg. X. 15. 10 and X. 16. 12) and Agni is also said to carry the offerings to the *pitrs* (Rg. X. 15. 12). Fire is supposed to take the spirit of a cremated person to the *pitrs* (Rg. X. 16. 1-2, 5=A. V. 18. 2. 10, Rg. X. 17. 3). In later works also (e. g. in Mārka. chap. 45), Brahmā is supposed to have created in the beginning four classes viz. gods, asuras, *pitrs* and human beings Vide also Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Prakriyā, chap. 8, and upodghāta chap. 9. 35 (ityete pitaro devā devāśca pitarah punah anyonyapitaro hyete).

It was supposed that the departed spirit, after the cremation of the body, was endowed with an ethereal body and became associated with Yama, the gatherer of departed men (Rg. X. 14. 1 and 8, X. 15. 14, X. 16. 5), and with *pitrs*. The departed spirit went to the world of the *pitrs* and Agni was implored to take the spirit to the world of the departed whose deeds were good and to the stride of Visnu (Rg. X. 14. 9, X. 15. 3, X. 16. 4).

Although Yama is said to dwell in heaven (*divi*) in Rg. X. 64. 3, he is really a god of the middle region, as the Nirukta states, ⁷⁶⁷ The Atharvaveda states ⁷⁶⁸ 'let us worship with obeisance the fathers and grandfathers of our father, that enter the wide middle regions, that dwell on the earth and in heaven.' In Rg. I. 35. 6 ⁷⁶⁹ it is said there are three worlds; two of them (Heaven and earth) are in the lap of Savitr; one (i. e. the middle region) is in the domain of Yama where departed spirits congregate. 'The great Luminary (the Sun) has risen, a gift of the *pitrs*' (Rg. X. 107. 1). In the Tai Br. I. 3. 10. 5 ⁷⁷⁰

766 त इदेवाना सधमाद् आसन्मृतावान कवयः पूर्यासि। गृह्ण उयोतिः पितरो अन्वविन्दन् सत्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्मुखासम्॥ ऋ. VII. 76. 4, अथा पितृन् हविर्दत्ता उयेहि यमेन ये सधमाद् मदन्ति॥ ऋ. X. 14. 10=अथर्व 18.2.11.

767. माध्यमिको यम इत्याहुः। तस्मान् माध्यमिकात् पितृन् मन्यन्ते। निरुक्त XI.18. The Egyptian legend of Osiris presents many of the details connected with Yama. Vide Vulhamy's 'Immortal man,' chap V pp 140-143

768. ये न पितृ पितरो ये पितामहा य आविषिष्टुर्बन्तरिक्षम्। य आक्षिपन्ति पृथिवीमुत द्यां तेभ्यः पितृभ्यो नमसा विधेम॥ अथर्ववेद 18.2.49.

769 तिस्रो द्याव सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थां एका यमस्य शुबने विरापाद्। ऋ. I. 35. 6.

770 वृत्तीषे वा इतो लोके पितरः। तै. ब्रा. I. 3. 10. 5, अथ त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्य लोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोक पुत्रेणैव जन्मो नाग्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठस्तस्माद्विद्या मशंसन्ति। बृह. उ. I. 5.16.

it is said that the pitrs dwell in the third world from this. This means that after *bhūloka* and *antariksa* comes the *pitrloka*. In the Br. Up. I 5.16 three worlds of men, pitrs and gods are separately mentioned. In Rg. X. 135. 1-7, Yama is spoken of in somewhat different language. He is in this hymn mentioned as a god by himself and not as the first mortal who made a path (Rg. X. 14. 2) or as the gatherer of men (X 14. 1) or as being in company of the pitrs. In a few other places Yama is no doubt called *rājan* and praised in the same breath with Varuna (Rg. X. 14. 7). But such a position is very rarely mentioned. For the further development of Yama and his assistants as the punishers of men for evil deeds, vide pp. 159-160 above and notes 381-386.

There is another division of pitrs viz. *pitarah somavantah*,⁷⁷¹ *pitarah barhiṣadah*, *pitarah agnisvāttāh*. The latter two are named in Rg. X. 15 4 and 11 (which occur also in Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 2). The Śat. Br. defines these as follows.—“those that performed a soma sacrifice are *pitarah somavantah*; those that offered cooked oblations (like *caru* and *puroḍāsa*) and secured a world are *pitarah barhiṣadah*; those that did none of these (two actions) and whom fire consumes when burning them are ‘*pitarah agnisvāttāh*’; these are the only ones that are *pitarah*.” The Tai.⁷⁷² Br. has a somewhat similar passage and the Kāthaka Samhitā IX. 6. 17 also refers to these three kinds of *pitrs*. Later writers introduced certain changes in the meanings of the words for the different classes of *pitrs* and also increased the number of the classes of *pitrs*. For example, the Nandipurāṇa q. by Hemādri states: the *pitrs* of brāhmanas are called ‘*agnisvāttā*’, those of ksatriyas ‘*barhiṣadah*’, those of vaiśyas ‘*kāvyas*’, those of śūdras ‘*sukālin*’ and those of mlecchas and untouchables are called ‘*vyāma*’.⁷⁷³ Even Manu

771. तद्ये सोमेनेजानाः । ते पितरः सोमवन्तोऽथ ये दत्तेन पक्वेन लोकं जयन्ति ते पितरो बर्हिषदोऽथ ये ततो वाय्वतरञ्चन यानग्निरेव दहन्स्वदयति ते पितरोऽग्निष्वात्ताः । एत उ ते ये पितरः । षतपथना II 6 1 7

772. पितृन् बर्हिषदो यजति ये वै यज्वानः । पितृन् अग्निष्वात्तान् यजति ये वा अयज्वानो यद्भमेधिनः । ते पितरो अग्निष्वात्ता । अग्निं कव्यवाहनं यजति य एव पितृणामग्निः । तस्मादा वृत्तीयासुरपात्तानि युक्कन्ति । एतावन्तो ह्यज्यन्ते । ते. ब्रा I 6.9.5 वाङ्मुराण (30.6-7) echoes this ‘अग्निष्वात्ता स्मृतास्ते वै पितरोऽनाहिताग्नयः । यज्वानस्तेषु ये ह्यासन् पितरः सोमपीयिनः । स्मृता बर्हिषदस्ते वै पितरोऽनाहिताग्नयः’.

773. अग्निष्वात्ता ब्राह्मणानां पितरः परिकीर्तिताः । राज्ञां बर्हिषदो नाम विशां काव्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ सुकालिनस्तु शूद्राणां व्याना म्लेच्छान्यजतिषु । q. by आ प्र. p 11 from हेमाद्रि, compare मनु III. 197,

(III, 193-198) mentions several classes of *pitrs*, connects *pitrs* called Somapās, Havīrbhujah Ājyapās and Sukalins with the four varnas and in III, 199 states that the *pitrs* of brāhmanas are designated as Anagnidagdhā, Agnidagdhā, Kāvya, Barhisad, Agnisvātta and Saumya. Those verses of Manu appear to summarize different traditions about the several classes of *pitrs*. Vide Matsyapurāṇa 141. 4 for the same last four names and 141. 15-18 for their definitions. In Śatātapa-smṛti (VI 5-6) twelve groups or divisions of *pitrs* are mentioned viz. pindabhājah (three), lepabhājah (three), Nāndimukhas (three) and Ārumukhas (three). This is a classification of *pitrs* from two different standpoints. In Vāyu 72.1 and 73.60, Brahmandā (Upodghāta 9.53), Padma V. 9 2-3, Visnudharmottara I. 138 2-3 and other Purāṇas the classes of *pitrs* are said to be seven, three of which are formless (*amūrtimat*) and four have forms (*mūrtimat*) and they and their offspring are described in detail. All this is passed over here. The Skandapurāṇa (VI. 216. 9-10) speaks of nine groups of *pitrs*, being Agnisvātta, Barhisadah, Ājyapāh, Somapāh, Rasmipāh, Upahūtāh, those called 'āyantunah', Śrāddhabhujah, Nāndimukhah. In this list old and new elements are mixed up. The Indian mind often revels in divisions, sub-divisions and classifications without much basis therefor and this is probably an illustration of that tendency. Manu (III 201) states that from the sages the *pitrs* sprang, from the *pitrs* sprang gods and human beings and from the gods arose the whole world whether moving or immovable. It is remarkable that here the gods are spoken of as springing from the *pitrs*. This is really a mere eulogy of *pitrs* (i. e. it is an arthavāda).

The *pitrs* were in a class apart from the gods. On the meaning of the word 'pañcayanāh' occurring in Rg. X. 77. 53. 4

774. पञ्च जना मम होत्रं जुषस्व । गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा अमुरा वसांसिमेके । पञ्चानो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्येवमन्यथा । निरुक्त III. 8. The Br. 13.7 has 'पञ्चपञ्च जना' जुष्ये देवमनुष्याणां गन्धर्वाप्तिरसा सर्षणा च पितृणां च' The real meaning of पञ्चजना is the same as that of पञ्चकुटुम्ब. (in Rg. X. 60. 4). पञ्च सित्तीर्गयि (Rg. VII 79.1), पञ्च चर्षणी. (Rg. V. 86. 2) and we have यत् पञ्चजन्यया विना in Rg. VIII. 63. 7. पञ्चजना means विना, the whole Aryan people divided probably into five classes. By the time of the Ait. Br. the original meaning of पञ्चजना was probably forgotten. The वेदान्तसूत्र (I. 4. 11-13) explains that the expression पञ्चजन्य occurring in Br. Up. IV 4. 17 refers to Prāṇa, Caksuḥ (eye), ear, food and mind occurring in the next verse (Br. Up. IV. 4. 18). Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 4.12 states that the word पञ्चजन in Rg. VIII 23.7 means *prajā* (people).

(pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam) and other passages, the Ait. Br. (13.7 or 3.31) explains that they are the five classes, viz. Gandharvas with Apsarases, pitṛs, devas, sarpas and rākṣasas. The Nirukta III. 8 partly follows this explanation and also gives another. In the Atharvaveda X. 6. 32 the gods, pitṛs and men are mentioned in that order. The ancient Vedic texts and practice make a sharp distinction between the Gods and the Pitṛs. The Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1 states: 'the gods and men divided the quarters, the gods took the east, pitṛs the south, men the west and Rudras the north.' The general rule is that sacrifices for gods are begun in the forenoon, while the pitṛ-yajña is performed in the afternoon (Śān Br.).⁷⁷⁵ The Śat Br. II. 4. 2. 2 narrates that the pitṛs wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder (and under the left arm) and bending their left knee approached Prajāpati, when Prajāpati said to them 'you will have food at (the end of) each month (on the Amāvāsyā), your *śādhā* (cordial) will be swiftness of thought and the moon will be your light,' while to the gods he had said that sacrifice will be their food and the sun their light. The Tai. Br. ⁷⁷⁶ I. 3. 10. 4 appears to make a distinction between pitṛs who are of the nature and position of gods and pitṛs that are more or less like human beings.

The Kausika-sūtra (1. 9-23) neatly collects in one place the difference in the procedure of the rites meant for gods and for pitṛs. The performer of rites for gods wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right armpit, while in the case of the rites for pitṛs it is worn on the right shoulder and under the left arm; the rite for gods is either begun facing the east or north, while that for the pitṛs is begun facing the south; the rite for gods is finished in the north-east (or north or east), while that for the pitṛs is completed in the south-west; an action is done only once for pitṛs, while for gods at least thrice or as many times as the texts direct; in going round (perambulating) the right side is turned towards gods and the left one in the case of pitṛs; offerings are made to gods with the words 'svāhā' and 'vasat', while they are made to pitṛs with 'svādhā' and

775. अथ यद्वपराङ्गे पितृयज्ञेन चरन्ति अपक्षयभाजो वै पितरः । शा. ब्रा. V. 6.

776. देवान् वै पितॄन् प्रीतान् मनुष्या पितरोऽनुप्रपिपते । तिस्र आहुतीर्ब्रूहीति त्रिनिदधाति । पद् सन्पद्यन्ते । पद् वा ऋतवः । ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः । पितरः । ऋतुनेव देवान् पितॄन् प्रीणाति । तान् प्रीतान्मनुष्याः पितरोऽनुप्रपिपते । ते ब्रा. I. 3, 10 4 (com explains अनुप्रपिपते as प्रीता भवन्ति). This is alluded to in the वायुपुराण 30, 4 'मध्वादय पद् व त तान् पितॄन् प्रपिचक्षते । ऋतवः पितरो देवा इत्येवा वेदिकी श्रुतिः ॥ '

'namaskāra'; the darbhas employed in rites for Fathers are those that are taken out from the earth with their roots, while for gods darbhas used are cut a little above the roots. The Baud. Śr. II. 2. also mentions some of these in one place. The R̥gveda itself (in X. 14. 3 'svāhānye svadhayānye madanti') marks this distinction in the words employed at the offerings to Gods and *Pitrs*. The Śat Br. (II. 1, 3. 4 and II. 1. 4. 9) speaks of the gods as immortal and of the Fathers as mortal.

Though the gods and *pitrs* are placed in separate classes, still the *pitrs* partake of some characteristics of the divine. As Rg X. 15. 8 shows, the *pitrs* drank Soma. In Rg. X. 68. 11 it is said that the *pitrs* adorned the sky with nakṣatras (nakṣatrebhiḥ pitaro dyām-apimsan) and placed darkness in the night and light in the day. The *pitrs* are said to have feared out the light that was secreted and to have produced the Dawn (Rg VII. 76. 4). Here the *pitrs* are credited with powers possessed by the highest gods. The *pitrs* are invoked with affection and regard for conferring various boons and their favour is sought in various ways. In Rg. X. 14. 6 the good will (*sumati*) and favour (*saumanasa*) of the *pitrs* are sought. In Rg X. 15. 1 and 5 the protection of *pitrs* is sought. They are requested to grant happiness unmixed with trouble (Rg X. 15. 4.), to bestow wealth on the sacrificer (Rg X. 15. 7 and 11) and on his son. Rg X. 15. 11 and A. V. 18. 3. 14⁷⁷ seek the bestowal of wealth and heroic sons. A. V. 14. 2. 73 says 'May the *pitrs* who throng round the bride to see her grant her happiness endowed with progeny.'⁷⁸ In the Vāj S. II. 33 occurs the well-known mantra 'Oh *pitrs* deposit (in this wife) an

777. मागवर्गोऽयुदगवर्गोऽपि वा मास्यः पक्षिणि पक्षोपरीर्षी दैवनि शर्मानि श्तेनि। पक्षिणाश्च यस्त्वं प्राचीनासीती विष्णुनि। यौ औ II 2.

778. परा यात पितर आ च यातां यो यतो ननुना सनत्। दुरो अन्तरं द्यौर्नि भद्रं रयिं च न सर्वरीरे दधान। अथैवेद 18. 3. 14

779. ये पितरो यधूदसां पुनं वदन्नायमन्। ते अस्ते तपै सततं प्राजापतं वदन्तु। अथैव 14. 2. 73.

780. आपत पितरो गर्भे कुमारं पुनस्तस्यम्। यधेह पुनोऽयम् ५ गात्रं II 11
The Śat Br. III. 5. 30 provides 'गर्भे निष्पद्यमानं कुमारं प्राजापतयेत्' गोभिलशृङ्ग IV. 3. 27 and also कौशिकशृङ्ग S3. 6. The same औ II. 2. 13 says 'गर्भे प्राजापतयेत्' and so in पुनस्तस्यम् the idea is that the son may be born again and again. यधेह - अस्तम् may be explained as 'दिनं यधेते' अथैव पुनोऽयम् पुनस्तस्यम् भद्रं रयिं च न सर्वरीरे दधान। 'माद्वयान्तरं' अथैव पुनोऽयम् पुनस्तस्यम् says आपतेनि मय्यन्तरं यती प्राजापति पुनस्तस्यम्

embryo, a child that (will wear later) a garland of lotuses so that he may become a grown-up male' repeated when the wife of the performer of the śraddha eats the middle one out of the three pindas. It should not be, however, supposed that the element of fear of the pitr̥s is altogether wanting.^{780a} For example, Rg. X. 15. 6 prays 'whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men do not injure us for that.' In Rg. III. 55. 2 we read 'May the gods and the ancient pitr̥s who know the place (of the cows or the path) not harm us here.' In Rg. X. 66. 14 it is said 'the Vasisthas praising the gods fashioned speech (hymns) like pitr̥s and like sages.' Here pitr̥s and rsis are separate groups and Vasisthas are compared to both.^{780b}

In many passages of the Vedic Literature the word *pitar̥ah* is applied to the three immediate deceased male ancestors of a man. 'Therefore up to three generations they specify (the ancestors) by name; for so many are the ones to whom sacrifice is offered' (vide n. 772 above). The Śat. Br. II 4. 2. 19⁷⁸¹ mentions the presentation formulas of the cakes to the father, grand-father and great-grand-father and

780 a Compare Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (pp. 24-25) for fear and affection as the elements of the attitude towards the dead among primitive as well as civilized men.

780 b देवाः सौम्याश्च काव्याश्च अयज्वानो ह्यपोनिजाः । देवास्ते पितरः सर्वे देवास्तान्वाद्यन्मुत ॥ मनुष्यपितरश्चैव तेभ्योऽन्ये लौकिकाः स्मृताः । पिता पितामहश्चैव तथा यः प्रपितामहः ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II 28.70-71; अङ्गिराश्च ऋतुश्चैव कश्यपश्च महाहवि । एते कुक्कुलश्रेष्ठ महायोगेश्वरा स्मृताः । एते च पितरो राज्ञेषु आहूतविधिः परः । मेतास्तु पिण्डसम्बन्धान्मुच्यन्ते तेन कर्मेणा ॥ अहु 92 21-22 This last shows that ancient sages like अङ्गिरस्, ऋतु and कश्यप are पितृs to whom water is offered (and no पिण्डs), while pindas are offered to one's immediate deceased ancestors.

781. स वृद्धाति । असावेतच्च इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्विस्तु हेके आहुस्तदु तथा न ज्ञ्यात् स्वयं वै तेपा सह येषा सह तस्माद् ज्ञ्यादसावेतच्च इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे असावेतचे इति पितामहायासावेतच्च इति प्रपितामहाय । तद्यदितः परागृह्णाति सकृदु होव पराश्च पितरः । सतपथ II 8.4 2. The ते सं. I 8 5 1 18: सोमाय पितुमते दुरोडाशं षड्कपालं निर्वपति पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्भ्यो घाना । पितृभ्योऽग्निष्वात्तेभ्योऽभिवान्यायै दुग्धे मन्थम् । एतत् ते तत ये च त्वामनु एतत् ते पितामह प्रपितामह ये च त्वामनु अत्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वम् । Again in ते. सं III 2.5 5 occurs the passage 'एतत्ते तत...मन्दध्वम्'. This is carried on to later times as in अहु 92 15 'सोमायेति च वक्तव्यं तथा पितुमतेति च'. Vide also अथर्व 18. 4. 71-77 'अग्रे कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम । सोमाय पितुमते स्वधा नम । पितृभ्य सोमवद्भ्यः स्वधा नम । यमाय पितुमते स्वधा नमः । एतत्ते प्रततामह स्वधा ये च त्वामनु । एतत्ते ततामह स्वधा ये च त्वामनु । एतत्ते तत स्वधा ।' In Rg IX 11 2 3 कारुर्हं ततो भिषक्, तत means 'father'. नपात् (= पौत्र) and यनपात् (प्रपौत्र) occur in Rg. VIII. 17.13.

then states that the performer mutters the words "here, O fathers! regale yourselves, like bulls come here each to his own share" (Vāj. S. II, 31 first half). Some (such as Tai. S. I, 8, 5, 1) repeated the formula "this here (ball of rice) is for thee and (for those) that come after thee." But the Śat. Br. emphatically says that he should not offer with this formula, but rather with the formula 'this here is for thee.' In Śat. Br. XII 8, 1, 7 the three immediate paternal ancestors are said to be svadha-loving. Relying on these Vedic passages and on the fact that Manu (III, 221) and Visnudharmasūtra (21, 3, 75, 4) prescribe the invocation of pitrs after mentioning their gotra and names that the Śrāddhaprakāśa (p 13) concludes that it is really the father and the other ancestors that are the deities of śrāddha and not Vasu, Rudra and Āditya, since these latter have no gotra and that the description of the father and others as Vasu, Rudra and Āditya is meant only for contemplation (on them as identical with Vasus &c.). On a passage of the Brahmapurāṇa⁷⁸² prescribing that the performer should say to the invited brāhmanas that he would call the pitrs to the rites and that when the brāhmanas give permission to call them he should do so, the Śr. P. (p. 204) remarks that the pitrs here meant are the divine ones viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas and also the human ones viz. the performer's father and the rest. The Vāyupurāṇa (56 65-66) Brahmanda and Anu. distinguish between pitrs who are above and pitrs who are *laukika*, viz. father, grand-father and great-grand-father. Vide also Vāyu 70, 34 for pitrs that are like gods.

In the post-Vedic Literature, particularly in the Purāṇas, a great deal is said about the origin and classes of pitrs. For example, the Vāyupurāṇa 56, 18 speaks of three classes of pitrs viz. 'kavyāḥ, barhisadah and agnisvattāḥ', while the same Purāṇa, chap. 73, Varāha 13, 16 ff, Padma (Śrsti 9, 2-4) and Brahmanda III, 10 1 speak of the origin of pitrs of seven classes that dwell in heaven, four of which have a form (*mūrtimat*) and three of which are without form (*amūṛta*). The Śatātapa-smṛti (6, 5-6) speaks of 12 pitrs viz. pṛṇabhājah, lepabhājah, nāndimukhāḥ and āśrumukhāḥ. All such descriptions have to be passed over from considerations of space.

782. ब्रह्मपुराणे । पितृनावाहयामीति स्वयमुक्त्वा समाहित । आवाहयस्वेति परिकल्पया वाहयेच्छुद्धिः॥ पितरो दिव्याः बहुवृद्धादित्या. मानुषाः यजमानस्य पित्रादयः । अ. म. प. 204.

From the sūtra period (about 600 B. C.) to the most modern among medieval Dharmasāstra works the authors wax eloquent over the praises or the importance or benefits of the institution of śrāddhas. One of the earliest works among these, viz. the Āp. Dh. S gives the following interesting information:⁷⁸³ "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. The gods went to heaven owing to sacrifices (i. e. as a reward of sacrifices that they performed), but men remained behind. Those among men who perform sacrifices in the same way as the gods did, dwell in the other world (i. e. heaven) with the gods and Brahman. Then (seeing that men lagged behind) Manu promulgated the rite which is designated by the word 'śrāddha' and which tends to the salvation (or happiness) of mankind. In this rite the Manes (*pitaraḥ*) are the deities but the brāhmanas (that are fed) are in the place of the *āhavanīya* fire (in which in sacrifices to gods oblations are offered)". On account of this last sūtra Haradatta (com. of Āp. Dh. S.) and others hold that feeding the brāhmanas is the principal act at a śrāddha. The Brahmandapurāṇa (Upodghātapaḍa 9, 15, and 10, 99) speaks of Manu as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and Viṣṇupurāṇa III, 1 30, Vāyu 44, 38 and Bhāgavata III, 1, 23 designate Manu as Śrāddha-deva. Similarly, in the Śāntiparva 345.⁷⁸⁴ 14-21 and the Viṣṇu-dharmottara I 139 14-16 it is stated that the institution of śrāddha was established in the Boar incarnation by Viṣṇu and that Viṣṇu should be regarded as dwelling in the three pindas offered to the father, grand-father and great-grandfather. From this and from the passage of the Āp. Dh. S cited above we may infer that it was believed even several centuries before Christ that the institution of śrāddhas had a hoary antiquity behind it and that it was as old as Manu, the father of mankind according to the Rgveda (VIII, 63, 1, VIII 30, 3.). It is, however, very remarkable that the word 'śrāddha' itself does not occur in any undoubtedly authentic and ancient Vedic passage, though the rite called Pindapitrayajña⁷⁸⁵ (performed on the *amāvāsya* of each month by an

783. सह देवमनुष्या अस्मिन्नोके पुरा बभूवुः। अथ देवा कर्मभिर्दिव जगत्प्रहीयन्त मनुष्याः। तेषां ये तथा कर्मण्यारभन्ते सह देवैर्ब्रह्मणा चास्मिन्नोके भवन्ति। अथैतन्मनु. आह शब्दं कर्म योवाच। प्रजानि श्रेयसाय च। तत्र पितरो देवता ब्राह्मणस्त्वाहवनीयार्थं। आप घ सू II 7 16, 1-3

784. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः। अहमेवात्र विज्ञेयस्त्रिषु पिण्डेषु संश्रितः। शान्ति 345 21, १ by आ य प. 11.

785 That पिण्डपितृयज्ञ is a आह is stated by गोभिलगृह्य IV 4. 1-2 'अन्वत्कयस्थालीपाकेन पिण्डपितृयज्ञो व्याख्यातः। अमावास्यां तच्छ्राद्धमितरदन्वाहार्यम्।' Vide आ य प, 4 for the same. For a description of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 1085-1090, for सहापितृयज्ञ *ibid.* pp. 1101-1103.

Ahitāgni), the Mahāpitrayajña (performed in the Cāturmāsya called Sakamedha) and the rites called Astakās were known to the early Vedic literature. The word śrāddha occurs in the Kāthopanisad (1. 3. 17) 'whoever proclaims this highly esoteric doctrine in an assembly of brāhmanas or at the time of śrāddha tends to secure immortality.'⁷⁸⁶ The other early occurrences of the word śrāddha known to me are confined to the sūtra literature. The most reasonable and probable inference to be drawn from these facts is this that only a few rites (mentioned just above) were known as related to the *pitr̥s* and that therefore no need arose for a generic term in very ancient times to comprehend several rites for the *pitr̥s*. But when the number of rites in honour of *pitr̥s* increased, the generic term 'śrāddha' was hit upon.

A few samples of the panegyrics on śrāddha may be set out here. The Baud.⁷⁸⁷ Dh. S. states that rites for the Fathers confer long life, heaven, fame and prosperity. The Harivamśa⁷⁸⁸ says 'the world derives support from śrāddha and Yoga (i. e. Mokṣa) springs from it.' Sumantu⁷⁸⁹ quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (śrāddha p. 333) states 'nothing else is declared to be more beneficial than śrāddha.' The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 14. 1-4) avers that if a man performs śrāddha with faith he thereby propitiates Brahmā, Indra, Rudra and the other gods, sages, birds, men, beasts, creeping animals, hosts of *pitr̥s* and whatever else is styled a being and the whole world. Yāj. I. 270⁷⁹⁰ promising long life and several other benefits arising from gratifying *pitr̥s* has already been quoted above (p. 337). Yama has a similar verse. It is said in a passage of the Viṣṇudharmottara⁷⁹¹ quoted by the Śrāddhasāra (p. 6) and Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp 11-12) that the *panda* offered to the

786. य इदं परं शुभं आचरेद् ब्रह्मसंनिधिं। यतः आह्वयकाले वा तद्वानन्याय कल्पते॥ काठ० I. 3. 17.

787. पित्र्यमाहुष्यं स्वर्गं यज्ञस्यं पुष्टिकर्म च। बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 1

788. आह्ने प्रतिष्ठितो लोक आह्ने योगः यवतेति॥ हरिवंश I. 21. 1.

789. आह्वयपरतरं नान्यच्छ्रेयस्करमुदाहृतम् । तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन आह्वं कुर्याद्वि-
चक्षणः॥ सुमन्तु q. by स्मृतिच (आ.) p. 333.

790. आहु. पुत्राश्च यज्ञः स्वर्गं कीर्तिं पुष्टिं बलं श्रियः। पशून् सौख्यं धनं धान्यं श्राम्या-
त्पितृयुजनात्॥ यम q. by स्मृतिच (आ. p. 333), आह्वसार p. 5. Similar verses are
या I. 270 (= Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 32.38) and शङ्ख 14. 33.

791. पूजितैस्तैर्भविष्यामि चतुरास्मा तथाप्यहम् । पितृपैतामहः पिण्डो वासुदेवः प्रकीर्तितः ।
पैतामहश्च निदिष्टस्तथा सङ्कर्षणः मयुः । पितृपिण्डश्च विज्ञेयः प्रद्युम्नश्चापराजितः । आत्मा-
निरुद्धो विज्ञेयः पिण्डनिर्षेपणे ब्रह्मैः॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 139.20-22, q. by आह्वसार p. 6
and आह्वम. pp. 11-12.

great-grandfather is declared to be god Vāsudeva himself, the one to the grandfather is designated Sankarsana, that to the father is known as Pradyumna and the offerer of the pindas is himself in the position of Aniruddha. In Śāntiparva 345. 21 it is stated that Viṣṇu should be looked upon as staying in the three pindas. In the Kūrmapurāṇa it is stated 'on the day of *Amāvāsya* the pītr̥s assuming an aerial form come to the door of their former haunt and mark whether śrāddha is being performed by men of their family. This they do till sunset. When the sun sets, being oppressed by hunger and thirst, they become full of despair and feel sorrow, breathe heavily for a long time and go away condemning their descendants. The pītr̥s of him who does not offer śrāddha on amāvāsya, even with water or vegetables, go away after cursing him'.

It is necessary to say a few words about the derivation of the word 'śrāddha'. That the word is derived from 'śraddhā' is quite clear. In the definition quoted above from the Brahmapurāṇa and the definition⁷⁹² given by Marici and Bṛhaspati the connection of śraddha with śraddhā is emphasized. In śraddha one entertains the firm faith or conviction that what is given up to the brāhmanas for the benefit of the departed man or the Fathers will reach him or them in some way. The Skandapurāṇa VI. 218.3 says that śrāddha is so called because śraddhā is the root (or main spring) of that rite. This means that there is not only the conviction stated above but that there is a firm belief that a person is under an obligation to offer it. Śraddhā is deified and addressed as a deity in Rg. 793 X. 151. 1-5, the first verse of which is explained in the Nirukta (IX. 31). The word also occurs in Rg. II. 26. 3, VII 32. 14, VIII 1. 31, IX 113. 4. In some verses the two components of the word 'śraddhā' (viz. 'śrat' and 'dhā') are separated without any change in the meaning. For example, in Rg. II. 12. 5 (= A. V. 20. 34. 5) it is said 'Have faith in him; O people! he is Indra'. In Rg. X. 147. 1, addressed to Indra, we have 'I have faith in that high wrath of yours &c.' (śratte dadhāmi

792. वेतं पिबुश्च निर्दिश्य भोज्यं यन्नियमात्मनः। अद्ध्यया दीयते यच्च तच्छ्राद्धं परि-
कीर्तितम्॥ मरीचि quoted from the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 372, आ.
म p 7. संस्कृतं व्यञ्जनादर्थं च पयोमधुपुलान्नितम्। अद्ध्यया दीयते यस्माच्छ्राद्धं तेन निगद्यते॥
बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152, अपराक p. 501, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 176), आ. म. p. 3,
आद्यतन्त्र p. 189 quotes it as पुलस्तक's.

793. अद्ध्ययाग्निः समिधयते अद्ध्यया ह्वयते हविः। अद्ध्यं भगव्यं सूर्यं नि वचसो वेदया-
मसि॥ ऋ X. 151. 1

prathamāya manyave). In the Tai S VII 4. 1. 1 it is⁷⁹⁴ said "Brhaspati desired 'may the gods put faith in me, may I reach the position of being their priest'". Vide also Rg. I. 103. 5. *śrat* and *śraddhā* are both mentioned in the Nighantu (III, 10) as meaning 'satya'. In the Vāj. S. 19.77 we are told that Prajāpati put *Śraddhā* in truth and *asraddhā* in falsehood, while in Vāj. S. 19.30, it is said that truth is obtained by *śraddhā*.

In the post-vedic Literature, Pāṇini explains the forms 'śrāddhin' and 'śrāddhika' in V. 2. 85, in the sense of 'one who has eaten a śrāddha dinner'. The word 'śrāddha' may be derived from *śraddhā* according to Pāṇ. V. 1. 109⁷⁹⁵. *Śraddhā* is variously defined. In the *bhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* I. 20, 'śraddhā' is defined as the composure of the mind⁷⁹⁶ (or mental approval). Devala defines *śraddhā*: 'confidence (in the efficacy) of religious acts is called *śraddhā*, one who has no faith has no reason (or motive) for engaging in religious acts'⁷⁹⁷. The *Śrāddhasūtra*⁷⁹⁸ of *Kātyāyana* prescribes 'one endowed with *śraddhā* should offer *śraddhā* even with vegetables (if nothing else is available)'. Vide *Manu* III. 275 which emphasizes *śraddhā* for the gratification of pītr̥s. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (29. 27) emphasizes⁷⁹⁹ the relation of *śrāddha* to *śraddhā* and states that what is offered at *śrāddhas* becomes transformed into that kind of food for the use of the pītr̥s who require food in the new bodies they might have assumed according to the doctrine of *karma* and *punarjanma* and it also remarks that *śraddha* offered with wealth acquired in an improper or unjust way is a means of gratification to the pītr̥s that are born as cāṇḍālas, pukkāsas and similar very low grades of people.

794. बृहस्पतिरिह कामयत अन्मे देवा दधीरन् वच्छेय पुरोवामिति । तै. सं. VII. 4. 1. 1.

795. प्रयोजनम् । पा. V. 1. 109, तदस्येत्येव । सि. जी. ; अद्धा प्रयोजनं (कारणं) अस्य इति आह्वयः ।

796. अद्धा चेतसः संयसाद् । सा हि जननीव कलयाणी योगिनं पाति । योगसूत्रभाष्य I. 20.

797. प्रत्ययो धर्मकार्येषु तथा अद्धेत्युदाहृता । नास्ति ह्यअध्वानस्य धर्मकृत्ये प्रयोजनम् ॥ देवत q. by कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 16 and आहृतत्त्व p. 189.

798. अद्धान्वितः आह्व कुर्वीत शक्नेनापि । आह्वसूत्र of कात्यायन q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152.

799. अद्धया परया दत्तं पितृणां नामयोजनम् । यदाहारास्तु ते जातास्तदाहारात्मनेति तत् ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 27, अन्यायोपाजितैरर्थैश्चाह्व क्रियते नरे । तृण्यन्ते तेन चाण्डाल शुक्लसाधारण योनियु ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28. 16, स्कन्द VII 1. 205. 22

It has already been stated above (pp. 349-350) that in very ancient times there were only three rites for departed ancestors, viz. Piṇḍa-pitr-yajña (offered by those who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or monthly śrāddha in the case of those who had not done so (vide e. g. Āśv. Gr. II. 5. 10, Hir. Gr. II. 10. 1, Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 1, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 3 &c.), the Mahāpitr-yajña and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. The first two have been already described in vol. II (as said above), but the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas have not been described at all so far. Therefore some remarks will be offered here about them. They are of special importance, but the authorities present great variations on almost all points such as the number of days and the months in which they were to be performed, the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to be made and the procedure to be followed.

Gaut. (VIII. 19) mentions 'Aṣṭakā' rite as the first among the seven kinds of *pākayajñas* and as one of the forty *samskāras*. Aṣṭakā appears to have meant the 8th *tithi* in any month after the Full Moon day (vide Śat. Br. VI. 4. 2. 10). The Śat. Br. states⁸⁰⁰ 'On the 8th day (after full moon) he (the performer of *agnicayana*) collects the materials for the fire pan, for sacred to Prajāpati is the 8th day (after full moon) and sacred to Prajāpati is this rite viz. the firepan.' Śābara in his *Bhāṣya* on Jai.⁸⁰¹ I. 3. 2 cites a verse occurring in the A. V. III. 10. 2 and in the Āp. M. P. II. 20. 27 as a *mantra* indicative of Aṣṭakā. The mantra is "May that (Aṣṭakā) night be very auspicious for us, whom people welcome like a cow coming towards a person and which is the wife of the Year.' In the A. V. III. 10. 8 the *Ekāṣṭakā* is said to have the year (*Samvatsara*) as husband. The Tai. S. VII. 4. 8. 1. provides⁸⁰² 'Men about to take *dikṣa* (consecration) for a *Samvatsarasattra* should undergo *dikṣa* on the *Ekāṣṭakā*; what is called *Ekāṣṭakā* is the wife of the year.' Jai. (VI. 5. 32-37) explains that *Ekāṣṭakā* is the 8th *tithi* after the Full Moon of Māgha. The Āp. Gr. (quoted by Haradatta

800. अष्टकायादृक्षां सम्भरानि । माजापत्यनेतद्वर्ह्यदृक्षा माजापत्यनेतत्कर्म यदुक्ता माजापत्य एव तद्वर्ह्यमाजापत्यं कर्म करोति । शतपथः VI. 2. 2. 23.

801. अष्टकालिङ्गाश्च मन्त्रा वेदे हव्यन्ते यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्तीत्येवमावयः । शबर on जै. I. 3. 2. The verse as read by शबर on जै. VI. 5. 35 is: यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्ति यानि यदुन्निनायतीन् । संवत्सरस्य या पत्नी सा नो अस्तु सुनङ्गली ॥ and he adds 'अष्टकापि सुगम्ये स्नादा' . In the A. V. III. 10. 2 the readings are देवाः for जनाः and वेददुपपायतीन्.

802. संवत्सरस्य दीक्षिष्यन्नाणा एकादकायां दीक्षेरत्नेया वै संवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदेकादका । जै. स. VII. 4. 8. 1.

on Gāut. 8 19) says ⁸⁰³ the same, but adds that on it (the 8th *tithi*) the moon is 'in Jyestha' constellation. This means that if the 8th *tithi* is spread over two days, then that day on which the moon is in Jyestha would be called Ekāstaka ⁸⁰⁴. The Hir. Gr. (II 15 9) also says that Ekāstaka is called the wife of the year ⁸⁰⁵.

According to the Āsv. Gr. II. 4. 1 the Astakā days (and rites) were four, viz the 8th *tithis* of the dark halves of the four months of the two seasons of *hemanta* and *śiśira* (i. e. of Mārgaśīrṣa, Pausa, Māgha and Phālguna). Most of the Grhya-sūtras viz Mānava Gr. II. 8, Śān. Gr. III. 12 1, Khadira Gr. III. 3 27, Kathaka Gr. 61.1, Kausītaki Gr. III. 15. 1 and Pār. Gr. III. 3 say that there are only three Astakā rites viz. on the 8th after the Full Moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa (called *agrahāyāni*) i. e. in the dark halves of Mārgaśīrṣa, Pausa (or Taisa) and Māgha. The Gobhila Gr. III 10. 48 mentions that the Astakās are four according to Kautsa and in all flesh is to be offered, but that Gautama, Audgāmaṇī and Vārkakhaṇḍī prescribe only three and Gobhila follows these latter. The Baud. Gr. II. 11. 1 provides that the three Astakā homas are performed in the months of Taisa, Māgha and Phālguna. Āsv. Gr. II. 4. 2 refers to an option that Astakā rites were performed only on one Astamī (and not on three or four). The Baud. Gr. provides that ⁸⁰⁶ the rite may be compressed into the three days (7th, 8th and 9th) of the dark half of Māgha or even in one day (i. e. 8th of the dark half of Māgha). The Hir. Gr. (II 14 2)

803 यो माघ्या. पौर्णमास्या उपरिदोष स्पष्टका तस्यांनष्टमी उपेक्षया सम्पद्यते तामिकाच-
केत्याचक्षते। अथ. गृ. VIII 21 10, अष्टकां व्याख्यास्याम। माघ्या. पौर्णमास्या योऽपर-
पक्षस्तस्याष्टमीनिकाचकेत्याचक्षते। हिर. गृ. II. 14 1-2 Both अनाकुला and तात्पर्यदर्शन
explain स्पष्टका as कुण्डपक्ष.

804 According to a Vārtila on Pār. VII 3. 45 the word Astakā is formed from 'astan.' धार्मिक 9 on दामिनि VII. 3.45 teaches that from अस्त्य we get Astakā as meaning a rite in which the pitrs are the deities and Astikā in any other sense (such as अष्टिका क्षारी)

805 The Full Moon night of Māgha is said to be the month of the year i. e. the year began on that day in ancient times. The Astakā day after the Full Moon day was the first and most important festival after the Full Moon and it was younger than the beginning of the year. It is probable that because of this it was spoken of as the wife of the year.

806 अथाष्टकाहोम। तेषु मासपरपक्षस्याष्टम्यां क्रियेत। एवं माघे एवं फाल्गुने यद्वि-
विहितः। तेषु वै समस्त उपरिदोषाध्या पौर्णमास्या अपरपक्षस्य सप्तम्यामेष्टम्यां नवम्यामिति
क्रियेतापि चाष्टम्यामेव। यौ. गृ. II 11.1-4.

describes only one Aṣṭakā rite viz. the Ekāṣṭakā in the dark half of Māgha. The Bhāradvāja Grhya II. 15 also speaks of only Ekāṣṭakā but adds that the 8th of the dark half of Māgha on which the moon is in Jyesthā is called Ekāṣṭakā. According to Hir. Gr. II. 14 and 15 the one Aṣṭakā extended over three days viz. 8th, 9th (on which a cow was sacrificed for the *pitr̥s*) and 10th (which was the Anvāṣṭakā). The Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra (ed. by Caland) IV. 8 says that Aṣṭakā is to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Māgha and Bhādrapada or on the 7th, 9th or 10th tithi.

There is divergence in the offerings also. The Kathaka Gr (61. 3), Jaimini Gr. 2. 3 and Śān. Gr. (III. 12. 2) provide that on the three different Aṣṭakās the offerings are of cooked vegetables, flesh and *apūpaś* (cakes), while the Pār. Gr. III. 3 and Khādīra Gr. III. 3. 29-30 put *apūpas* for the first Aṣṭakā (and hence Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 9 designates it *apūpāṣṭakā*) and boiled vegetables on the last. According to Khādīra Gr. III. 4. 1 a cow is sacrificed. According to Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 7-10, Gobhila Gr. IV. 1. 18-22, Kauśika 138. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 11. 51-61, on the 8th day very many options are given, viz. either to sacrifice a cow or a ram or a goat; or to offer some jungle flesh that may be available or flesh mixed with sesame and honey, or flesh of the rhinoceros, deer, buffalo, ram, boar, spotted deer, hare, Rohita deer, pigeons, śāṅga and other birds, or an old red goat; fishes or rice cooked in milk so as to form thin gruel, or gifts only of uncooked corn or fruits and roots, or gold may be offered or only grass for cows or oxen or one may burn some thickets in a forest or present jars for holding water to those deeply learned in the Veda or should recite the mantras relating to śrāddhas, saying 'this is the Aṣṭakā I offer,' but one should not remain without observing the Aṣṭakā day in some such manner as the above⁸⁰⁷

It is remarkable that although the Vartika quoted above, and the Kathakagrhya 61. 1 state that the word 'Aṣṭakā' is

807. अथ यदि गां न लभते सैषमजं वा लभते । आरण्येन वा मांसेन यथोपरक्षेन । शङ्खमुषमहिषमेधवरादप्युपतशसोहितशङ्खमिचिरिकुण्डकपिञ्जलवाष्पिणसानामनक्षर्यं त्रिलम्बु-संसृष्टम् । तथा मत्स्यस्य क्षतवलेः (१) क्षीरोद्वेनेन वा, क्षीरोद्वेनेन वा । यद्वा भवत्पात्रैर्वा मूलफलै-
र्यजमानमाचम्य । हिरण्येन वा यजमानमाचम्य । अपि वा गोप्रासमाहरेत् । अपि वा नूतनान्य उद-
कुम्भानाहरेत् । अपि वा आहुतसम्प्राप्तनीयैव । अपि वारण्येभिर्ना कक्षमुपयेद्देवा, नैऋतेति ।
न खेवानदकं स्यात् । नौ. श्रु. II. 11. 51-61; अष्टक्रायामष्टकाहमाजुह्यात् । तस्या
इवीपि धाना. करम्भः शङ्कुल्यं पुरोडाश उदौदनः क्षीरोद्वनस्त्रिलोत्रो यथोपपादियद्वा ।
कोशिकसूत्र 168 1-2. For वाष्पिणस, vide note (951) below.

applied to a rite in which the *pitrs* are the deities worshipped, the greatest divergence prevails as to the *devatā* of the *Astakā*. The *Āśv. Gr.* (II. 4. 3 and II. 5. 3-5) provides that on the 7th of the dark half the offerings are made to the *pitrs* and on the 9th also, but *Āśv. II. 4. 12* refers to the eight options as regards the deity of the 8th day, viz. *Viśve-devāh* (all the gods), *Agni*, *Sūrya*, *Prajāpati*, *Rātri* (night), *Nakṣatras* (constellations), the seasons, the *Pitrs*, *Paśus* (cattle). The *Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 1* starts⁸⁰⁸ by saying that Night is the *devatā* of *Astakā*, but adds that there are other views about the *devatā* being *Agni*, the *Pitrs*, *Prajāpati*, *Rtus* (seasons) or all Gods.

The procedure of *Astakā* comprises three parts, viz. *homa*, inviting *brāhmanas* for dinner (up to seeing them go away after dinner) and the rite called *Anvastakya* or *Anvastakā*. When the *Astakā* were deemed to be three or four performed in the several months noted above, all these were gone through at each *Astakā*. When the *Astakā* rite was performed only in one month i. e. after the Full moon in *Māgha*, the above parts were performed on three days, 7th, 8th and 9th of the dark half. When compressed in one day only, they must have been performed one after another on the same day.

Many of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, such as those of *Āśvalāyana*, *Kauśika*, *Gobhila*, *Hiranyakeśin* and *Baudhāyana* describe a very elaborate procedure in the case of *Astakā*. One of the shortest being that contained in *Āp. Gr.* (VIII. 21 and 22) is given here by way of sample^{808a}. After defining *Ekāstakā* (in VIII. 21. 10) *Āp.* proceeds: 'He (the performer of the *Astakā* rite) should perform subsidiary (or preparatory) rites in the evening of the previous day (i. e. on the 7th of the dark half). He cooks (or bakes) a cake from rice taken up (from a heap) in four cups; according to some teachers the cake is prepared on eight potsherds (like a *puroḍaśa*) After the actions up to the

808. अष्टका रात्रिदेवता । शुद्धिकर्मा । आग्नेयी पित्र्या वा राजापत्यर्तुदेवता वैश्वदेवीति देवताविचारः । गोभिलगृह्य III. 10.1-3.

808 a. या माघ्या ...त्याचक्षते । तस्या सायनीपकार्यम् । अपुं चतु शरावं अपयति । अष्टकांश इत्येके । पार्वणवदाज्यभागान्तेऽलिनीत्तरयागुपाञ्जहोति । सिद्ध शेषस्तमष्टकां कृत्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपहरति । श्वोभूते दूर्भेण गानुपाकरोति पितृभ्यस्त्वा जुष्टागुपाकरोतीति । तूर्णी पञ्चाज्याहुतीर्हुत्वा तस्यै वपा अपयित्वापस्तीर्णाभिधारिता मध्यमेनान्वमेन वा पलाशपर्णेनोत्तरया जुहोति । नांसीद्वज्रुत्तराभि । पिष्टाज्रुत्तरया । आज्याहुतीरुत्तरा । त्विष्टकृत्वमृति सनानमापिष्टनिधानात् । अन्वष्टकायानेवैके पिष्टनिधानमपदिशन्ति । अपैतदपरं दूधन एवाजलिना जुहोति यथागुपम् । अत एव यथार्थं नांसं सिद्धा श्वोभूतेनष्टका । तस्या नासिश्चाद्धेन कल्पो ब्याख्यातः । *आप. गृ. VIII. 21.10-VIII. 22.12*

'Ājyabhāgas'⁸⁰⁹ have been performed in the same way as at the *Amāvāsyā* and Full Moon sacrifices he makes with his joined hands oblations of the cakes with the next verse⁸¹⁰. The rest of the cake that is already baked is divided by him into eight parts and offered to the *brāhmanas*⁸¹¹. On the following day he prepares the cow for immolation by touching her with a *darbha* with the words 'I make thee that are agreeable to the Fathers ready (for sacrifice)'. Having silently (i. e. without uttering the word *svāhā*) offered five⁸¹² oblations of clarified butter, having cooked the omentum of that (cow) and having spread under (the cooked omentum) and sprinkled over it clarified butter he offers it with a *palāśa* leaf from the middle or the end of the stalk with the next verse (i. e. *Āp. M. P. II. 20. 28*)⁸¹³. He offers boiled rice together with the flesh (of the cow) with the next verses (seven from *Āp. M. P. II. 20. 29-35*). He offers the food of flour cooked (in milk) with the next verse (*Āp. M. P. II. 21. 1* 'Ukthyaścātirātraśca')⁸¹⁴. Then (he offers) the oblations of clarified butter with the following (eight) verses (*Āp. M. P. II. 21. 2-9*). The rites from *Śvistakṛt*⁸¹⁵ down to the placing of the *pindas* are the same as at the monthly *śrāddha* (described in *Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 1-9*). Some teachers prescribe that the *pindas* are to be offered the day after the *Aṣṭakā* (i. e. on the 9th of the dark half). Here follows another method (of celebrating the *Aṣṭakā* rite). He sacrifices curds with his joined hands in the same way as he offers the cake. Having left over from the meat (of the cow) as much as may be required, he performs on the day following

809. For *Ājyabhāgas*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1059, 1060.

810. The *Āp. Gr. S.* here and elsewhere refers to the collection of Mantras called *Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha* (edited by Dr Winternitz). The verse meant here is *Āp. M. P. (II. 20. 27)*, quoted above in # 801 (*Yām janāḥ &c*).

811. The words 'siddhah śesaḥ' are explained by the *Anākulā* (of *Haradatta*) as meaning 'the rest of the rites are the usual ones without alterations'.

812. As no *devatā* is expressly named, the offerings must be taken to be made to *Prajāpati*.

813. *Āp. M. P. II. 20. 28* is the *mantra* 'vaha vapām' (carry the omentum to the Fathers, O *Jātavedas*), which is *Vāj. S. 35. 20* and is prescribed for this rite in *Āśv. Gr. II. 4.13*, *Śān. Gr. III. 13. 3* and elsewhere.

814. The Mantra 'Ukthyaścātirātraśca' occurs also in *Sān. Gr. III. 14. 2*.

815. For 'Śvistakṛt' vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 208 and 1257.

(the Astakā day) the Anvastakā rite. Its procedure is explained by the description of the monthly śrāddha.

Though Āp. Gr. (II. 5. 3) and Śān. Gr. III. 13. 7 state that the Anvastakya rite follows the procedure of Pindapitryajña, some Grhyasūtras (such as Khādīra III. 5, Gobhila IV. 2-3) give very elaborate descriptions of that rite. The Āśv. Gr. and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74 follow a middle course. The description in Āśv. Gr. is comparatively brief and it is set out below. It may be noted that some Grhya-sūtras state that the Anvastakya rite is performed on the 9th or 10th of the dark half (e. g. Khādīra Gr. III. 5. 1 'navamim daśamim vānavastakyam'). Further, it may be stated that though most Grhyasūtras call the rite Anvastakya still it is also called, Anvastakā by Pār. Gr. III. 3. 10, Manu IV. 150, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74. 1 and 76. 1. The most notable peculiarity of this rite is that therein female ancestors are invoked and offerings are made to them of which liquor (*surā*), soup of boiled rice, collyrium, salves and garlands form part. Though some sūtras (like Āśv. Gr. II. 5) declare that the Astakā and Anvastakya are modelled on the monthly śrāddha or Pindapitryajña, others (like the Baud. Gr. III. 12. 1, Gobhila Gr. IV. 4, Khādīra III. 5. 35) say that the Astakā or Anvastakya is the norm which is followed in the Pindapitryajña and all the śrāddhas. The Kāthaka Gr. (66. 1, 67. 1, 68. 1, 69. 1) avers⁸¹⁶ that the first śrāddha, the other śrāddhas (such as sapindikaraṇa), Pāśuśrāddha (in which the flesh of an animal is offered) and the śrāddha performed every month follow the procedure of Astakā. The Pinda-pitryajña could be offered on amāvāsya only by one who was *āhitāgni* (i. e. had kept the sacred vedic fires). It is impossible to believe that everyone became *āhitāgni*. The case was probably the reverse i. e. only a few became *āhitāgni*s and the rest had only the grhya fire or many of the rest were without even the grhya fire. It appears possible that all were required to offer śrāddha on amāvāsya on the analogy of pindapitryajña. As the latter became rare, the requirement of offering śrāddha on amāvāsya remained and in the sūtras and smrtis all the details were mentioned under māsiśrāddha and in the case of the other śrāddhas the sūtras and smrtis pointed out only what was to be omitted. It is owing to this that the māsiśrāddha came to be called the *prakṛti* and the other śrāddhas were called *vikṛtis*.

816 देवपाल on काठकपुत्र 66. 1 says अष्टकाविकाराणि हि सर्वआहुतिनि The
नौ नृ III. 12. 1 states 'अष्टकाहवृत्तिमसिकं तत्पुत्रसाहं व्यख्यातम्.'

or variations of the māsiśrāddha. Most of the details of the pīṇapitṛyajña were required in māsiśrāddha and a few (such as giving arghya, *gandha*, *dīpa*) were added and more elaborate rules evolved.

The Anvastakya⁸¹⁷ is described in the Āśv. Gr. (II. 5. 2-15) as follows :—Having prepared a portion of the same meat,⁸¹⁸ having established the fire on a surface sloping towards the south, having fenced it in and made a door on the north side of the enclosed shed, having strewn round the fire three times sacrificial grass with its roots without touching it, turning the left side (of one's body) towards the fire, he should place down the things to be offered, boiled rice, boiled rice mixed with sesamum, rice cooked in milk, meal pap with curds and meal pap with honey. The ceremony should follow the ritual of the Pīṇapitṛyajña (vide Āśv. Śr. II. 6). Having sacrificed (part of the foods specified except meal-pap) with honey let him offer portions of those substances to the *pitrs* and to their wives with the addition of liquor and the scum of boiled rice. Some place the portion to be offered into pits, which may be two or six. In those situated to the east he should present the offerings to the *pitrs*; in those to the west, to the wives. Thereby the ceremony celebrated in the rainy season on the Maghā day in the dark fortnight after the full moon of Prausthapada (i. e. Bhādrapada) has been declared. And thus he should offer (a festival like the Anvastakā) to the *pitrs* every month, observing uneven⁸¹⁹ numbers. He should give food at least to nine (brāhmanas) or to any un-even number of brāhmanas. (Food should be given) to an even number on auspicious occasions⁸²⁰

817. अन्वष्टक्य is explained by रुद्रस्कन्ध on खगोलसूत्र III. 5. as 'अष्टकान्द्रु कियते हृत्पन्वष्टक्यं कर्तुं एतच्च मत्पदकमनन्तरं कर्तव्यम्' and by देवपाल on काठकश्रुत 65 l as 'अष्टकाया अनु पञ्चाङ्गमन्वष्टक्यनित्यन्वष्टक्यं संज्ञान्वष्टक्यमिति । एतच्च केचिद्वष्टकाया अङ्गं वदन्ति केचित्तत्सदृशं विकारभूतं कर्मान्तरम् ।'

818. The meat is that of the animal killed on the Aṣṭakā day (Āśv Gr. II. 4. 13).

819. That is, selecting an uneven number of brāhmanas or on 'uneven *tithis*.'

820. 'Vṛddhi' or 'Ābhyudayaika' (referring to prosperity or good luck) Śrāddha is performed on such occasions as the birth of a son, the marriage of a son or daughter, the *pitrs* in the Vṛddhi-śrāddha being designated Nāṇḍimukha. Pūrta means charitable works such as construction of wells and tanks, building of temples, dedication of parks. Vide H. of Dh vol II p 844 n. 1992 and Yāj I. 250, Sāh. Gr IV 4 1 ff.

or on the performance of meritorious deeds; to an uneven number (on other occasions). The rite is performed from left to right. Barley grains are to be used instead of sesamum.

The Anvastakya rite was performed after each of the three or four Astakās and if only one Astakā in Māgha were performed, then after the 8th of the dark half.

There are two views about the rite called Māghyāvārsa⁸²¹ in Āśv. Gr. II. 5. 9. Acc. to Nārāyaṇa, the rite is performed in the dark half of Bhādrapada for three days on 7th, 8th and 9th.⁸²² The other view is that it is a rite like the Astakās but performed on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada, when generally the moon is in the Māghā *nakṣatra*. There is doubt about the very name of the rite, as the mss. present various forms (vide Oldenberg's note in S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 103 on Śān. Gr. III. 13 1). The real name appears to be Māghyāvārsa or Māghāvārsa (meaning 'a śrāddha in the rainy season when the moon is in the Māghā *nakṣatra*'). The Visnu Dh. S 76 1⁸²³ mentions the following times for offering śrāddha viz. (twelve) Amāvāsyās (in a year), the three Astakās, the three Anvastakās, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in the Māghā asterism, the seasons of *śarad* and *vasanta*. In Visnu Dh. S. (78. 52-53) also a śrāddha on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is highly eulogised Manu III. 273 also states that whatever food mixed with honey is offered on the 13th day in the rainy season when the moon is in Māghā procures endless satisfaction. To the same effect are Vas XI 40 (in the rainy season and on Māghā), Yāj I 26 and Varāhapurāṇa.⁸²⁴ In the

821. The word माघ्यावर्ष (as an attribute of *Karma* or *Śrāddha*) may be derived from मघावर्ष (मघायुक्त वर्षं वर्षेत्) or वर्षमघा (or वर्षामघा meaning वर्षे मघा or वर्षासु मघा). In the latter case the words are transposed on the analogy of राजदन्त (या II 2 31). हरदत्त on आन्ध वृ explains 'मघासु वर्षासंयोगाद् माघ्या-वर्षमिति भवति तच्च त्रयोदश्याद्' and then quotes या I 261.

822. In the शुद्धादिसागर of नारायणभट्ट आर्हते it is stated 'अथाष्टकानि कृतिभूत माघ्यावर्षाद् तत्र भाद्रपदापरपक्षे सप्तम्यादिषु विष्वह-ह अष्टकाकर्मवत् सर्वे कुर्यादिति कारिका । हरदत्तस्तु भाद्रपदकृष्णपक्षे मघायुक्तत्रयोदश्यां माघ्यावर्षाकुर्यात् आदित्य' folio 155 b (of the ms in the BBRAS) Vide Cat No 680 p. 215.

823. अमावास्यास्ति श्रोत्रकास्ति श्रोत्रवृद्धका माघी शीतपद्मार्धे कृष्णत्रयोदशी त्रीदिवयाकी च । विष्णुध सू. 76 1 माघी is to be connected with कृष्णत्रयोदशी.

824. पक्षदाति गयार्थश्च सर्वमानस्यमश्रुते । तथा वर्षात्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः ॥ या I. 261, गायन्ति चैतत्पितरः कदा तु त्रयोदशीयुक्तमघासु भूय । वर्षासितान्ते शुभतीर्थ-तोषैर्यस्याम तृति तनयादिद्वैतैः ॥ बराहपुराण 13.47, correct grammar requires यस्याम-रुतिम्

Hir. Gr. II 13, 3-4 (edited by Kirste) the name appears to be Māghyāvārsa⁸²⁵ and it is provided that meat is obligatory in it, but that if meat cannot be had then vegetables may be offered. In Pār.⁸²⁶ Gr. (III, 3) the name (as printed) is madhyāvārsa which is said to be a 4th Astakā in which only vegetables are offered. Aparārka (p. 422) also appears to call the rite 'madhyāvārsa.' In the Bhavisyapurāṇa⁸²⁷ (Brahma-parva), chap. 183, 4 also this rite is referred to but it is said that therein meat is to be offered. It appears probable that this ancient rite on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is a precursor of the Mahālayaśrāddha of later times.

If Āśvalāyana's view, viz. that there are four Astakās in Hemanta and Śīśira, were followed and if the Māghyāvārsa-śrāddha were to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada as Nārāyaṇa holds, then there would be five Astakās in all. Bhaṭṭoji in his Caturvīṃsatimatasaṅgraha says so.⁸²⁸

Considerations of space forbid the comparison of the above procedure from Āp. Gr. and Āśv. Gr. with the procedure described in the other Grhyasūtras. It should be noted that several of the sūtras often employ the same mantras in the various stages of the rite (as pointed out above in notes 813-814).

It must be said that the Astakā śrāddhas gradually fell into oblivion and are not performed now.

The foregoing discussion establishes that the monthly śrāddha on Amāvāsyā was the model śrāddha (*prakṛti*) of

825. मातृवत्तु on हिरण्य. नृ. explains 'माघ्यावर्षः श्रौतपदो मासस्तत्र भवम्' i. e. he derives the name from मध्य and वर्ष (year), the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada being almost the middle of the year (when the year begins with चैत्र).

826. मध्यावर्षे च तुरीया शकाष्टका । पार. नृ. III, 3 (last sūtra) in the Gujarati Press edition.

827. तिथौष्टकास्तु कर्तव्या मध्यावर्ता (मध्यावर्षा!) चतुर्थिका । शकापायसपूर्वेस्तु मासेन तु चतुर्थिका॥ भविष्यपु. (I, 183.4).

828. एवं भाद्रपदवङ्गलाष्टम्यष्टका बोध्या । तथा च पञ्चपुराणे—अग्निष्वाकापितृ-कन्याया वसुनाम्ना मित्रा शसायाः दुनरुयदीवायाः भाद्रपदापरपक्षाष्टकालेनोत्पत्तिर्दृशिता । श्रौतपदाष्टका श्रूयः पितृलोके भविष्यति । आश्विनैरग्न्या नित्यं सर्वकामफलमदा ॥ इति । तदेवं पक्षाष्टका हेमाद्र्यादिग्रन्थे स्थिता । तत्रापि आद्र्यं नित्यम् । भट्टोजि on चतु. सं. p. 122, पञ्चपुराण (सुष्टिखण्ड) chap. 9, 28-29 are: श्रौतपदाष्टका श्रूयः...स्वर्गकामफलमदा. हेमाद्रि on आद्र्य p. 185 says 'अथ पूर्वोक्ताष्टकचतुष्टयव्यतिरिक्तापि भाद्रपदापरपक्षेऽष्टका । तस्याश्चेतिहासपूर्वकमुच्यते: मशंता चोच्यते पञ्चपुराणे' and then he quotes eight verses from the पञ्च of which श्रौतपदाष्टका is the last.

which the Astakās and other śrāddhas were copies (*vikṛtis*) with suitable modifications, though a few dissident texts reverse the position.

In the Gobhilaḡrhya (IV. 4, 3 ff) another śrāddha called 'Anvāhārya' is prescribed after the Pindapitṛyajña on the same day. The Śān. Gr. IV. 1, 13 appears also to describe the monthly śrāddha as distinct from the Pindapitṛyajña. Manu (III, 122-23) states: 'After performing the *Pitṛyajña* (i. e. pindapitṛyajña) a brāhmaṇa who keeps sacred fires shall offer every month on the amāvāsyā day the funeral sacrifice Pindānvāhāryaka.⁸²⁹ The wise call the monthly offering to the Manes Anvāhārya and that must be carefully performed with the approved kinds of flesh mentioned below.' From this it appears that one who has consecrated the *śrauta* fires (i. e. an āhitāgni) was to perform the *pindapitṛyajña* in the *śrauta* fires and also perform the same day another śrāddha after the pindapitṛyajña, while those who had not consecrated *śrauta* fires were to perform on amāvāsyā a śrāddha in the *grhya* fire, which was called pindānvāhāryaka or simply anvāhārya and also were to offer pindapitṛyajña in smārta fire (vide Sat. Śrauta II, 7, 64 'grhyāgnau anāhitāgneḥ'). From inquiries made I learn that nowadays most Agnihotṛins (at least in the Deccan) do not perform Pindapitṛyajña at all or perform it only once a year and that no one performs the Pindānvāhāryaka śrāddha. It is further to be noted that in smārta yajñas no one now sacrifices an animal but employs instead māsā grāin and there are *ūhitāgnis* who do not offer meat in śrauta sacrifices also, but only *pista-patu* (an effigy of an animal made of flour).

The literature on śrāddha is enormous in extent. From the Vedic Samhitās several thousand years ago up to medieval and modern commentaries and digests the various matters connected with śrāddha have been dealt with in more or less detail. The Purāṇas contain thousands of verses on śrāddha. An

829. मेधातिथि on मनु III, 122 explains, 'पिण्डानामसु पश्चादाह्नियतेऽनुष्ठीयते तद् 'पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं भवति', while सर्वज्ञनारायण explains 'पिण्डेऽह्न्योत्पिकं मात्रामन्वाहृत्य 'माह्वणां अत्र आह्ने भोजयन्ते इति पिण्डान्वाहार्यकम्'. These derivations are supported respectively by the पद्मपुराण, छट्टि 9, 88-89 'पितृयज्ञं तु निवेत्य तर्पणाय तु योऽग्निमाह । 'पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं कृत्वा आजकाले क्षये तदा' (कुर्यान्वाह्नमिन्दुक्षये तथा?)' and by the मत्स्यपुराणे 16, 43 यस्माद्वकीर्तुता मात्रा भक्षयन्ति द्विजतय । अन्वाहार्यकमित्युक्तं तस्मात् 'अह्न्यसंक्षये'. The पद्मपुराण (छट्टि 9, 119) further says 'पतदग्निमात्रं शोकमन्वाहार्यं च पांश्वम्'. The कल्पतरु (on आह्न p 10) explains मनु III, 122 : पितृयज्ञोत्र पिण्ड-पितृयज्ञः । पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं पिण्डानामसु पश्चादाह्नियते क्रियते यद्वर्षाह्न्यं तत्तथा'.

adequate and thorough treatment of all this vast mass would fill a separate volume, but considerations of space forbid such an attempt here. All that can be attempted here at the most (and that too not in all cases) is to present matters chronologically i. e. describe how śrāddha was dealt with in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇa texts, then in the comparatively older Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras, then in such early smṛtis as those of Manu and Yāj., then in some representative Purāṇas, then in the early commentaries of Medhātithi, Viṇṇāṇeśvara and Apararka, and then in the medieval digests. Even in this way only a skeleton of the ceremonies described in some representative work of each class can be exhibited. Many differences of detail which arose owing to lapse of time, the locality, the śākhā and usages of each writer, his individual inclination and his ability, will have to be passed over altogether. In the days of the Purāṇas the differences in detail in the several śākhās have been adverted to.^{82a} Apart from the smṛtis and passages of the Mahābhārata (such as Anuśāsana chap. 87-92) and commentaries on the Sūtras, on Manu, Yāj. and other smṛtis, the digests on śrāddha are legion. Only the following digests (arranged in chronological order) have been laid under contribution in this volume: Kalpataru on śrāddha; the Hāratala and Pitrdayita of Aniruddha; the Smṛtyarthasāra; the Smṛticandrikā; the Caturvargacintāmaṇi (section on śrāddha) of Hemādri (which in the B. I. edition covers 1716 pages); the Śrāddhaviṇṇa of Rudradhara; the Madanapārijāta; the Śrāddhasāra (a part of Nṛsiṃhaprasāda); Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda; the Śrāddhatattva of Raghunandana; the Śrāddhasaukhyā (part of Tadarānanda); the Śrāddhakalpatalā of Vinayaka alias Nandapandita; the Nirṇayasindhu; the Śrāddhamayūkha of Nilakantha; the Śrāddhaprakāśa (part of Viramitrodaya); the Śrāddhacandrikā of Divākarabhāṭṭa; the Smṛtimuktāphala (on śrāddha); the Dharmasindhu; the Bālabhāṭṭi, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā. While presenting this exhaustive and heterogeneous material, some generalisations, when called for, will be made here and there. It will be seen later on how several minor matters such as whether food should be offered to gods before śrāddha, definitions of words like parivitti, vṛṣaṇipati increased the extent of treatises on śrāddha.

82a. The स्कन्दपुराण (भागवतखण्ड chap. 215. 24-25) says: हृदयन्ते ब्रह्मो भेदा द्विजानां आङ्गकर्माणो आङ्गस्य ब्रह्मो भेदा. शास्त्राभेद्वैतवस्थिताः ॥

We should now turn to the several matters relating to śrāddhas.

First comes the question as to who are entitled to offer śrāddha (*śrāddhādhikārin*) This matter has been already dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. III p 739 ff., and on page 763 and on pp. 256-261 (notes 581-588) above. It would be noticed that some (like the Visṇudharmasūtra) prescribe that whoever takes the wealth of the deceased should offer *pinḍas* (i. e. perform śrāddha for him), while others said that whoever was preferable as entitled to offer pinḍas to the deceased propositus was to take the wealth. A few matters not mentioned there may be added here. In the Śāntiparva 65. 13-21 it is narrated⁸³⁰ that emperor Māndhātṛ was told by Indra how Yavanas, Kirātas and similar non-Aryan peoples (that are styled *Dasyus* in the Epic) are to be made to conduct themselves and it is stated that all *dasyus* may perform *Pitṛyajñas* (in which they should feed men of their own kind and make monetary gifts to them) and offer money to brāhmanas also. The Vāyupurāṇa (83. 112) also speaks of the Mlecchas as persons that offer oblations to *Pitṛs*. The general rule is stated by the Gobhila-smṛiti⁸³¹ that the husband should not offer *pinḍa* to his wife even if she dies sonless, nor a father to his son nor an elder brother to a younger brother. The moral of the story of Nini who performed śrāddha for his predeceased son and repented for having done so as it was *dharmaśaṅkara* is the same. Vide Anuśāsanaparva 91. Aparārka (p. 538) quotes a verse from Śaṭtriṃśan-mata that a father should not perform the śrāddha of his son nor an elder brother of a younger one. But Brhat-parāśara (p. 153) appears to state that even this general rule may have to be set aside sometimes. Baudhāyana and Vṛddhaśatātapa (q by Sm. C. on śrāddha p. 337) allow a śrāddha (except *sapindikarāṇa*) to be performed by any one for any

830 यवनाः किराता गाण्वाश्चीना जबरवर्षा । शुकास्तुषाराः कङ्काश्च पट्टवाश्चाङ्ग-
मद्रकाः ॥...कथं धर्मीश्रित्यन्ति सर्वे विषयवासिनः । नहिद्वैश्च कथं स्थाप्याः सर्वे वै दस्तु-
जीविनः ॥...नात्रापिबोहि शुश्रूषा कर्तव्या सर्वदस्तुभिः ।...पितृयज्ञस्तथा कृपाः प्रयाश्च शयनानि
च । दानानि च यथाकालं हिजेत्यो विद्वजेत्तदा ॥ ...पाकयज्ञा महाहोश्च दातव्या. सर्वदस्तुभिः ।
शान्तिपर्व 65. 13-21; on this the बृहत्कनककर (p. 55) remarks 'इति स्नेह्यादीनां
आह्वयिषान् तदपि सजातीयभोजनद्रव्यदानादिपरम्'.

831. न योयाया. पविर्दद्याद्भुजाया अपि कञ्चित् । न पुत्रस्य पिता चैव नापुत्रस्य
वधायजः ॥ गोमिहस्तुति III. 70 and also II. 104, but see बृहत्पराशर V (p. 153)
'आह्वं पत्यापि कार्यं स्वाद्भुजायास्तु योषितः । तस्यापि हि तथा कार्यमेकत्वं हि तयोर्वत् ॥ ब्राह्म-
ज्येष्ठस्य कुर्वीत कार्यं ज्येष्ठोऽपुत्रस्य च । देवहीनं तु तत् क्षुर्यादिति धर्मविको विदुः ॥ अपराकं
p. 538 quotes पित्रा आह्वं न कर्तव्यं पुत्राणां च कार्यं चन from पदविज्ञानम्

relative through affection, particularly at Gayā. It is emphasized⁸³² that he alone deserves to be called *putra*, who, while the father is alive, obeys his words, and gives plenty of food (to *brāhmanas*) every year (after his father's death) and who offers *pindas* (to his ancestors) at Gayā. The general rule laid down was that a child, whose *upanayana* has not been performed, is like a *sūdra* and lacks authority to utter Vedic passages (vide *Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 19*, *Gaut. II. 4-5*, *Vas. II. 6*, *Visnu Dh. S. 28. 40*, *Manu II. 172*).⁸³³ But an exception was recognized by almost all these authorities that a son, though his *upanayana* may not have been performed, can repeat the Vedic *mantras* required in funeral rites. *Medhatithi* on *Manu II. 172* explains that a minor son, even though not initiated into Vedic study by *upanayana*, can offer water to his father, perform the *navasrāddhas* (mentioned above in n. 593) and repeat such *mantras* as 'sundhantām pitarāḥ' required in these rites, but since he has no *śrauta* or *grhya* fire of his own he can not perform such *śrāddhas* as the *pārvana*. The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 56) provides that boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed, women and *sūdras* should get *śrāddhas* performed through a priest or they may themselves perform them without *mantras* but only mention the name and *gotra* of the deceased or with the two *mantras* 'devabhya namaḥ' and 'pitrbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'. The above discussion shows that men and women, adults as well as children, those who are *upanīta* as well as those that are *anupanīta* are under an obligation to perform *śrāddha*.

Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1, *Tai. Br. I. 6. 9* (which will be quoted later on) show that *śrāddha* was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grand-father, great-grand-father. The *Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 113-115)* states that there is a group of seven persons closely knit together that is called *avibhaktadāya sapindas* viz. great-grand-father, grand-father, father, the man himself (who

832 जीवतो वाक्यकरणात् प्रत्यब्दं स्मृतिभोजनात् । गयायां पिण्डदानाच्च त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता ॥ quoted by जिह्मलीसेतु p. 319.

833. नाभिषयाहारयेद् ब्रह्म स्वधानिनयनाहते । शुद्धेण हि समस्तावद्यावदेदे न जायते ॥ मनु II. 172 ; on this मेधातिथिः says: स्वधाशब्देन पितृभ्यः कल्पितमन्नमिहोच्यते । अथवा पितॄन् कर्म स्वधाशब्देनोच्यते । तस्मिन्नीयते त्यज्यते प्राप्यते येन मन्त्रेण स स्वधानिनयनः शुन्ध्यन्तां पितरः इत्यादिस्तं वर्जयित्वाऽन्यमन्त्रो नोच्चारयेत्तस्य । अनुपनीतेनोदकदाननवआह्वादि पितुः कर्तव्यमित्यस्मादेव प्रतीयते । पार्वणआह्वादौ त्वशिमत्त्वाभावादनधिकारः । पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं चक्षते ॥ In the वैखानसस्मृतौ 9.10 we read 'उदकुम्भमादाय यजमानः शुन्ध्यन्तां पितरः- इति त्रिः प्रत्ययं वेदिमपः पतिषिञ्चन् पर्येति'.

offers pindas to the preceding three), his full brothers, his son from a wife of the same caste, the grandson and great grandson; that sakulyas are those that are called 'vibhaktadāyādas', that the wealth of the deceased descends to those who are born of the body of the deceased ⁸³⁴. Manu IX. 137 (= Vas. 17.5 = Visnu Dh. S. 15. 46) solemnly ⁸³⁵ affirms: 'by (the birth of) a son a man wins the worlds (heaven &c.), he secures immortality by a grandson and by the grandson of a son he reaches the abode of the Sun'. This verse shows that all the three descendants of a person confer equally great spiritual benefit on him. Yāj. also (in I. 78) lumps the three together (without making any distinction between them) when he says 'since a man secures perpetuation of lineage and heaven by means of son, grand-son and great-grand-son'. Therefore when Manu (IX. 106) says that by the birth of a son a man discharges his debt to his progenitors the Dāyabhāga (XI. 34) explains that the word *putra* stands for the three descendants up to the great-grandson, since all the three are entitled to perform the *pārvaṇa-śrāddha* and equally benefit the ancestors by the pindas they offer, and that the word *putra* is not to be taken literally but only as illustrative in order to include the great-grandson, since one may with difficulty find a text expressly mentioning the *adhikāra* of the grandson (as a performer of *śrāddha* and taker of wealth) but there is no text expressly mentioning the great-grandson separately (as the taker of wealth and giver of pinda) ⁸³⁶. On Yāj. II. 50 which lays down that when the father dies or has gone to a distant country or is overwhelmed by calamities (incurable diseases or the like) his debts should be paid by the sons or grandsons, the Mit. adds that even when a son or grandson receives no ancestral property the father's debts must be paid, the only difference being that the son has to pay the principal as well as the interest, while the grandson

834. अयि च मयितानहः पितानहः पिता स्वयं सोदर्या भ्रातरः सवर्णायाः पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्र एतानविभक्तदायादाव् सपिण्डानाचक्षते । विभक्तदायादाव् सकुल्यानाचक्षते । सस्त्रङ्गजेषु सत्रामी क्षर्यो भवति । बौ. घ. सू. I. 5. 113-115, quoted by दायभाग XI. 37 and explained in 38 and by दायतत्त्व p. 189. The text printed in the आनन्दाश्रम collection of स्मृतिस is slightly different

835. पुत्रेण लोकाञ्जयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते । अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण बन्धनस्यामोति विद्वपम् ॥ मनु IX. 137. बौ. घ. सू. II. 9 7 reads the last pāda as नाकमेवाधिरौहति.

836. अत एव पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरं तत्पर्यन्तानामेव पार्वणविधिना पिण्डदानोपकार-कत्वस्याविशेषात् । अन्यथा पुत्रपदस्य स्वार्थस्यागानुपपत्तेः पौत्राधिकारज्ञापकं बन्धनं कथ-ञ्चिदादि लभ्येतपि प्रपौत्रस्य तु न पृथक्बन्धनमस्ति । तस्मादुपकारकत्वादेव प्रपौत्रस्याप्यधिकार इति पुत्रपदमुपलक्षणम् । दायभाग XI. 34-36.

has to return only the principal and has to pay no interest and the Mit. quotes a verse of Brhaspati ⁸³⁷ where all the three descendants are mentioned in one breath and the Mit. adds that the great-grandson has not to pay even the principal if he has received no ancestral property. This last remark implies that the Mit. regarded that the great-grandson was also included in the extended sense of 'putra'. Yaj. II, 51 begins by saying that whoever takes the wealth of a deceased person has to pay the latter's debts, so the great-grandson would have to pay the great-grand-father's debts if he received the assets of the grand-father. Therefore the Mit. on II, 50 expressly mentions that a great-grandson need not pay his great-grand-father's debts if he received no assets, because, otherwise being included in the extended meaning of putra, he would have had to pay. There was no necessity to bring in or mention the *praputra* under II, 50 if the Mit. did not include the *praputra* in the word putra. Again on Yaj. II, 51 ('putrahīnasya rikthinaḥ') the Mit. included even *praputra* under the word *putra*. This shows that the Mit. is quite conscious that the three descendants of a man form one group and succeed to his estate and liabilities and putra includes three descendants wherever the context so requires. If the word 'putra' is not to be taken as only illustrative and as including both grandson and great-grandson, serious difficulties will arise even in the interpretation of Yaj. on which the Mit. comments. For example, in Yaj. II, 135-136 it is said that when a sonless man dies his wife, daughters and other heirs (named there) succeed one after another. If 'putra' is taken to mean only 'son' and no one else, then on the death of a man without a son his wife or daughter (whoever is alive) will take the wealth even if a son's son exists. But that would be absurd and is not stated by any one. Therefore the word putra has to be interpreted in a wider sense in a proper context. Many works such as the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Viramitrodaya, the Dattakamīmāṃsā interpret the word 'putra' as including three generations. Therefore, though the Mit. in its remarks on inheritance and succession expressly names the son and grand-

837. ऋणमात्मन्यवत्पित्र्यं देयं पुत्रैर्विभाजितम् । पैतामहं समं देयमदेवं तत्सुतरस्य तु ॥ इति बृहस्पतिस्मरणात् । ; समं यावद् गृहीतं तावदेव देयं न वृद्धिः तत्सुतरस्य प्रपौत्रस्यादेयम-
गृहीतघनस्य । मिता. on या. II, 50, पुत्रहीनस्य रिक्थिन इत्येतदपि पुत्रपौत्रहीनस्य प्रपौत्रा-
दयो यदि रिक्थं गृह्णन्ति तदा ऋणं दाप्या नान्यथेत्येवमर्थम् । पुत्रपौत्रौ च रिक्थग्रहणाभावेपि
दाप्यावित्युक्तम् । मिता. on या. II, 51.

son only (lit. it should have mentioned only the son) it must be taken as including the great-grandson also, particularly in view of the fact that it refers to the great-grandson in the comment on Yāj. I. 50 and 51 as taking the rikṭha which the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 114) interprets as aptratibandha dāya. Baud. Manu, Yājñavalkya speak of the three descendants and Śankha-likhita, Vas. XI. 39 and Yama employ only the word *putra* or *suta* in relation to the three ancestors. Therefore, the remark of Dr. Kapadia in 'Hindu Kinship' on p. 162 'Vijñāneśvara understands by the word *putra* sons and grandsons only' is unjustified. It is impossible to hold with Dr. Kapadia that the Mit. ran counter to the express dicta of renowned Smṛtis such as those of Manu, Śankha-Likhita and Purāṇas like the Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 13.30 (quoted above in note 582) and that in its remarks on succession it forgot its own interpretation of *putra* on Yāj. II. 51. He has also not correctly understood the words of the Mit. introducing Yāj. II. 137: 'sons and grandsons take the wealth; in their absence, the wife and others; thus it is said (by me)'. This is wrong for several reasons. 'Wife and others take the wealth' is said by Yāj. (in II. 135-36). The following words are 'now (the author) declares an exception to both.' This clearly refers to Yāj. (II. 137) and not to Vijñāneśvara and so 'uktam' also must refer to Yāj. and not to Vijñāneśvara. Therefore, according to the Mit. the great-grandson is included in the extended meaning of the word '*putra*', is entitled just like a son or a grandson to offer *śrāddha* (in default of a son or grandson) and to take the wealth and pay the debts of the ancestor. In the matter of payment of debts there is, on account of the difference in the period that elapses, a difference between all the three descendants if no ancestral wealth is left by the ancestor, viz. the son pays the debt with interest, the grandson only the principal lent but without interest and the great-grandson nothing at all. This shows that even between the son and the grandson that are expressly mentioned by Yāj. II. 50 as to the payment of debts there is a difference and that as the great-grandson had to pay nothing when no ancestral property existed he was not mentioned at all in Yāj. II. 50.

838. तथा शङ्कलितयमः । पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव अपितामहः । जातं पुत्रं ग्रहं सन्ति पिप्पलं शुकला इव ॥ अपितामहग्रहणात् पुत्रपर्वं प्रतीत्यपर्यन्तपरम् । तदनेन प्रतीत्यपर्यन्तपरम् अपितामहपर्यन्तोपकारकत्वात् ह्युत्पी दायाधिकारः । (दायभाग III. 18 and कल्पतरु p. 20; पिता पितो...उपासते स्मृतं जातं शङ्कुत्वा इव पिप्पलम् ॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 39, वसिष्ठ XI. 40 is quoted by कल्पतरु p. 20.

Just as the king is an ultimate heir and also the guardian of all minors, so he is like the son of a person (who has no relatives left) for performing śrāddhas

The next question is about the times when śrāddha is to be performed. It has been seen above (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 696 ff) that long before the time of the Śat. Br. five daily observances (called Mahāyajñas) were prescribed for each house-holder, viz the sacrifice to beings, that to men, that to the Fathers, that to the gods and that to Veda. The Śat. Br. and the Tai. Ā. (II, 10) say further that this daily rite in which one offers *śadhā* (food) to the Fathers even up to water was called *pitryajña*. Manu III, 70 defines *pitryajña* as *tarpaṇa* (satiating ancestors with the offerings of water). Manu III, 82 provides that an householder should daily perform a śrāddha with food or with water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus please the Fathers. Śrāddha originally meant a sacrifice performed for the Fathers on Amāvāsya (vide Gaut. 15, 1-2).^{83a} By applying that word to the daily offering of water to the Manes what is intended to be conveyed is that the special characteristics of śrāddha in the strict sense are to be extended to this daily rite so far as possible. Amāvāsya is of two kinds, *Sinivālī* and *Kuhū*. Those who keep śrauta fires should perform śrāddha on the former, while those who have not kept śrauta fires and śūdras should offer śrāddha on the latter.

Śrāddhas are divided into three classes, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. An observance is called *nitya* when it is laid down that it must be performed on a certain or fixed occasion (such as every day, on an amāvāsya, or on Astaka day). What is laid down for being done on an occasion which is uncertain is called *naimittika* (such as the birth of a son). What is ordained to be done in case one desires a certain reward or fruit is called *kāmya* (e. g. the performance of a śrāddha on Kṛtikā or Rohinī by one who desires heaven or progeny). The five daily *yajñas* including *pitryajña* are *nitya* i. e. they must be performed without any eye to any reward therefrom and the

83 a. अथ आह्वयः। अमावास्यायाः पितृभ्यो दद्यात्। गौ. 15, 1-2. इष्टचन्द्राः सिनीवाली नष्टचन्द्रा कुहस्तथा। तत्र साग्निके सिनीवालयां आह्वयं कार्यमितरं कुदायम्। तथा च स्वाप्तः। इष्टचन्द्राः सिनीवाली कार्या विप्रेस्तु साग्निकेः। नष्टचन्द्रा कुहू कार्या शुद्धे विप्रेरनाग्निकेः॥ अपरांत p. 417, स्मृतिच. (आ. p 344) The स्कन्दपुराण (VI 216 83) gives the following etymology of अमावास्या 'अमा नाम रवे रश्मिसहस्रमकुल. स्थितः। तस्मिन्वसति येनन्दुरमावाराग तत स्मृता' The वायुपुराण (56. 42) states 'अमा वसन्तायुके तु यदा चन्द्रविशतरी। एका पञ्चदशी रात्रिममावाराग तत स्मृता॥' अमा means सद्य or एकव.

non-performance thereof will lead to sinfulness. Passages mentioning the rewards that follow from the performance of obligatory (*nitya*) rites are only laudatory, they only convey that such performances make a man pure, but it is not meant that they are not obligatory and may be performed only if a person desires the rewards or results promised (i. e. such performances are not *kāmya*). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 7. 16. 4-7) provides certain times for the performance of śrāddha viz. that it must be performed in the latter half of every month, that the afternoon is preferable for it, that the last days of the latter half of each month are preferable to the first days of the latter half. Gaut. 15. 3 and Vas. XI. 16 say that śrāddha may be performed on any day of the dark half of a month after the 4th day and Gaut. 15. 5 adds that if particularly appropriate materials or particularly holy brāhmanas are available or the performer is near a very sacred place (such as Gayā) a śrāddha may be performed on any day. Kūrma (II. 20. 23) says the same thing. The Agnipurāṇa 115. 8 says that at Gayā a śrāddha may be performed on any day (na kalādi Gayātirthe dadyat pindāṃśca nityaśaḥ). Manu (III. 276-278) provides that the days of the dark half of the month beginning with the 10th but excepting the 14th^{838b} are recommended for śrāddha, that one performing a śrāddha on even lunar days (i. e. on the 10th, 12th) and on the even nakṣatras (i. e. on Bharani, Rohini &c.) gains the fulfilment of all his desires, that one who worships the Manes on uneven days (11th, 13th &c.) and on uneven constellations (Kṛttikā, Mṛgaśīras &c.) obtains prosperous offspring and that just as the latter half of a month is

838 b. About the 14th of the dark half वा I 264 says 'यत्पितृभ्यश्चिन्वेका वर्ज-
यित्वा ऋतुर्वशीष्ट। शस्त्रेण तु हत्वा ये वै तेन्यस्तत्र प्रदीयते॥', compare मनु III. 276, and मरीचि
states विशाल-वापदादितिर्यन्नाङ्गणयातिनाम्। ऋतुर्वशीष्टा कियत् कार्या अन्येवा तु विगर्हिता ॥
p. by सूत्रिणः. (आ.) p. 367, आह्वतत्त्व p. 191. नाङ्गणयातिना here means नाङ्गण-
कृतयातोऽस्यास्तीति. This only means that śrāddha should not be performed for
anyone on the 14th of the dark half except for those who were killed by
poison or by beasts, snakes, lower animals or brāhmanas or in battle. But a
śrāddha may be performed on any tithi of the dark half for those killed in
battle or by poison &c. It should be noted that Manu prescribes (III. 282)
that an āhitaṅga should not perform a śrāddha except on *darsa*, from which it
follows that only others (who had no śrauta fires) could offer śrāddha on any
day of the dark half. Vide स्कन्दपुराण VI. 204, 24-27 and VI. 219 19-21 for the
proposition that śrāddha should be performed on the 14th tithi of the dark
half of Bhādrapada for those who met a violent death by poisoning or fire or
were killed by animals having fangs or horns or who committed suicide.

preferable to the first half so the afternoon is preferable to the forenoon for the performance of a śrāddha. *Anuśāsanāparva* 87. 18 is the same as *Manu* III. 276. *Yāj.* (I. 217-218), the *Kūrma* (II 20, 2-8), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (28. 20 ff) and *Varāhapurāṇa* 13. 33-35 sum up in one place the times for performing śrāddhas as follows: *Amāvāsyā*, the *Aṣṭakā* days, lucky days (such as the birth of a son), dark half of a month, the two *ayanās* (the two days on which the sun appears to start towards the south or north i. e. solstices), possession of sufficient materials (such as rice and pulse or meat), the arrival of a worthy brāhmana, the equinoctial points (*visuvat*, i. e. the sun's apparent entrance into Aries and Balance), the days on which the sun passes into one *rāśi* from another, the astrological conjunctions called *Vyatipāta*^{838c}, *Gajacchāyā*, eclipses of the sun and the moon, when the performer has an intense desire to perform śrāddha—these are times for performing śrāddha. The *Mārkan-*

838c. अपरार्के p. 426 quotes बृहन्नल्लु for defining व्यतीपात 'अवगात्रिधानिष्ठाद्वा-
नागदैवतमस्तके । यद्यमा रविचरेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते ॥'. Vide अग्निपु 209. 13 for
the same verse with slight variations (due probably to not reading the mss correctly). When *Amāvāsyā* occurs on a Sunday and the moon is on that day
either in *Śravana* nakṣatra or in *Āśvini*, *Dhanīṣṭhā*, *Ārdrā* or the first quarter
of *Āśleṣā*, that is a conjunction called व्यतीपात, some explain मस्तक as meaning
मृगशिरोनक्षत्र. *Bāṇa* mentions *Vyatipāta* in his हर्षचरित व्यतीपात is also
defined in another way with reference to *Rāśis*. पञ्चाननस्यौ मुख्यनिष्ठौ मेघे
रवि. स्याद्यदि शुक्लपक्षे । पञ्चाभिधाना करमेन शुक्ला तिथिर्षतीपात इतीह योगः ॥ q. by ar.
क. ल. pp. 18-19. When on the 12th of the bright half the moon is in
Hasta nakṣatra, the sun in *Mesa* (Aries) and Jupiter and Mars in *Lion*,
then the conjunction is called व्यतीपात गजच्छाया is a conjunction that occurs
when the moon is in *Maghā* nakṣatra and the sun is in *Hasta* and the tithi
is 13th in the rainy season. विश्वरूप on या. II 218 quotes 'यदि स्यान्नन्दनः
पित्र्ये कौ चैव दिवाकरः । वर्षासु च त्रयोदश्यां सा च्छाया कुजरस्य तु ॥'. अपरार्के quotes a
काठकश्रुति 'एतद्धि देवपितृणां चायसं यज्जस्तिच्छाया'). Both the मित्ता. and अपरार्के
p. 427 have a similar verse The कल्पतरु (आ) p. 9 and कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 319 quote
ब्रह्मपुराण 'योगो मघात्रयोदश्यां कुजरछापसंश्रितः । भवेन्मघायां संस्थे च शशिन्यर्के करे
स्थिते ॥'. The सौरपुराण (51.31-32) puts it as 'आह्नपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां मघास्तिन्दुः करे रविः'
The स्कन्दपुराण (VI 220 42-44) explains हस्तिच्छाया in several ways. The
अग्निपु (165 3-4) explains हस्तिच्छाया in two ways Some take गजच्छाया literally
and say that śrāddha should be performed in the shadow of an elephant. The
Vanaparva 200 121 avers that such a śrāddha in which the ears of the
elephant serve as a fan gives gratification for thousands of कल्प. अपरार्के
p. 427 quotes a verse from the महाभारत about आह्न performed in the rainy
season under the shadow of an elephant and fanned by the flapping of its
ears and the meat being that of a goat all red in colour.

deya^{838a} (chap. 28. 22-23), adds that śrāddha should be performed when a man dreams an evil dream and when evil planets affect the nakṣatra of his birth. In an eclipse the appropriate time for śrāddha is what is called *Spaṇṭa Kāla*⁸³⁹ (i. e. when the eclipse begins), as stated in a verse of Vṛddha-Vasistha. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 51-54) contains all the times specified by Yāj. and a few more. Vide also Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 30-32, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 4-6, Padma (srsti 9. 128-129). Acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 76. 1-2, Amāvāsyā, the three Astakās and the three Anvastakās, the 13th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada on which the moon is in *Maghā*, *Śarad* and *Vasanta* are obligatory (*nitya*) times for śrāddha and that if a person does not perform śrāddha on these days he goes to Hell. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (77.1-7) states that the day of the sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another, the two equinoctial days, particularly the solstitial days, Vyatipāta, the constellation on which the performer is born, a time of rejoicing (son's birth or the like)—these are *kāmya* times and a śrāddha performed on these occasions gives infinite pleasure (to the Manes). The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 16. 6-8) says that śrāddhas called *kāmya* are commended on eclipses, solstice days, equinoctial days and on Vyatipāta and they give infinite pleasure (to the Manes) and śrāddha performed on-Sankrānti (sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another) is inexhaustible and so also on days of birth and on the several nakṣatras śrāddhas should be performed. Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 8-22, Anuśāsana 87, Vāyu 89. 10-19, Yāj I 262-263, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 15-21, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 78. 36-50, Kūrmapurāṇa (II 20. 17-22), Brahmandā III. 17. 10-22 state what rewards a man gets if he performs śrāddhas on each of the days from the first to the 15th of the dark half. These lists do not completely agree with each other. That of Āp. being probably the most ancient, is set out here—Śrāddha performed on each of the 15 days of the dark half respectively yields the following results in order, viz. progeny chiefly consisting of females (on 1st tithi

838 d. आद्धार्हस्वसंगतो तथा दुःस्वप्नदर्शने । जन्मसमग्रहीदासु आर्द्धं कुर्यात् श्रेष्ठया॥ मार्कण्डेय 28.22. A man can perform a śrāddha on any tithi of the dark half of a month, but he should not perform it on a tithi when the moon is in the *nakṣatra* on which he was born or in *Pūrvā-bhādrapadā* or in *Uttarābhādrapadā* or *Kṛtikā*, *Ārdra*, *Āśleṣā* or *Mūla* or in a *nakṣatra*, which is 5th, 14th or 23rd from the *nakṣatra* of his birth.

839. ग्रहणसुपरगः । तत्रापि स्पर्शकालो ग्राह्यः । त्रिदशः स्पर्शसमये तृप्त्यन्ति पितर-स्तथा । मनुष्या मरणकाले तु भोजकाले तु राक्षसाः॥ इति वृद्धवसिष्ठस्मरणाद् । भट्टोजि ०८ चतु. सं. p. 124, स्मृतच. (आ) p. 342 quotes the verse,

of dark half), sons that will be thieves, sons that will be possessed of Vedic learning and the performance of Veda-vratas, son that will own small domestic animals, many sons that will be distinguished (by their learning) and the performer will not die childless, a great traveller and gambler (on the 6th), success in agriculture (on 7th), prosperity (on 8th), one-hoofed animals (on 9th), success in trade (10th day), black iron and tin and lead (on 11th), son possessed of cattle (on 12th), many sons and many friends and handsome children which will die young (13th tithi), success in arms (14th), prosperity (on 15th i. e. Amāvāsyā). Gārgya (q by Par. M. I. 2 p. 324) provides that one should not perform śrāddha on Nandā, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half and on the nakṣatra of birth and the preceding and the following nakṣatras for fear of losing one's sons and wealth. The Nandā tithis are 1st, 6th and 11th. The Anuśāsana-parva (87. 16) provides that he who performs śrāddha on the 13th tithi attains pre-eminence among his agnates, but then the young men in his house die as a consequence.

The śrāddhas performed on the days mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 1-6 are *namutika* and those performed on certain tithis and days of the week for securing certain rewards would be *kāmya* śrāddhas. According to Par. M. I. 1 p. 63 the performance of obligatory (*nitya*) actions is *samskāra* (i e. effects a purifying change in the mind making it fit for higher things), while in some cases it may also produce the desire to know the Reality behind the appearances (i e. it is 'vividiśa-janaka' as indicated by the Gītā 9. 27). Jaimini (VI. 3. 1-7) establishes the proposition that the *nitya* acts (such as Agni-hotra, Darśa-pūrṇamāsa-yāga) must be performed even though the performer is unable to perform a subsidiary part of the rite; while Jai. VI. 3. 8-10 provide that every part of *kāmya* actions must be performed and if the performer thinks that he would be unable to perform all he should not undertake to perform a *kāmya* rite at all.⁸³⁹

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 1-7) states that one performing śrāddha on Sunday secures everlasting freedom from disease and those who perform śrāddha on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday (Jaiva), Friday and Saturday respec-

839 a. This position is stated by the परा मा. I part 1 p. 17c: 'यदा कृत्वा द्वादशानक्षत्रैश्चैव काम्यमनुष्ठेयम्' The विष्णुपुराण (III. 14.4-8) sets out the times for काम्यश्राद्ध. The two propositions of जैमिनि are often spoken of as पञ्चाशक्तिश्राद्ध and सर्वश्राद्धसंस्कारश्राद्ध.

tively secure happiness (or admiration by people), victory in battle, all desires, such learning as he desires, wealth and long life. The *Kūrma* (II. 20, 16-17) also expatiates on the rewards for śrāddhas on the several days of the week.

The *Visnu-Dharmasūtra* (78. 8-15) mentions what rewards follow from performance of śrāddhas on the 28 nakṣatras from *Kṛttikā* to *Bharanī* (including *Abhijit* which is placed after *Uttarāśādhā* and before *Śravana*). *Yāj* I. 265-268, *Vāyu* chap. 82, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* 30. 8-16, *Kūrma* (II. 20 9-15), *Brahmapurāṇa* 220, 33-42, *Brahmāṇḍa* (Upodghātapāda 18.1 ff) also deal with the same topic, but all these works do not present complete agreement. For example, *Visnu Dh S.* and *Yāj.* agree that śrāddha performed on *Kṛttikā*, *Rohinī*, *Āśvini* and *Bharanī* yield as rewards heaven, offspring, horses and longevity, but they disagree in several others e. g. while *Visnu* says that prosperity, beauty (or happiness) and all desires are obtained by performing śrāddha on the *Puṣya*, *Āśleṣa* and *Maghā* nakṣatras respectively, *Yāj.* provides that a śrāddha on these three yields strength, son and eminence. The *Anu-śāsanaparva* 89 and *Vāyupurāṇa* 82 set out the rewards of śrāddhas on the several nakṣatras from *Kṛttikā* as declared by *Yama* to *Śaśabindu*.

It is stated in the *Agnipurāṇa* ⁸⁴⁰ that śrāddhas performed at a holy place and on days that are called *Yugādi* and *Manvādī* yield inexhaustible gratification (to the *pitṛs*). The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* ⁸⁴¹, *Matsyapurāṇa* (17. 4-5), *Padma V.* 9. 130-131, *Varāhapurāṇa* and *Prajāpati-smṛti* verse 22 and *Skanda VII* 1. 205 33-34 state that the third tithi of *Vaiśākha* (bright half), the 9th of the bright half of *Kārtika*, the 13th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada* and 15th tithi of the dark half of *Māgha* are called *Yugādi tithis* (i. e. the first days of the four *Yugas* from *Kṛta*).

840. तीर्थे युगादौ मन्वादौ आर्द्धं दत्तमथाक्षयम् । अग्निपुराण 117.61, युगादिषु च कर्तव्यं मन्वन्तरादिकेषु च ॥ बृहत्सारा 5.3 (p. 149).

841. वैशाखमासस्य द्वि या तृतीया नवम्यसौ कार्तिकेयुद्धयक्षे । नभस्वमासस्य तमिद्वयक्षे त्रयोदशी पञ्चदशी च मासे ॥ एता युगाद्याः कथिताः पुराणैरनन्तगुण्यास्त्रिष्यश्चतस्रः । विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 12-13 q by स्मृतिच I, pp. 58-59, कृत्स्नरत्नाकर p. 542, मद् वा p. 538. अपराक्षि (p. 425) quotes the विष्णुपुराण differently. The मत्स्यपुराण (17.4) and एतद् place 15th of माघ before the 13th of भाद्रपद Vide अग्निपु 209. 14-15 for some different dates for युगादि The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 9) gives a different order. शुक्लतृतीया वैशाखे प्रेतपक्षे त्रयोदशी कार्तिके नवमी शुक्ला माघे दशैश्च पूर्णिमा । एता युगादयः भोक्ता दत्तस्याक्षयकारकाः ॥ The ब्राह्मपुराण (13 40-41) contains the verse वैशाखमासस्य O. मजापतिस्मृति (22) has a similar verse for युगादि days.

Matsya 17. 6-8, Agnipurāṇa 117. 61-64 and 209. 16-18, Saurapurāṇa 51. 33-36, Padmapurāṇa (Śrī 9. 132-135) mention the first tithis of the 14 Manus (or Manvantaras) as follows. 9th of the bright half of Āśvina, 12th of the bright half of Kārtika, the third of the bright half of Caitra and of Bhādrapada, the amāvāsyā of Fālguna, the 11th of the bright half of Pausa, 10th of bright half of Āśādhā and the 7th of the bright half of Māgha, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvana, the Full Moon of Āśādhā, Kārtika, Fālguna, Caitra and Jyestha. The Matsya-purāṇa list is quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 58, Kṛtyaratnākara p. 543, Par. M. I. 1. p. 156 and I. 2 p. 311, and the Madanapārijāta p. 540. The orders in the Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 205. 36-39 and the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 9) are slightly different. In the Skandapurāṇa (Nāgarakhanda) the first tithis of thirty kalpas from Śveta onwards are specified as fit for śrāddha, but are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S. II. ⁸⁴² 7. 17. 23-25, Manu III. 280, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 8-9, Kūrma (II. 16. 3-4), Brahmandā III. 14. 3, Bhaviṣya I. 185. 1 forbid the performance of śrāddha at night or at twilight or when the sun has just risen except in the case of an eclipse of the moon. Āp. adds that when once a śrāddha is begun in the afternoon and owing to some cause there is delay and the sun sets then the performer should perform the remaining rites the next day and he should observe a fast till the placing of the *pinḍas* on the *darbhas*. Viṣṇu Dh. S. declares that śrāddha performed during an eclipse satisfies the Manes as long as the moon and stars exist and brings to the performer all advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires, while the Kūrmapurāṇa threatens that he who would not perform a śrāddha in an eclipse sinks (incurs sins or becomes ruined) as a cow in mud. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 217 is careful to point out that though there is a prohibition against eating during the progress of an eclipse of the sun or moon, that prohibition would only affect the eater (the brāhmana who eats śrāddha repast in an eclipse) but not the giver who will secure happiness (or good results) thereby. ⁸⁴³

⁸⁴² न च नक्तं श्राद्धं कुर्वति । आरब्धे चाभोजनना समापनात् । अन्यत्र राहृदर्शनात् । आप ध सू II. 7. 17 23-25 ; नक्तं तु वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धं राहोरन्यत्र दर्शनात् । सर्वस्वेनापि कर्तव्यं क्षिप्रं वै राहृदर्शने ॥ उपरागे न कुर्याद्यः पङ्के गोतिव सीदति ॥ कूर्मपुराण II. 16. 3-4.

⁸⁴³ यद्यपि 'चन्द्रसूर्यमहे नाथात्' इति ग्रहणे भोजननिषेधस्तथापि भोक्तृदोषो बाहुर-
म्युदयः । मिता on या I 217-218.

Very learned disquisitions are held in *Aparārka* p. 465 ff, Hemādri p. 313 ff and other writers and digests as to the meaning of *aparāhna* which is the time for śrāddha prescribed by Manu (III. 278). There are several views. Some hold that the part of the day after noon is 'after-noon.' The word 'pūrvāhna' occurs in Rg. X. 34. 11. Others relying on a śruti⁸⁴⁴ text 'The forenoon is for gods, mid-day for men and afternoon for pitṛs' hold that the third part of the day divided into three parts is 'aparāhna.' A third view is that *aparāhna* is the 4th part of the day divided into five parts and they rely⁸⁴⁵ on Śat. Br. II. 2. 3 9. The five parts are called *prātaḥ*, *saṅgava*, *madhyandina* (or *madhyāhna*), *aparāhna* and *sāyāhna* (or *sāyam* or *astagamana*). The first three are expressly mentioned even in the Rgveda V. 76. 3 Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 156-157) says that each of these five parts extends over three *muhūrtas* (the day being divided into fifteen *muhūrtas*). It further states that *kutapa* is the 8th *muhūrta* from sunrise and that śrāddha should be begun in *kutapa* and should not last beyond *Rauhina* *muhūrta* and that five *muhūrtas* (from 8th to 12th) are the maximum time for śrāddha.⁸⁴⁶ The word *kutapa* has eight meanings as noted by the Sm. C. (śrāddha) p. 433 and Hemādri on śrāddha p. 320. The word is derived from 'ku' meaning 'condemned' (i. e. sin) and 'tapa' means 'what burns.' The eight⁸⁴⁷ meanings of 'kutapa' are 'midday, a vessel of rhinoceros horn, woollen seat or blanket

844. पूर्वाह्णे वै देवानां मध्यन्दिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितॄणाम् । तस्मादपराह्णे व्रजति । शतपथम् II. 4.2.8.

845. आदित्यरत्नेव सर्वं ऋतवः । यद्वैद्योदित्येव नस्तन्तो यदा रंगवोऽथ ग्रीष्मो यदा मध्यन्दिनोयं वर्णं यदापराह्णोऽथ शरत् यदैवास्तमेत्यथ हेमन्तस्तस्माद् मध्यन्दिन एवावधीतं तर्हि होमोऽस्य लोकस्य नेदिष्टं भवति । शतपथम् II. 2.3.9, quoted by स्मृतिच (आ. p. 363)

846. आरम्भं कुतपे क्षुर्यादौर्दिणं तु न लङ्घयेत् । एतत्पञ्चमुहूर्तान्तः श्राद्धकाल उदाहृतः ॥ मुहूर्तास्तत्र विज्ञेया वरा यत्र च सर्वदा । तत्राष्टमो मुहूर्तो यः स कालः कुतपः स्मृतः ॥ मजापति verses 158-159. Compare पञ्च (सुखिखण्ड 11.91-92) and स्कन्द VII. 1. 205 6 for similar verses. The names of the 15 मुहूर्ता are quoted in डोबरामन्ड (on आ. folio 25a) and in बृहद्योगयात्रा of बराहमिहिर (VI. 2-4) m. in my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala,' JBBRAS vol., 24-25 p. 21.

847 मध्यान्नः खड्गपात्रं च तथा नेपालकम्बलः । रूप्यं वर्ध्नास्तिला गात्रो दौहित्रश्चाष्टमः स्मृतः ॥ पापं कुतिलमित्र्याहुस्तस्य सन्तापकारिणि । अष्टावेते यतस्तस्य कुतपा इति विज्ञता ॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 8-9, पञ्च VI. 131.76-78, q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 433 as स्मृत्यन्तर) and by हेमाद्रि p. 320 and p. 1176 (where these are quoted as पौर्णिमसि's) लघुश्रातातप (verse 108) speaks of खड्गपात्र as दौहित्र and is quoted by अपरार्क (p. 474) लघुश्रातातप (109) defines कुतप as the 8th part of the day (out of 15) and is quoted by आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 317 अपरार्क p. 474 quotes a smṛti giving three senses of दौहित्र 'अपरं दुहितृश्वैव खड्गपात्रं तथैव च । पूर्तं च कपिलाया गोदौहित्रमिति कीर्तितम्'.

from Nepal, silver, darbhas, sesame, cows and daughter's son.' The general rule is that śrāddhas are performed in the afternoon (but this applies to śrāddha on New moon, Mahālaya, Āstaka and Anyastaka śrāddhas), while Vṛddhiśrāddha and śrāddha in which only corn is offered (āmaśrāddha) are performed in the morning. Medhatithi on Manu III. 245 quotes a smṛti text on this ⁸⁴⁸ The Trikaṇḍamandana (II 150, 162) provides that when it is not possible to perform a religious rite at the time prescribed for it as appropriate, it should be performed at some other time thereafter and that, between the proper time of a rite and the means, the former is to be preferred and one should not wait for a time later than the proper one with the desire of being able to collect all the principal materials. ^{848a}

A few words must be said about the proper places for the performance of a śrāddha. Manu (III 206-207) lays down that the performer should make efforts to secure a spot sloping to the south and smear it with cowdung, a spot that is pure and unfrequented (by many persons) and that the Fathers are pleased by śrāddha at naturally clean spots or the banks of rivers and spots that are unfrequented. Yaj. I. 227 very briefly puts the requirements by saying that the place of śrāddha should be covered on all sides, should be pure and sloping to the south. Śaṅkha says: ⁸⁴⁹ 'one should not perform śrāddha on the backs of bulls, elephants and horses, nor on raised earth platforms nor on land owned by others'. The Kūrmapurāṇa states⁸⁵⁰ 'Forests, sacred mountains, holy places, temples—these have no (definite) owner and they cannot be private property (of any one)'. Yama provides ⁸⁵¹ 'if one offers śrāddha to his *pitrs* in spots

848. पूर्वाह्ने वैविक कार्यमपराह्णे तु पैतृकम् । एकोद्विहं तु मध्याह्ने प्रातर्द्विनिमित्तकम् ॥ मेधातिथि on मनु III. 245. The द्विपकालिका on या. I. 226 quotes this verse as from वायुपुराण and reads पूर्वाह्ने नातृक etc.

848 a. मुख्यकाले यदाचक्ष्यं कर्म कर्तुं न शक्यते । गौणकालेऽपि कर्तव्यं गौणोपवेष्टको भवेत् ॥ स्वकालाद्गच्छते गौण कालः पूर्वस्य कर्मणः ॥ मुख्यकालस्तुपाश्रित्य गौणमप्यस्तु साधनम् । न मुख्यद्वयलोभेन गौणकालप्रतीक्षणम् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II 150, 157, 162.

849. गौणजाश्चाद्विष्टेषु कृत्रिमाया तथा धुनि । न कुर्याच्छ्राद्धस्तेषु पारक्यास्तु च धूमिषु ॥ इहम् q. by परा मा I. 2 p 303, आ म. p. 140, स्मृतिच (आ p. 385).

850. अद्वय. पर्वता पुण्यास्तीर्थान्यायत्तानि च । सर्वाण्यस्वामिकान्याहुर्म ह्येतेषु परि-
ग्रहः ॥ कूर्म II. 22 17 अपरार्क p 471, कल्पतरु (आ p. 116), and आ प्र p 148
quote a very similar verse as यम's.

851. यमः । परकीयप्रदेशेषु पित्राणां निर्वपेत्तु यः । तन्मृत्स्वामिपितृभि आहुकर्म विहस्यते ॥ तस्माच्छ्राद्धानि देवानि पुण्येवायतनेषु च । नदीतीरेषु तीर्थेषु स्वधूमौ भयस्ततः ॥ उपद्रवनिष्कृतेषु तथा पर्वतसाक्षिषु ॥ q. by अपरार्क p 471, कल्पतरु (आ p. 115), compare कूर्म II 22 16

belonging to others, that śrāddha rite is destroyed by the pits of the owner of those spots. Therefore, a man should perform śrāddha on holy spots, on river banks, in sacred places and particularly in land belonging to himself, in bowers near hills and on mountain tops' The Visnudharma-sūtra chap 85 mentions numerous holy places and then adds 'in these and other *tīrthas*, big rivers, on all natural sandy banks, near streams, on mountains, in bowers, forests, groves and spots that look charming because of being smeared with cowdung (śrāddha may be performed)' Śankha (14 27-29) states 'whatever is given in holy Gayā, in Prabhāsa, Puskara, Prayāga, in the Naimisa forest (on the Sarasvatī), on the banks of the Ganges, Yamunā, Payosnī, on Amarakantaka, on Narmadā, in Benares, in Kuruksetra, Bhrgutunga, on the Himālaya, on Sapta-Venī, on Rśikūpa—all that becomes inexhaustible.' The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 5-7) also specifies river banks, lakes, mountain tops, sacred spots like Puskara as the proper places for śrāddha. The Vāyupurāṇa, chap 77 and Matsya 22 contain long lists of sacred places, countries, mountains in relation to śrāddhas. The Kalpataru (śrāddha p. 40) and Sr. P. p. 147 state that special characteristics of the tīrthas in the several countries that are declared to be fit places for śrāddha should be understood from the inhabitants of those various countries.

Sacred places will be dealt with in a separate section (on *tīrthas*).

The Visnudharmasūtra⁸⁵² (chap 84) prescribes that śrāddha should not be performed in Mleccha country, nor should one go to a Mleccha country and then defines a Mleccha country as one in which the system of the four *varnas* is not established and states that Āryāvarta is beyond that. The Vāyupurāṇa provides⁸⁵³ that the country of Trisanku which is

852 न म्लेच्छविषये आहुं कुर्यात् । न गच्छेन्म्लेच्छविषयम् । परनिपातेऽप्य पीत्वा ब्रह्माम्यसुपगच्छतीति । चातुर्वर्ण्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते । स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्तत् परः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 84 1-4

853. विशङ्कोर्वजयेदेशं सर्वं द्वादशयोजनम् । उत्तरेण महानद्या वक्षिणेन तु कीवदम् ॥ देशस्त्रैशङ्कोरो नाम आहुर्कर्मणि वर्जितः । कारकुरा कलिङ्गाश्च सिन्धोरुत्तरमेव च । मण्डल-अमवर्णाश्च देशा वज्याः प्रयत्नतः । वासुपुराण 78. 21-23, ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद 14 31-33, quoted by हेमाद्रि (आ p. 162), and आहुः p. 147 and अपरार्क p. 472 (as from ब्रह्माण्ड). Vide also विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 141. 2-4.

twelve *yojanas* in extent and which is to the north of the river Mahānadi and to the south of Kikata (i. e. Magadha) is not fit for śrāddha, similarly the countries called Kāraskara, Kalinga, the country to the north of the river Sindhu and all countries where the system of *varnas* and *āśramas* is not in existence should be sedulously avoided for śrāddhas. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 8-10) makes the somewhat startling remark that the following countries should be avoided for śrāddhas viz. the Kirāṭa country, Kalinga, Konkana, Krimi (Krivi?), Daśārṇa, Kumārya (Cape Comorin), Tangana, Kratha, the northern banks of the Sindhu river and the south bank of Narmadā and the east of the Karatoyā.

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa⁸⁵⁴ prescribes that for a śrāddha a place (ground) that is full of insects, that is arid, or is burnt by fire, from which proceed sounds that are painful to the ear, that is terrific in its aspect, that emits fetid smell should be avoided.

It was also provided from very early times that certain persons and animals are to be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed and are not to be allowed to pollute the śrāddha rite by looking at it or by disturbing it in various other ways. Gaut. (15. 25-28) provides that food seen by dogs, cāṇḍālas and those guilty of mahāpātakas becomes unclean (and so unfit); therefore one should offer śrāddha in a covered (or screened) place; or he should strew round about the place sesame or a worthy brāhmana who purifies a row of diners by his presence should perform a śānti for removing the taint caused (by a dog or cāṇḍāla seeing the food &c). Āp. Dh. S. prescribes that the learned condemn the seeing of a śrāddha by dogs and those who (being *patita*) are excommunicated and that a leper, a bald man, one having sexual intercourse with another's wife, the son of a brāhmana who follows the profession of arms, the son of a brāhmana woman from a śūdra man—if these eat śrāddha food they pollute the diners sitting to eat in a row. Manu (III. 239-242) states: 'a cāṇḍāla, a village pig or cock, a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, an impotent person—these should not be allowed to see brāhmanas engaged in taking dinner. Whatever is seen by these at a *homa*

854 वर्ज्या जन्तुमयी रुक्षा क्षितिः सुखा तथाग्निना । अनिष्टद्रुष्टश्चक्षोः शुर्मन्धा आङ्ग-
कर्मणि ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 29. 19 q. by आङ्ग p. 139.

(agnihotra), at a gift (of cows and gold), when brāhmanas are being fed, or at a religious rite (like the Darśa-Pūrnamāsa sacrifice) or at a śrāddha becomes fruitless. A pig taints food (offered to gods or Manes) by merely smelling it, a cock by setting in motion the air with its wings, a dog by casting a glance and a man of low caste by touch. If a servant of even the person who offers śrāddha is lame or squint-eyed or has a limb less or more (i. e. having eleven or nine fingers &c.), he should be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed.' It is provided by the Anuśāsanaparva (127.13) that śrāddha food should not be seen by a woman in her monthly illness or by a sonless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy. Visnu-dharmasūtra (82, 3 ff) contains a long list of about 30 persons who are not to be allowed near a śrāddha. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 22, 34-35) states that one devoid of a limb, a *paṭita*, a leper, one suffering from an open ulcer, an atheist, a cock, a pig, a dog, should be kept far away from a śrāddha; one should also avoid one that has a disgusting appearance, an impure person, one who is naked, a mad man, a gambler, a woman in her monthly course, those that wear indigo-coloured or yellow-red garments and those who follow heretical views. The Mārkaṇḍeya 32 20-24, Vāyu 78. 26-40, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 16. 12-14 and Anuśāsanaparva 91 43-44 also contain long lists which are passed over here. The Skandapurāṇa VI 217. 43 also speaks about a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, a *paṭita* and a hog not being allowed to see the śrāddha rite.

The classification of Śrāddhas.

Śrāddhas have been variously classified. One classification, viz. into *mṛtya*, *namuttika* and *kāmya* has already been described above (p. 369). Another classification is that into *Ekoddista* and *Pārvana*⁸⁵⁵. The first is offered to one deceased person alone, while the latter is performed on the amāvāsyā of a month or in the dark half of Bhādrapada or on saṅkrānti and in it the three paternal ancestors are principally invoked. Brhas-

⁸⁵⁵ Vide H of Dh vol. III p 737, note 1425 for explanation of these two. अमावास्यां यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणमुदाहृतम्। क्रियते वा पर्वणि यत्तत्पार्वणमिति स्थितिः॥ भविष्यपुराण I. 183 15 q. by कल्पतरु p. 7, आहृततरु p. 192, आ ति. of रुद्रधर, आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 6 (which explains 'पार्वणि अष्टका मावीपौर्णमास्यादि') The परा. मा. I. 2 p 199 says पुरुषत्रयमुद्दिश्य यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणम्। एकपुरुषोद्दिश्य यत्क्रियते तदेकोद्दिष्टम्. Venk. ed. of भविष्य reads दर्शे वा क्रियते यत् ।

pati quoted in the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara mentions five classes of śrāddhas as declared by Manu viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, Vṛddhi and Pārvana⁸⁵⁵. The Śrāddhaviveka remarks that the sixteen *pretaśrāddhas* (to be described later on) are included under naimittika and that such śrāddhas as Gosthi-śrāddha enumerated in other smṛtis are included in Pārvana. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 20. 26) similarly speaks of the five śrāddhas as enumerated by Manu⁸⁵⁷. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 217 states that there are five śrāddhas, viz. 'ahar-ahañ-śrāddha, pārvana, vṛddhiśrāddha, ekoddista and sapindikarana. The daily śrāddha is described by Manu III. 83 (= Śākhya 13.16 and Matsya 16.4) as one that is performed every day with food (cooked rice, yavas &c.) or with water or with milk, fruits and roots. Two verses of Viśvāmitra⁸⁵⁸ quoted by several works speak of twelve kinds of śrāddhas, viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vṛddhi-śrāddha (performed on the birth of a son, marriage or similar incident of good luck), sapindana (sapindikarana), pārvana, gosthiśrāddha, śuddhiśrāddha, karmāṅga, daivika, yātrāśrāddha, pustīśrāddha. Explanations of all these are quoted from the Bhavisyapurāṇa by the same works. Sapindana and Pārvana will be described below. Some of the rest not already defined may be briefly explained as follows: The Gosthi-śrāddha⁸⁵⁹ is one which is performed when a man be-

856. नित्य नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिआर्द्धं तथैव च । पार्वणं चेति मनुना आर्द्धं पञ्चविंश
स्मृतम् ॥ वृद्धपति q. by आ. वि. of वृद्धधर p 1

857. कर्मरम्भेषु सर्वेषु कुर्याद्विष्णुदये पुन । पुत्रजन्मादिषु आर्द्धं पार्वणं परं ह स्मृतम् ॥
अहस्पृहानि नित्यं स्यात् काम्यं नैमित्तिकं पुन । एकोद्धिद्यादि विज्ञेय द्विधा आर्द्धं तु पार्वणम् ।
एतत् पञ्चविधं आर्द्धं मनुना परिकीर्तितम् । कूर्म. II. 20.24-26 आश्वलायन q. by आर्द्धक-
लिका enumerates them as काम्यं नैमित्तिकं वृद्धिरेकोद्धिदं च पार्वणम्. (folio 1)

858. नित्य नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिआर्द्धं सपिण्डनम् । पार्वणं चेति विज्ञेयं गोष्ठ्यां
वृद्धार्थमष्टनम् ॥ कर्मोक्तं नयन मोक्त दैविकं दशमं स्मृतम् । यात्रास्वेकादशं मोक्तं पुष्ट्यर्थं द्वादश
स्मृतम् ॥ विष्णुमित्र q. by कल्पतरु p 6, स्मृतिच (आ. p. 334), सह पा p. 475,
आ. क. ल p. 6, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 374 The कूर्मपुराण also (II. 20.26-27)
mentions यात्राआर्द्ध, वृद्धिआर्द्ध and दैविकआर्द्ध This enumeration occurs in
भविष्यपुराण I. 183.6-7 and स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1.205. 41-42 The कल्पतरु refers
to two verses of the ब्रह्मपुराण for explaining यात्राआर्द्ध which are quoted at
length in आ. कि. कौ p. 267 and आ. म. p. 333.

859. गोष्ठ्या यत्क्रियते आर्द्धं गोष्ठीआर्द्धं तदुच्यते । बहूना विदुषा संपत्सुखार्थं
पितृवृत्तये । भविष्यपु q. by कल्पतरु p 7, सह पा p 476, आ. क. ल p 7. The
कल्पतरु explains गोष्ठी चात्र आर्द्धकर्वुसमुदायः । संपत्सुखार्थं आर्द्धसामग्र्यसमुदायं यत्सुखं
तदर्थं बहूनां विदुषा केनचित्क्रियतेन युगपच्छास्त्रे कर्तव्य उपरिधत्ते पृथक्पाकाद्यसम्पत्तौ सम्भूय
आर्द्धसामग्र्यसंपादनेन यच्छास्त्रं क्रियते तद्गोष्ठीआर्द्धमिति शङ्खधर. 11 (p. 7) The दण्डवति-
आर्द्धमयोग of रघुनाथ gives another explanation 'आर्द्धस्य गोष्ठ्यां वार्तायां क्रियमाणया
तज्जनितोत्साहेन यत् क्रियते आर्द्धम्'.

comes enthusiastic owing to a talk about śrāddha or when many learned men gather together at a sacred place and, finding it impossible to have separate cooking arrangements for each, pool their resources for collecting śrāddha materials and perform simultaneously śrāddha for the pleasure it affords to themselves and for the gratification of pitrs. The Śuddhi-śrāddha is one where brāhmanas are fed when a person undergoes *śuddhi* (purification) after being guilty of some sin or transgression (it is a subsidiary act in a *prāyaścitta*). That śrāddha is called 'karmāṅga' which is performed at the time of the *Gaṇbhādhāna* rite or at the performance of a soma sacrifice, or at *śimantonnayana*, *pumsavana* (it is like *Vṛddhiśrāddha*). That is called *daivika śrāddha* which is intended to propitiate gods (it is like *nityaśrāddha* and is performed on the 7th or 12th *tithi*, or the like with sacrificial food). When a man going to a distant country on a pilgrimage or the like performs a śrāddha in which clarified butter is served (to brāhmanas) in abundance or when he comes back to his house, that is *yātraśrāddha*. That is called *pustīśrāddha* which is performed for the health (or fattening) of the body (when taking some medicines for the purpose) or for the increase of one's wealth. Out of these ⁸⁶⁰ twelve the principal ones are *pārvaṇa*, *ekoddīsta*, *vṛddhi* and *sapṛāṇa*. There are works called *Ṣaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha* such as those of Śivabhatta, son of Govinda, and of Raghunātha. The 96 śrāddhas to be performed in a year are briefly enumerated in a verse ⁸⁶¹ quoted in the note. They are 12 śrāddhas on

860. गोष्ठ्या यत्क्रियते आर्द्धं गोष्ठीआर्द्धं तदुच्यते । बहूना विदुषा सन्पत्सुखार्थं
पितृपूजये ॥ क्रियते शुद्धये यत्तु ब्राह्मणानां तु भोजनम् । शुद्धचर्यामिति तस्योक्तं वेनतेप
मनीमिभिः ॥ निषेककाले सोमे च सीमन्तोन्नयने तथा । क्षीरेण पुसवने चैव आर्द्धं कर्माङ्गमेव
च ॥ वेष्टालद्विषय यच्छाङ्गं तत्तु वैविकलुच्यते । इदित्येण विशिष्टेन सप्तम्यादिषु यत्नतः ॥
मन्त्रश्रवणान्तरं यच्छ आर्द्धं कुर्यान्तु सविदा । यज्ञार्थमिति तस्योक्तं श्रेष्ठे च न संशयः ॥
क्षीरोपचये आर्द्धमर्थोपचय एव वा । शुद्धचर्यामिति तस्योक्तं श्रेष्ठे च न संशयः ॥
183 15-19, q. by स्मृतिच (अ.) p. 334, आ. क. ल. p. 7, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 374.
There are some various readings here that are not noted. The printed text
(Venk ed.) presents different readings, such as गोप्यश्च क्रियते आर्द्धं and क्रियते
देवमुद्दिश्य सप्तम्यादिषु यत्नतः These 12 आर्द्धाः are defined in स्कन्दपुराण VII.
1. 205 43-50 also. On दैविकआर्द्धं the टोडरानन्द (आर्द्धसौख्य folio 4 b) remarks
'अत्र यद्यपि प्रकृतं आर्द्धमसम्भवि देवोद्दिश्यकालेन विधानात् तथापि अर्द्धया कार्यं आर्द्धमिति
योगसामान्यात् आर्द्धपदान्निधेयतावचनं बोद्धव्यम् ।'

861. अना शुभमलुकान्तिधृतिपातमहालया । आन्वदक्ष्य च पूर्वैर्द्वौ षण्णवत्यं
प्रकीर्तिताः । verse 5 of षण्णवतिआर्द्ध of शिवभट्ट (Ms in Bhadrakamkar collection)

(Continued on the next page)

the 12 amāvāsyās in the year, the four śrāddhas on the Yugādi days (note 841 above), the fourteen śrāddhas on the Manvantarādi days (p. 375 above), the śrāddhas on 12 *saṅkrāntis* (i. e. the sun's apparent motion from one sign of the Zodiac to another), the 13 śrāddhas on the Yoga called Dhṛti (i. e. Vaidhṛti) and the 13 śrāddhas on the Vyatipāta yoga, the 16 Mahālaya śrāddhas, the four Anvatakā days (according to Āsv. as noted on pp 359-360), the four Astakā days and the four days (i. e. 7th of dark half of the months of Hemanta and Śiśira) of the day previous (to the Astakā). These classifications and enumerations of śrāddhas will afford an idea how the doctrine of śrāddhas was carried to an exaggerated extent in the course of centuries. It goes without saying that only a few people could have indulged in the luxury of so many śrāddhas a year and most people were content with the performance of only one Mahālayaśrāddha and one or two more. It may be noted that Manu (III. 122) first prescribed that on the amāvāsyā of each month an elaborate śrāddha should be performed, but knowing that this was almost impossible Manu recommends to all (III. 281) that an elaborate śrāddha should be performed on three amāvāsyās in one year⁸⁶² (viz. in Hemanta, Grīśma and Varsā) and one should perform every day the śrāddha which is one of the five daily sacrifices (III. 82-83). Devala went further and recommended that an elaborate śrāddha may be performed only once a year.

The next important question is about the qualifications of the brāhmanas that were invited to dinner on a śrāddha day. Only brāhmanas were and are entitled to be invited for śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

The महालयs are 16 as stated by शास्त्राचार्य and देवल q. by परा मा. I. 2 p 319 and by सू. ह. (आह) p 745, नभस्यस्यापरे पक्षे तिथिषोडशकं तु यत् । कन्यास्थार्कान्वितं चेत् स्यात्तु कालः आह्निकमणि ॥ (शा) ; अह षोडशकं यत्तु शुक्लपक्षिदा सह । चन्द्रक्षयविशेषेण सापि दशमिक्ता स्मृता ॥ (देवल). Generally there are 13 वैद्युतयोगs and 13 vyatipāta yogas in a year, though sometimes there may be 14 of each. There are in a month 27 yogas beginning from विष्कम्भ. The शतपथब्रा (VI. 4. 2. 10) speaks of 12 अदकाः द्वादश पूर्णिमास्तौ द्वादशादका द्वादशामावास्याः ।

862. एतेन विधिना आह्नं कुर्यात्संवत्सरं सकृत् । त्रिंशत्पूर्वा यथाआह्नं मासे मासे दिने दिने । देवल q. by सूतित्त (आ.) p. 497 which explains: एतेन विधिना पार्वणविधिना प्रतिसंवत्सरमेकवारं विशिष्टेऽङ्गि प्रतिसंवत्सरं विवारं वा कल्पतु p. 22 (आह्न) quotes the verse.

dinner whoever may be the performer of the śrāddha. In this connection many works contain high eulogies of brāhmanas, but they are passed over here, as the eulogy of brāhmanas has been already dealt with at some length in H. of Dh vol. II, pp. 37-38, 135-138. It may be noted that the grhyasūtras contain a few requirements, but as we proceed the smṛtis and purāṇas go on adding qualifications and enlarging the lists of those that should not be invited. For example, the Āśv. Gr.^{862a} IV. 7. 2, Śan.-Gr. IV. 1. 2. Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 2, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17 4, Hir. Gr. II. 10. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 10. 5-6 and II 8. 2-3, Gaut. 15. 9 provide that the brāhmanas to be invited should be possessed of Vedic learning, should be of excellent character (free from anger and passion and possessed of control of mind and senses) and of meritorious conduct, pure, not deficient in a limb or not having an excessive limb (e. g. having six fingers). The Āp. Dh. S. states that he who has studied the three Vedic verses in which the word 'madhu' occurs (Rg. I. 90. 6-8, Vaj. S. 13. 27-29, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9 3), he who has studied the Trisuparna, one who is a Trināciketa, one who has studied the mantras required for the four sacrifices (Āśvamedha, Puruṣamedha, Sarvamedha and Pitrmedha) or who has performed these four sacrifices, one who keeps the five fires, he who knows the Sāman called Jyestha, he who carries out the duty of daily Vedic study, the son of one

862 a ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसंपन्नानेकेन वा । आश्व. ग्र. IV. 7. 2. ब्राह्मणान् श्रुचीन् मन्त्रवत् समङ्गान् शुभ आत्मन्वपते । योगिगोत्रासम्बन्धान् । नाशपित्री भोजयेत् । हिर. ग्र. II 10 2. त्रिमधुस्त्रिपुष्पत्रिणिषाचिकेतश्चतुर्मेध. पञ्चाग्निष्वेष्टसामिकी वेदाभ्यास्य-
नृत्तान् शुभ ओत्रिष इत्येते आर्द्धे धृत्वा ना. पक्षिपावना भवन्ति । आप. च. II. 7. 17-22.

त्रिपुष्प is the name applied, according to Haradatta, to the three anuvākas beginning with ब्रह्ममेतु नाम् (तै. आ. X 48-50) or to the verse चतुः—
शिखण्डा युवति छुपेता in तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 1. 27 or Rg. X 114. 3-5. त्रिणाचिकेत' is explained in different ways viz (1) one who knows the Nāciketa fire, (2) a person who has thrice kindled the Nāciketa fire, (3) a person who has studied the Anuvāka called Virajas. For the Nāciketa fire, vide Kathopaniṣad I. 1. 16-18 The word 'Trināciketa' occurs in Katha Up I. 1. 17 and is explained by शङ्कर as 'त्रि कृत्वा नाचिकेतोऽभिधीयते येन स. त्रिणाचिकेतस्तद्विज्ञानस्त-
द्व्ययनस्तद्विज्ञानवात् । Tai. Br. (III. 11. 7-8) describes the नाचिकेत fire and the story of Naciketas The five fires are Gārbhapatya, Āhavanīya, Dakṣaṇagni, Āvasathya (or aupāsana) and Sabhya Vide H. of Dh. vol II. p 679 Vide ibid. II. p 767 note 1838^a for explanations of पक्षिपावन, उपेष्टसामिक

and the other words explained above वेवल defines ओत्रिष as 'एका शाखा सकल्पा वा पक्ष्मिरेष्टैरधीत्य वा । पदकर्मनिरतो विप्र ओत्रिषो नाम धर्मवित्' q. by आ. प्र. p 59. Pāṇini (V. 2.84) derives ओत्रिष as ओत्रिष+ङ्ङाधीति पदकर्म—refers to यजनयाजनाध्ययनाभ्यापनप्रतिग्रहदानानि.

who has studied the Veda and is able to teach the whole Veda with its *aṅgas*, a *Śrotriya*—these persons sanctify the company if they eat at a funeral repast. Gaut. 15. 28, Baud. Dh. S. II 8.2, Manu III 185-186, Yāj I. 219, Varāhapurāṇa 14.2 contain almost the same words about those who sanctify the company of diners (i. e. who are *pāṅktipāraṇa*). The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 25-31), Kūmapurāṇa II. 21. 1-14, Matsya 16 7-13, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 101-104, Vāyu 79. 56-59 and 83. 52-55, Skanda VI 217. 21-25 give long lists of *pāṅktipāraṇa* brāhmaṇas. The Hir. Gr. II, 10.2, Baud. Dh. S. II 2. 7, Kūrma (II. 21. 14) and others say that a performer of śrāddha should invite one who is not a relative connected by marriage (such as a maternal uncle) nor one who is of the same gotra, nor one who is connected with the performer by Veda study (i. e. is his teacher or pupil), nor a friend nor one who expects monetary help from the performer. Manu (III. 138-139) provides that one should not invite at a śrāddha dinner a personal friend, that one may gain a friend by making valuable gifts to him (on other occasions), that one should feed at a śrāddha a brāhmaṇa whom he does not deem either his friend or foe and that he who performs śrāddhas and offerings to gods chiefly to gain friends reaps no reward after death by those śrāddhas or offerings. But Manu III 144 (= Kūrma II 21-22) provides that one may invite even a friend but not a foe though the latter may be learned. Manu (III. 135-137 and 145-147) lays down that the main or best rule to be followed is to present śrāddha food to those who are devoted to spiritual knowledge, that between a man who has studied one whole recension of the Veda but whose father was not a śrotriya and one who is himself not a śrotriya but whose father had studied a whole recension of the Veda (i. e. whose father was a śrotriya) the latter is the more worthy of the two, that one should strive to feed at a śrāddha an adherent of the R̥gveda who has studied one entire recension of that Veda or a follower of the Yajurveda who has studied one Śākha thereof or a singer of sāmans who has finished one recension of the Sāmaveda and that if one of these preceding three is honoured and dines at a śrāddha, the ancestors of the performer will be gratified up to the seventh generation for a very long time. Hārta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 392 and Kalpataru on śr. pp. 66-67) describes the qualifications of those who are *pāṅkteya* brāhmaṇas viz. they must be born in a high family (possessing four characteristics), must be endowed with learning (of six kinds) and *śīla*

(character of 13 kinds) and good conduct (of 16 kinds). Śāṅkha-Likhita⁸⁶³ give a long list of pāṅkteya (fit to be associated with in a *pāṅkti* i. e. row of diners) brāhmanas, viz he who knows the Veda and the Vedāṅgas (viz. phonetics, kalpa or śrauta ritual, grammar, Nirukta, metrics and astronomy); one who keeps the five fires; one who has studied the Veda with its *angas*; one who knows Śāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; a śrotriya, a trināciketa, trimadhu, trisuparnaka and one that has studied Jyesthasāman; one who has studied Śāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; who is devoted to Veda; who always keeps sacred fires; who is obedient to his parents and devoted to Dharmaśāstra. Similar rules are laid down by Viṣṇu Dh. S 83, Brhat-Parāśara p. 150, Yājñika-Gautama p. 581, Prajāpati verses 70-72, Laghu-Śatātapa verses 99-100, Auśanāsasmṛiti (Jiv. vol. I, pp. 523-524). As Medhātithi⁸⁶⁴ on Manu III, 147 says the gist of all these passages is that a learned brāhmana who has studied the Veda, whose conduct is good, whose family is famous, who is the son of a śrotriya father and who is not related to the performer must be invited and all the rest is mere arthavāda (by way of eulogy). Manu (III, 128) laid down two propositions viz. all food offered as sacrifice to the gods and manes must be given only to a brāhmana who studies the Veda and that whatever is presented to the most worthy brāhmana (among brāhmanas studying the Veda) brings in the greatest rewards. Then Manu (III, 183) declares that *pāṅktipāvana* brāhmanas are those that sanctify a row of diners among whom sit some who are tainted by (latent) blemishes that make them unfit to be among the diners. Then Manu (III, 184-186) gives examples of pāṅktipāvana brāhmanas viz. those who are the foremost among students of all the Vedas or their expository works and who are born in a family of unbroken descent of Vedic students, who are Trināciketa &c. Hemādri (on śr. pp. 391-395) and Kalpataru (śr. pp. 64-65) quote numerous verses from Yama on *pāṅktipāvana*.

Manu III, 147 asserts that the best course is to invite a brāhmana who fulfils the conditions laid down in Manu III.

863. शङ्खलिखितावपि । अथ पाङ्केयाः । वेदवेदाङ्गविद् पञ्चाग्निरुचान साङ्ख्ययोगोपनिषद्दर्मशास्त्रविद्भोगत्रिय, त्रिणाचिकेत त्रिमधु त्रिहृत्पर्यको ज्येष्ठसामग, । साङ्ख्ययोगोपनिषद्दर्मशास्त्राध्यायी वेदपरः सदाग्निको मातापितृभ्यश्च पूर्वमंशावसति । इति । q by कल्प (p 68), आ. म. p. 67.

864. श्रीत्रियो विद्वात् साधुचरण, प्रहृषाताभिजन श्रीत्रिपापत्यसत्सम्बन्धो भोजनीय, । परिशिष्टे सर्वमर्थवादाय ॥ मेधा ०२ मनु III 147.

132-146, but adds that if it is not possible to secure such a brāhmana then the next best course⁸⁶⁵ ('anukalpa') may be followed, viz. the performer may invite his own maternal grandfather, his maternal uncle, sister's son, father-in-law, his teacher of the Veda, daughter's son, son-in-law, a *bandhu* (such as mother's sister's son), wife's brother or a *sagotra*, or his family priest, or his pupil. Similar provisions occur in Yāj. I. 220, Kūrma (Uttarārdha 21. 20), Varāhapurāṇa 14. 3, Matsya 16. 10-11, Visṇupurāṇa III. 15. 2-4 (anukalpesvanantarān). But Manu is careful⁸⁶⁶ to point out in a later chapter that one who is able to observe the best course, but observes the second best does not reap other-worldly rewards by his actions. Even Āp. Dh. S.⁸⁶⁷ expressly says that if strangers do not possess the requisite qualifications, then even one's full brother possessed of all the qualifications (as to Vedic learning, good conduct &c.) and pupils may be fed at a śrāddha. Baud. Dh. S. also allows even a sapinda to be fed.⁸⁶⁸ Gaut. 15. 20 appears to be of the view that even pupils and *sagotras* may be invited when they are possessed of excellent qualities and strangers with good qualifications are not available. Even in these times very learned brāhmanas are unwilling to be fed at a śrāddha, particularly within a few years (three or five) from the death of the person for whose benefit the śrāddha is to be performed. Smṛtis attach a certain stigma to the fact of being the recipient of a śrāddha dinner and prāyaścittas are prescribed. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 289 quotes several verses of Bhāradvāja, one of which says 'If a brāhmana dines at a pārvana śrāddha he has to perform six prāṇāyāmas (as expiation), if he dines at a śrāddha from the third month after a person's death to one year, he has to undergo a fast; if he dines at a vṛddhiśrāddha, he has to perform three prāṇāyāmas, and a fast for a day and night if he dines at a sapindana śrāddha.' The Mit. further quotes a

865. मुख्यभावे योऽनुदीयते प्रतिनिधिभ्यायेन सोऽनुकल्प उच्यते । मेघा. on मनु III. 147. The अमरकोश says 'मुख्य-स्वात्ययनः कल्पोऽनुकल्पस्तु ततोऽधमः'

866. प्रश्नः प्रथमकल्पस्य योऽनुकल्पेन वर्तते । न साम्प्रदायिकं तस्य दुर्मेतर्विद्यते फलम् ॥ मनु XI. 30 (= शान्तिपर्व 165.17) q in तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 191, where the 2nd half is स नानीति फलं तस्य परत्रेति विचारितम् ॥

867. शुण्ढान्पां तु परेषां समुदेत सोऽप्येवोपि भोजयितव्यः । एतेनान्तेवासिनो व्याख्याताः । आप. घ. सू. II 7.17.5-6

868. तस्मादेवंविधं सपिण्डमप्याहयेत् । बौ ध. II. 8. 5. The आ. क. ल p. 40 explains एवंविधं as शुण्वन्तम्.

verse from Dhaumya which prescribes Cāndrāyana for dining at a śrāddha on the birth of a son or at simantonnayana, in a navaśrāddha etc. Vide also Nirṇayasindhu III, pp. 467-468 for prāyaścittas on eating śrāddha dinners. The Varāhapurāṇa (189. 12-13) provides that if a brāhmana dies while the food offered to a *preta* is still in his stomach he dwells for a *kalpa* in a horrible hell, becomes a *rāksasa* and then becomes free from the sin.

According to Gaut, 15. 10 young persons with the requisite qualifications are to be preferred to older ones, while, according to some, young men were to be invited at a śrāddha for one's deceased father and old men for a śrāddha for one's grandfather. On the other hand, Āp. Dh. S. says among brāhmanas possessing the same qualifications, the older ones are to be preferred and among those that are old are to be preferred the poor that are anxious to earn money.^{868a}

Some of the works lay special emphasis on inviting ascetics or *yogins* at a śrāddha dinner. The Visnu Dh. S. states that yogins⁸⁶⁹ are particularly *pañkṭipāvana* and quotes a stanza as recited by the pitrs 'May (a descendant) be born in our family who feeds a brāhmana yogin at a śrāddha by which we are ourselves satisfied.' The Varāhapurāṇa 14. 50 says that a yogin is superior to 100 brāhmanas. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa provides 'a wise man should always feed yogins at a śrāddha since the pitrs rely for support on Yoga; if a yogin is fed by being seated as the first among thousands of brāhmanas he saves the performer and the other diners as a boat saves men in water.' Then it quotes stanzas sung by the pitrs (29. 32-34) to king Aila. The Saurapurāṇa, after mentioning the qualifications (in 19. 2-3),⁸⁷⁰ winds up by stating that even one may suffice provided he be a single-minded devotee of Śivā (verse 6)

868 a. तुल्यगुणेषु वयोवृद्धः श्रेयान् ब्रह्मकुलस्थेऽप्यनृपे । अपि च ॥ 7. 17. 10.

869. विशेषेण च योगिनः । अत्र पितृणीता गाथा भवति । अपि स स्थावकुलेऽस्माकं भोजयेद्यस्तु योगिनम् । विश्वं आद्धिं प्रयत्नेन येन तुष्टयामहे वयम् ॥ विष्णुध. सू. 83 19-20.

870 The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III 970 is दृढस्थानां सद्व्रतेषु वानप्रस्थक्षेत्रे च । ब्रह्मचारिदक्षेण योग एव विशिष्यते ॥ योगिनश्च सदा आद्धिं भोजनीया विपश्चिता । योगाधारा हि पितरस्तस्मात्तान् पूजयेत्सदा ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 29, ब्रह्मपुराणा सद्व्रतेऽप्यो योगी तद्भासने यदि । यजमानं च भोजयेत् नौरिवाम्भसि तारयेत् ॥ बाणपुराण 76 28, मार्कण्डेय 29 30. These and other verses occur in ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 112-115. मार्कण्डेय 29. 29-30 are ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 110-112 q. by हेमाद्रि p 411 and आ. म. p 72-73. The important पितृगाथाः are 'कदा नः सन्ततावगम्यः कस्यचिद्भविता पुत्रः ॥ यो योगियुक्तशेषाक्षो भुवि पिण्डं प्रदास्यति । गयायामथवा पिण्डं सङ्गमांसं तथा हविः । कालशार्कं तिलाज्यं च वृषये कृशार च न ॥' ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 113-115 and मार्कण्डेय 29, 33-34.

The Matsyapurāṇa (16. 11-12) recommends 'He who expounds (the meaning of) texts; he who enters upon the discussion of śrauta sacrifices and he who knows the rules about the accents of sāmans is a purifier of *pañktipāvanas*; one proficient in the Sāmaveda, a Vedic student, one endowed with knowledge of the Veda or of *Brahma*—where these are fed in a śrāddha it yields the highest benefit.'⁸⁷¹ Though in the above passages the greatest emphasis was laid on the possession of Vedic learning by the brāhmanas to be fed, one had also to see whether they were men of good character and observers of the rules of proper conduct, as provided by Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 2 (note 862), Gaut. 15.9 and Manu II. 118 who says 'a brāhmana⁸⁷² knowing only the sacred Gayatri but living a well-regulated life is to be preferred and not one who knows the three Vedas but who is not well-regulated in conduct and who eats anything (even forbidden food) and who is a vendor of everything.' The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 27 recommends that one should make every effort to know the family of the brāhmanas, then their character (śīla), then their age and then the facts about whom they marry or to whom they give their daughters in marriage. The Brahmaṇḍa (Upodghāta, chap 15) says that there should be no scrutiny of a brāhmana about whom nothing is known because *siddhas* (yogins) roam about on the earth in the form of brāhmanas. But if faults in a brāhmana are easily seen or if one knows his disqualifications on account of one's dwelling near him, he should not be invited (verses 5-6). The same Purāṇa (Upodghāta 15. 24-26) arranges the orders of preference as follows: first yati (ascetic), then a brāhmana who knows the four Vedas and itihasa, then one who knows three Vedas, then one who knows two, then one who knows one Veda, then one who is an *upādhyāya*. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 443) quotes the Agni-purāṇa⁸⁷³ as follows: 'what is the use of (birth in a) famous

871 यश्च व्याकुरुते वाक्यं यश्च मीमांसतेऽध्वरम्॥ सानस्वरविधिज्ञश्च पक्विपावनपावनः। सामगो ब्रह्मचारी च वेदयुक्तोऽथ ब्रह्मविद्॥ यत्रैते श्रुते आह्ने तदेव परनार्यवत् । मत्स्यपुराण 16 11-13.

872. सावित्रीमात्रसारेऽपि वर विप्रः सुयन्त्रित । नायन्त्रितस्त्रिवेदोऽपि सर्वाङ्गी सर्वविक्रयी॥ मनु II. 118 = बुद्धगीतम p. 517, which reads चतुर्वेदी. हेमाद्रि p 444 quotes मनु as reading नायन्त्रितश्चतुर्वेदी

873. तदुक्तमग्निपुराणे। किं कुलेन विशालेन वृत्तहीनस्य देहिनः। कुमपः किं न जायन्ते कुक्ष्येषु सुगन्धिषु। जातृकर्मणोपि। अपि विद्याकुलैर्युक्तान् वृत्तहीनान् द्विजाधमान्। अनर्हान् ह्यप्यकपेण वाद्याग्नेयापि नाचयेत्॥ हेमाद्रि pp 443-444, आ. म p 74.

family if the man is himself devoid of good conduct? Are not insects found in fragrant flowers?' Jātūkarnya says 'one should not honour even with a word (much less with food &c.) in rites for gods and Manes bad brāhmanas void of good conduct, even though they be endowed with learning and be born in a good family.' This insistence on worth was due to the conception that pītra assuming an aerial form enter brāhmanas at the time of śrāddha. Vide Brahmandapurāṇa (Upodghātapaṇḍa 11. 49).

These requirements of learning, character and good conduct would naturally make it incumbent on the performer of a śrāddha to inquire into the antecedents, qualities and defects of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu and others lay down several rules about the testing of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu III. 149, Visnu Dh. ⁸⁷⁴ S. 82.1-2, provide 'at an offering to the gods let a man not enquire into (the qualities of) a brāhmana (when he wants to invite), but at a śrāddha offering to the Manes close inquiry (into qualities) is declared to be proper and just.' Manu III. 130 says that even if a brāhmana be master of the Veda, one should enquire far (into his ancestry). The Vāyupurāṇa ⁸⁷⁵ appears to provide that inquiry into (the qualifications of) brāhmanas should not be always undertaken when gifts are to be made, but enquiry is declared (necessary) in the case of rites for gods and Manes. The Anuśaṣanaparva provides ⁸⁷⁶ that in rites meant for gods a ksatriya knowing the rules about gifts should not (closely) inquire into the qualifications of brāhmanas, but in rites for the gods and Manes such inquiry is quite proper. Vṛddha-Manu and the Matsya-purāṇa ⁸⁷⁷ lay down that a brāhmana's character is to be inquired into at the place where he resides for a long time, his purity by his acts and transactions with other people, his intelligence by discussion with him: with these three one should inquire whether the brāhmana (to be invited) is a worthy person.

874. दैवे कर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न परीक्षेत । प्रयत्नात्पि न परीक्षेत । विष्णुध. सू. 82. 1-2.

875. न ब्राह्मणान्परीक्षेत सदा दैवे तु मानवः । दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये च श्रूयते वै परीक्षणम् । वायु 83. 51 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 511 (reads दैवे तु).

876. ब्राह्मणास्तु परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित् । दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये तु श्वाप्यमाहुः परीक्षणम् । अश्वसप्तम 90. 2 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 511.

877. परीक्षाप्रकारस्तु बृहन्मन्त्रमन्त्रयुक्ताण्योर्दक्षित । शीतं संवत्सराज्येयं शौचं संय-
वहारतः । प्रज्ञा संकथनाज्ज्ञेया विभिः पात्र परीक्षयते । हेमाद्रि p. 513, आ. म. p. 102.

The Nṛsīṃhapurāṇa⁸⁷⁸ forbids close inquiry into the character and learning of one who comes by chance as a guest at the time of śrāddha. That inquiry was allowed as to brāhmanas who were invited and not as to those who came by chance uninvited as *atithis*. There are no doubt certain passages particularly in the Purāṇas where scrutiny into a brāhmana's qualifications is condemned. For example, the Skandapurāṇa quoted by Apararka (p. 455) and Kalpataru (on śr. p. 102) states 'The Vedic revelation is that śrāddha is to be offered (to a brāhmana) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without inquiry his pitrs are gratified and also gods'. The Bhavīsyapurāṇa (q. by Bālabhāṭṭi) states 'it is my view also that one should not test (the qualifications of) brāhmanas; one should only consider their caste and not their virtues'. Such passages are explained away as referring to a śrāddha at sacred places or as applicable to gifts or to *atithis* (vide Hemādri on śrāddha p. 513, and Bālabhāṭṭi on ācāra p. 494)⁸⁷⁹.

Brāhmanas were declared to be *apāṅkṭeya*⁸⁷⁹ (not fit to sit in the row of brāhmana diners or as defiling a row of diners at śrāddha) on various grounds, such as bodily and mental defects and diseases, pursuit of certain avocations, moral lapses, being guilty of crimes, being followers of unorthodox systems, being inhabitants of certain countries. A distinction has to be made between brāhmanas who should not be invited and brāhmanas that are *apāṅkṭeya* or *paṅkṭidūṣaka*. For example, one should not ordinarily invite a friend or a sagotra brāhmana even

878 न परीक्षेत चारिष्यं न विद्यां न कुलं तथा । न शीलं न च वेशादीनतिथेरागतस्य हि ॥ मन्थेत विष्णुमेवेन साक्षात्कारायणं हरिम् । अतिथिं समग्रमात्रं विचिकित्सेज्ज कर्हिचित् ॥ चरिद्वयरागं पृथग्मा पृ 102; अनिज्ञातं द्विजं आहूय न परीक्षेत पण्डितः । सिद्धा हि विमल्येण चरन्ति पृथिवीमिमाम् । तस्मादतिथिमायास्तमभिरच्छेत्कृतञ्जलिः ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्-वातपाद, 15. 7.

878 a. इत्यादीनि विमपरीक्षानिवेधकानि तानि आहूतवानपराणि नित्यआहू-पराणि वा तीर्थआहूतपराणि अतिथिपूजापराणि वा । बालम्भट्टी on आचार, p. 494

879. मेधातिथि on मनु III. 167 explains अपाङ्क्य (derived from पङ्क्ति) as follows: अपाङ्क्यः पङ्क्तिः नार्हति । भवार्थे दङ्क कर्तव्यः । अनर्हत्वेनैव पङ्क्त्यावभवनमनेन प्रतीयते । अन्यैर्ब्राह्मणैः सद भोजनं नार्हति । अत एव पङ्क्तिद्वयका उच्यन्ते । तैः सहोपविष्टा अन्येऽपि हृषिता भवन्ति । पा. IV.1.20 is स्त्रीभ्यो दङ्क.

though learned, but these are not apāṅkteya. The Ap.³⁰ Dh. 8, states that one suffering from white leprosy, a bald man, the violator of another man's bed, the son of a brāhmaṇa who was a soldier by profession, the son of (brāhmaṇa who had become like) a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman—these defile the company if they are invited at a śrāddha repast. Vas. Dh. 8, XI. 19 also gives a brief list viz. 'one should avoid naked (ascetics), those suffering from white leprosy, impotent men, blind men, those who have black teeth, those afflicted with black leprosy and those who have deformed nails.' Very long lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha are given by Gaut. XV. 16-19, Manu III. 150-166, Yaṅ. I. 222-224, Viṣṇu Dh. 8, 82. 3-29, Atri (verses 345-359 and 385-388), Brhad-Yama III. 34-38, Brhad-Parāśara pp. 149-150, Vṛddha-Gautama pp. 580-581, the Vāyu-purāṇa 83.61-70, Anuśāsana-parva 90.6-11, Matsyapurāṇa 16.14-17, Kūrma (II 21. 23-47), Skanda VII. 1.205.58-72, VI. 217.11-20, Varāhapurāṇa 14.4-6, Brahma-purāṇa 220. 127-135, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Upodghāta 15.39-44 and 19.30-41), Mārkaṇḍeya 28.26-30, Viṣṇupurāṇa (III 15.5-8), Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārdha 28.11-18), Saurapurāṇa (19.7-9) and several other works. The list in the Manusmṛiti is one of the longest and that is set out here. One should not invite a brāhmaṇa that is (1) a thief, (2) an outcaste, (3) an impotent man, (4) an atheist, (5) one who wears his hair in braids (a student yet learning Veda); (6) one who does not study the Veda, (7) one who is afflicted with a skin disease, (8) a gambler, (9) one officiating as a priest for a multitude of men, (10) a physician, (11) temple priest (who worships images for money), (12) vendor of meat, (13) one who makes his livelihood as shopkeeper, (14 and 15) a paid servant of a village or of a

३८०. श्विकी क्षिपिविदः परत्पण्याशुधीयुवः शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यामिर्यते आद्ये
शूद्रानाः पण्डितृका भवन्ति। आप. ध. दृ. II. 7.17 21 As the son of a śūdra male

from a brāhmaṇa woman was treated as a cāṇḍāla in many smṛtis and therefore could not possibly have been intended to be invited at a śrāddha. Kapardin explained the words शूद्रो...ब्राह्मण्यद् as meaning 'born of a brāhmaṇa male that had become practically a śūdra by first marrying a śūdra woman, then a brāhmaṇa woman and procreating a son on that śūdra wife and then on the brāhmaṇa wife.' This latter (as the son of a शूद्रसम ब्राह्मण) is 'अपाङ्केय'; शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्या असमवर्णदारपरिग्रहे ब्राह्मण्या पुत्र-

भङ्गत्वाय शूद्रायाश्चत्पादिवयुव इति कपर्दी; कल्पतरु (आ p. 90), हरदत्त follows कपर्दी हेमाद्रि (आ p. 496) omits all reference to marrying a śūdra wife first and explains 'नो विशुद्धजातीयायामपि ब्राह्मण्या शूद्राद् शूद्रसमानाद् ब्राह्मणादुत्पन्नः'.

king, (16) one with deformed nails, (17) one whose teeth are black (naturally), (18) one who opposes his *guru*, (19) one who has forsaken his sacred fire (*śrauta* or *smṛta*) without a proper cause, (20) a usurer, (21) one suffering from consumption, (22) one who subsists by tending cattle (though not in distress), (23 and 24) a younger brother who marries or kindles sacred fires before his elder brother, (25) one who neglects the five (daily) sacrifices, (26) an enemy of brāhmanas or of Veda, (27 and 28) an elder brother who marries or kindles sacred fires after his young brother, (29) one who is a member of a guild or corporation, (30) an actor or singer, (31) one who has broken the vow of student-hood by unchastity, (32) one whose (only or first wife) is a śūdra female, (33) the son of a remarried woman, (34) a squint-eyed or one-eyed man, (35) one in whose house a paramour of his wife resides, (36) one who teaches for hire, (37) one who is taught by a hired teacher, (38) one whose teacher is a śūdra, (39) one who instructs śūdra pupils, (40) one whose speech is harsh and untrue, (41) the son of an adulteress, (42) the son of a widow, (43) one who forsakes his mother, father or teacher without (adequate) cause, (44) one who has contracted an alliance with *patitas* either through the Veda (i. e. as teacher or pupil) or through marriage, (45) an incendiary, (46) one who undertakes sea-voyages, (47) a bard, (48) an oil-man, (49) a false witness (or forger of documents or counterfeiter of coins), (50) one who has a dispute with his father in a law court, (51) one who induces others to gamble, (52) one who drinks wine, (53) one afflicted with a disease (in punishment for crimes in former lives), (54) one accused of a grave sin, (55) a hypocrite, (56) a vendor of substances used for flavouring food (such as sugar-cane juice or molasses), (57) a manufacturer of bows and arrows, (58) one who is the husband of a woman married before her elder sister, (59) the betrayer of a friend, (60) the keeper of a gambling house, (61) one who learns (the Veda) from his own son, (62) an epileptic man, (63) one who has scrofulous swellings of the glands, (64) one afflicted with white leprosy, (65) an informer, (66) a lunatic, (67) a blind man, (68) a caviller of the Veda, (69) a trainer of elephants, horses, oxen or camels, (70) one subsisting by the practice of astrology, (71) a bird-fancier, (72) one who gives instructions in the use of weapons, (73) one who diverts watercourses, (74) one engaged in obstructing watercourses, (75) one subsisting by teaching or practising architecture, (76) a messenger, (77) one who plants trees

for money, (78) a breeder of sporting dogs, (79) a falconer, (80) a defiler of a maiden (or who ascribes falsely fault to a maiden), (81) one given to injuring living beings, (82) one who gains his livelihood from śūdras, (83) one who officiates at a sacrifice on behalf of guilds, (84) one who does not follow the ordinary rules of conduct (as welcoming a guest &c.), (85) one who has no energy for religious acts, (86) one who constantly begs for gifts, (87) one who subsists by agriculture (carried on personally), (88) one who suffers from elephantiasis, (89) one who is condemned by good men, (90) a shepherd, (91) a keeper of buffaloes, (92) the husband of a remarried woman, (93) a carrier of dead bodies (for money)⁸⁸¹. Manu III. 167 says that a brāhmana who knows the sacred laws should avoid or shun at both (sacrifices to Gods and to Manes) the worst of brāhmanas enumerated above whose conduct is reprehensible and who are unworthy of sitting in a row of brāh-

881. There is some divergence of views among the commentators about the meanings of certain words occurring in Manu III. 150-166. For reasons of space that matter is not discussed here in detail. A few points alone are noted here निराकृतिः is explained in two ways viz (1) one who does not perform the daily five Mahāyajñas, (2) one who after learning the Veda forgoes it. The evil diseases are said by Devala to be eight 'दन्ताद्वस्त्रद्वयो राजपहना श्वातो नखमेहो भगन्दूरो जहोदरनक्ष्मरीत्यष्टौ पापयोगाः'; q. by अपराक p. 451, स्तुतिच. (आ) p. 401. द्वपती is explained in various ways by Skandapurāṇa VII 1. 205 77-80 as meaning a śūdra woman, as one who abandoning her husband cohabits with another, as a girl who is not married though she has reached the age of puberty, as a prostitute, as one who is sterile, or one all whose children are dead अग्नेदिधिपतिः :—When a younger sister gets married before her elder sister the former is called अग्नेदिधिपति while the latter is called दिधिपति. देवट्ट says 'जेडायां यद्युद्वायां कन्यायाहृत्यतेऽनुजा । सा चाग्नेदिधिपतिर्या पूर्वा च दिधिपतिः' q. by अपराक p. 451, निता on या III. 265. अग्नेदिधिपति is taken by मेघतिथि as equal to two words viz. अग्नेदिधिपति and दिधिपति. The latter means, according to the Amarakośa, the husband of a remarried woman, while the former means 'one who is the first husband of a remarried woman' शुभ्रार्द्धदिधिपति इति स्तुत्या दिधिपतिः पति । स तु द्विजोर्दिधिपतिः सेवयस्व कुलम्बिनी अमरकोश q. by हरदत्त on गी 15 15. मनु. III 173 explains दिधिपति as one who lasciviously dallies with the widow of his deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a son by him) according to the sacred law. The स्तुति said that the brother appointed should cohabit as an act of duty and not through passion for the widow. Hemādri p. 485 gives another meaning of अग्नेदिधिपति 'जीववस्तावद् आहुर्भार्यायामनुवृत्तौ अग्नेदिधिपतिः'. वसति I. 18 includes both अग्नेदिधिपति and दिधिपति among those who are called एनन्तिन. Even the तै. ब्रा. III. 2.8. 12 mentions अग्नेदिधिपति as a sinner and आप य च (II, 5, 12, 22) mentions both.

manas at a śrāddha repast. Manu III. 170-182 indulge in pointing out how feeding such unworthy brāhmanas results in the loss of the gratification of pitrs and state that the food eaten by such unworthy persons becomes or is to be deemed as equal to foul things. The Kūrmapurāṇa⁸⁸² forbids inviting at śrāddhas Bauddha ascetics, Nirgranthas (devotees who have withdrawn from the world and wander about naked or as beggars), those that follow the Pañcarātra and Pāśupata doctrines, those that are kāpālikas (devotees of Śiva of the left hand order) and other similar heretical people. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III 18. 70 ff) narrates how a king after a bath in a holy place talked with a heretic and had to pass in consequence through the bodies of a dog, a jackal, wolf, vulture, a crow, a crane and peacock and ultimately became freed from the taint by a bath at the avabhr̥tha in an Āśvamedha sacrifice. The same Purāṇa provides (III 18 97) that one should avoid talking with or touching heretics, particularly at the time of a religious rite or when one has consecrated for a solemn sacrifice. The Vāyupurāṇa⁸⁸³ provides that people who are 'nagna' should not be allowed to see a śrāddha and then defines 'nagna' people as follows: 'the three Vedas are declared to be a protective covering for all beings and therefore those who foolishly abandon the Vedas are called 'nagna'; those who vainly keep matted hair, those who shave their heads for no purpose, those who are *nagna* (naked) without any cause, those who engage in certain observances and mutter certain words aimlessly are called *nag-nādi*'. Just as certain countries were declared unfit for the performance of śrāddhas (vide note 853 above), so certain brāhmanas hailing from certain countries were declared in some

882. बृहद्भक्तनिर्ग्रन्थाः पञ्चरात्रविदो जनाः । कापालिकाः पाशुपता पायण्डा ये च
ब्रह्मिणाः ॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध) 21. 32 q by हेमाद्रि p 476 and 365, बृहद्भक्तनिर्ग्रन्थ-
शाकाजीवककापिलाद्व । ये धर्माननुवर्तन्ते ते वै नग्रादयो जनाः ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III 14 38-39
q. by हेमाद्रि p 520. The same verse occurs in a corrupt form in वायु
78.30-31.

883. सर्वेषामेव भूतानां त्रयी संवरणं स्मृतम् । परित्यजति यो मोहात्ते वै नग्रादयो
जनाः ॥...वृथा जटी वृथा मुण्डी वृथा नमस्कृत्य यो हिजः । वृथा व्रती वृथा जापी ते वै नग्रादयो
जनाः ॥ वायुपुराण 78.26 and 31, q. by हेमाद्रि (आ) p 520 (the first verse from
ब्रह्माण्डपुराण). The स्मृतित्व (आ.) p. 411 reads वर्णानां for भूतानां and ascribes
that verse to the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 14 35-41) has these
verses अथर्ववेद. 473 ascribes verse सर्वेषामेव भूतानां to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, which is
found in उपोद्घातपाद 14.35.

works as not fit to be invited at a śrāddha.⁵⁵¹ For example, the Matsyapurāṇa states that brāhmaṇas that are ungrateful, that are atheists, that stay in *Mleccha* countries or the countries of Trisāṅku, Karavira, Āndhra, Cina, Dravida and Koṅkaṇa should be carefully avoided at the time of śrāddha. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 505) quotes from the Saurapurāṇa the following: 'Brāhmaṇas hailing from the countries of Āṅga, Vāṅga, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra, (Kāthiawar), Gurjara, Ābhira, Koṅkana, Dravida, Dakṣiṇapāṭha, Avanti and Magadha should be avoided at śrāddhas. It will be noticed that putting the above two passages together, brāhmaṇas from half of modern India would have been ineligible for being invited at śrāddhas if these passages were literally followed. This was probably a counsel of perfection prompted by the false pride and prejudices of the authors of those works. The Śrāddhavitreka of Rudradhara (pp. 39-41) contains one of the longest lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha.

The following reason is advanced by the Varāhapurāṇa⁵⁵² and others for honouring a guest who comes by chance at the time when a śrāddha rite is in progress: "Yogins wander over the earth assuming different forms that prevent recognition, but doing good to people; therefore a wise man should honour a guest who arrives at the time of the performance of a śrāddha". The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa⁵⁵³ similarly says that an *alīthi* (guest) at a śrāddha is one who comes when least thought of and not one who had arrived before the śrāddha rite started. The Mārkaṇḍeya (26. 30) provides that one should not ask such an *alīthi* about his *gotra* or *varṇa* or his Vedic study nor should one consider whether he has a fine appearance. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 430-433) quotes verses from the Śivadharmottara,

551. कृत्वा कालिकालेन हस्ते च देहातिनातिन । विशङ्खुर्बर्द्धावगिरिद्विकोङ्कजात्
(विशङ्खुर्बर्द्धावगिरिद्विकोङ्कजात्!) । बर्द्धेष्टिहिः सर्वान् आह्वयते विज्ञेयः । नत्प 16
16-17 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 505, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 94).

552. योगिने विविधै रूपैर्नराणां रूपकारिणः । ज्ञानं हि पृथिवीनेवानविज्ञानस्तत्परिणः ॥
सत्त्वाद्यन्तरेणैव दातुं आह्वयतेऽतिथिं बुधः । आह्वयित्वा न हन्ति द्विकेन्द्रादुज्जितो रतिः ॥
बराह 14. 18-19, विष्णुपुराण 15. 23-24; compare वासुदेव 79. 7-8 (सिद्धा हि विप-
रूपेण चरन्ति पृथिवीनिनाम् । सत्त्वाद्यतिथिनायान्तनभिगच्छेद् कृवाञ्जलिः).

553. अचिन्तोऽप्यगतो यत्नात्सत्त्वादतिथिरुच्यते ॥ अतिथिं वै विज्ञानीपाक इव पूर्व-
मागतः ॥ भविष्य. I. 184. 9-10 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 427; न पृच्छेद्दण्डवचनं स्वाध्यायं चापि
पण्डितः । शोभनाशोभनाकारं तं नत्वेत प्रजापतिम् ॥ अनित्य हि रिपवो यत्नात्सत्त्वादतिथि-
रुच्यते । मार्कण्डेय 26. 30-31.

Viṣṇudharmottara and Vāyu (71.74-75) Purāṇas that gods, *śiddhas* and yogins wander over the earth in the form of brāhmana *atithis* in order to favour people and to see how *śrāddhas* are being performed. About the definition of an *atithi* and the necessity and mode of honouring a guest in general, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 749-756.

Hemādri (Śrāddhakāṇḍa, pp. 380-385) holds an interesting discussion as to whether a performer of *śrāddha* belonging to one recension of a Veda must restrict himself to inviting brāhmanas that are students of the same recension of the Veda or whether he can invite any brāhmana that may have studied any of the three Vedas. Some people relying on a maxim ('as in the case of a bride so in the case of an offering') invite only brāhmanas of their own *śākhā* possessed of the qualifications above set forth. Hemādri replies that this is a wrong notion, relies on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 9 'one should feed⁸⁸⁷ in all (religious) acts brāhmanas that are pure (in their conduct) and that have studied the Veda' and asserts that no *smṛti*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Grhyasūtra* nor *Kalpasūtra* contains the restriction of inviting only brāhmanas of the performer's own *śākhā*. He further says that in such texts as '*trināciketastatrimadhuh*' (quoted in note 862a above) the rule laid down is to invite brāhmanas that have studied different *śākhās* and Vedas. He rejects the idea about any restriction as to selecting a bridegroom of the same *śākhā* as the bride's father and remarks that if some people are not prepared to give their daughters in marriage to young men belonging to other *śākhās*, that is due to ignorance about the families and is also due to pride and vanity. He winds up by saying that in Āryāvarta countries it is found on all sides that marriage connections are entered into with persons studying different *śākhās* but living in the same district, (such connections) not being condemned, while persons who study the same *śākhā* of the Veda but do not know each other do not enter into marital connections.⁸⁸⁸ As a contrast to this commonsense view it should be

887. शुचीन् मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9, on which हरदत्त explains 'मन्त्रवतः अर्थात् वेदान् । सर्वकृत्येषु औतेषु गार्होष्ठे स्मार्तेषु च कर्मसु द्वेषेषु पित्र्येषु मातृषु च भोजयेत् ।'.

888 अत्र केचित् यथा कन्या तथा हविरिति कन्यासाधर्म्येण हविषां स्वशास्त्रीयप्रतिपाद्यत्वं (मन्त्रमाना. स्वशास्त्रीयमेव श्रोत्रियत्वादिगुणविशिष्टं ब्राह्मे नियोजयन्ति । तदसत् । स्मृतिविहास-

noted that the author of the Bālabhāṭṭi recommends that 'Mahārāstra brāhmanas should not invite brāhmanas of other castes (of brāhmanas) and particularly the Konkanastha brāhmanas should be avoided and it goes so far as to say that a person belonging to one's own caste not possessed of good qualities and of a blemished character (provided he is not guilty of mahāpātakas or the like) should be preferred to one belonging to another sub-caste even if endowed with good qualities.

The Vas Dh. S. provides ⁸⁸⁹ that the performer should invite ascetics, house-holders, well conducted men, who are not very old &c. The Kūrmapurāṇa states ⁸⁹⁰ 'that man whose offer-

(Continued from the last page)

पुराणग्रन्थकल्पद्वयेषु कचिदपि स्वशास्त्रीयनियमाश्रयणात् । मय्युतं स्तुत्यादिषु त्रिणाचिकेत-
त्रिमधुस्त्रिगुणैः व्येष्टसामग इत्यादिभिर्नानाशास्त्रीयानां नानावेदाभ्यायिनामेव विधिदर्शनाच्च
.. किं च कन्यायामेव तामदेकशास्त्राभ्यायिनियम कुतोऽन्यतो यद्वचलेन हविष्यपि साधयते । ...
आर्यावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशास्त्राभ्यायिनामप्युपलभ्यन्त एव परस्परमनवगीयमानाः
सर्वतो विवाहसम्बन्धाः । अविज्ञातपरस्परानामेकशास्त्राभ्यायिनामपि नोपलभ्यन्ते । .. अतो न
कन्यादाने वापि हविर्दाने स्वशास्त्रीयद्विजयनियम इति सिद्ध्यत् । हेमाद्रि (आह) pp. 380-381.
The words यथा कन्या तथा हविः occur in a verse of वर्ग 'नैकयोर्वे हविर्देवाद्याया
कन्या तथा हविः । अभावे, ह्यन्यगोत्राणामेकगोत्रास्तु भोजयेत् । ' q by आ. म. p. 75. हेमाद्रि
p. 450 reads it as नैक. दद्यात्समानमवरे तथा । न चाज्ञातकुले दद्याद्यथा कन्या तथा
हविः ॥, आ. क. ल. p. 39 quotes this verse and the half verse अभावे .. न भोजयेत्
also The निर्णयसिन्धु III, p. 397 follows हेमाद्रि and relies on सह III 145-146.
एवमपि महाराष्ट्रविजातीयानां न ब्राह्मस्तत्रापि कोङ्कणस्थादयः सर्वथा न ब्राह्म इति आहृदीप-
कालिकादिषु ग्रामाणिकानिबन्धेष्विति सर्वशेष्टसमस्तम् । ... वर्ग्याश्च द्विविधा द्योयन्त सजा-
तीयाः गुणवन्तोऽपि विजातीयाः सुतरां द्योयन्त । तत्र सजातीयेषु अनिषिद्धलाभेऽभिज्ञास्तत्वा-
दिबलवद्द्योयराहितो ब्रूयोपि ब्राह्म । विजातीयस्तु गुणवानपि तत्त्वादेव त्याज्य किञ्च द्योयन्त । ...
केवलं चिन्तयेज्जातः । कन्यादानादिसम्बन्धयोग्यां जातिं यथा कन्या तथा हविर्विरुक्तस्तेन
तेपि सर्वथा हेया एवेति दिङ् । बालम्भट्टी on आचार p. 497.

889 पूर्वद्युर्वाह्मणाच्च संनिपात्य यतीच्च गृहस्थान्तापुत्रा परिणतवयसोऽविकर्मस्थान्
श्रोत्रियान् शिष्यान्मन्त्रेवासिनः । वसिष्ठ XI 17, q by हेमाद्रि p. 379 who explains
'यतयः मन्त्रजिताः तदसम्भवे गृहस्थान्' । The डोहरानन्द (आहृदीप folio 37b)
arranges the persons to be invited at a आहृ in the following order: तदयं
संक्षेपः । आदी त्रिदण्डयतिस्तदलाभे वानमस्थस्तदलाभे ब्रह्मचारी तदलाभे गृहस्थस्तत्रापि
पङ्क्तिपावनादय उल्कटास्तदलाभे यो ह्यसम्बद्धः सत्कर्मा च तदलाभे तत्सम्बद्धा अपि तदलाभे
सदाचारः शिष्योऽपि ।

890. प्रकृतेर्गुणतत्त्वज्ञो यस्याश्नानि यतिर्हविः । कलं वेदान्तवित्तस्य (वेदविदा तस्य ?
सहस्रादतिरिच्यते । तस्माद्यत्नेन योगीन्द्रमीश्वरज्ञानतत्परम् । भोजयेद्द्वयकव्येषु अलाभादि-
तरान्द्विजात् । कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 21. 17-18) g, by आ. म. p. 73, हेमाद्रि p. 413 (2nd
verse) and p. 417 (first verse).

ing (of food) is eaten by a *yati* that knows the truth about *prakṛti* (primordial matter) and the *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) reaps the reward (merit) of feeding a thousand (other *brāhmaṇas*). Therefore one should feed in offerings to gods and manes an excellent *yogin* who is intent on true knowledge of God and others only if such a one is not available.' Similar verses about ascetics and yogins occur in *Varāhapurāṇa* 14. 50, *Skanda* (VI. 217. 7 ff) and *Vāyupurāṇa*⁸⁹¹ chap. 71. 65-73, chap. 76. 28 &c. *Brhaspati* provides⁸⁹² a special rule that, if a person cannot afford to feed at a *śrāddha* more than one *brāhmaṇa*, then he should feed one who has studied the *Sāmaveda*, since in him all the three viz. *Rks*, the *Yajus* and *Sāmans* co-exist, that the father is pleased by *Rks* (i. e. by the feeding of a *brāhmaṇa* who has studied the *Rgveda*), the grand-father by *Yajus*, the great-grand-father by a *Sāman* and a *chandoga* (a chanter of the whole of *Sāmaveda*) is superior. A verse of *Satātapa* is⁸⁹³ quoted to the effect that if a student of the *Atharvaveda* is fed in a rite for the gods or manes, that yields endless and inexhaustible rewards.

Some of the *smṛtis* were very strict in laying down the qualifications of *brāhmaṇas* to be invited at a *śrāddha*. *Ausaṇasa* (chap. 4) asserts: 'that *brāhmaṇa*⁸⁹⁴ is called *durbrāhmaṇa* and should never be invited at a *śrāddha* in whose family *Veda* study and *Vedī* (i. e. the performance of *Śrauta* sacrifices) have been stopped for three generations'. The same

891. *सुहृत्स्थाना सहस्रेण वानप्रस्थशतेन च । ब्रह्मचारिसहस्रेण योगी श्वेको निक्षिप्यते ॥ वायुपुराण 71 69 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 413, आ म p. 73, it occurs also in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 9 70. यतिस्तु सर्वविद्यायां सर्वपापमयुग्मभवेत् । इतिहासपञ्चमात् वेदान् यः पठेत् द्विजोत्तमः ॥ अनन्तरं यते. सोऽयं नियोक्तव्यो विज्ञानतः । त्रिवेदोऽनन्तरस्तस्माद् द्विवेदस्तदनन्तरः । एकवेदस्ततः. पञ्चाङ्गयाचाध्यायी ततः परम् । वायुपुराण 79 53-55 q by हेमाद्रि (p. 419). The printed वायु reads सर्वेषामन्य उक्तम्; almost the same verses occur in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 15 24-26).*

892. यद्येकं भोजयेच्छाद्धे छन्दोगं तत्र भोजयेत् । ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि त्रयं तत्र तु विद्यते ॥ ऋचा तु वृष्यति पिता यजुषा तु पितामहः । पितुः पितामहः सान्ना छन्दोगो ह्यधिरस्ततः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिषु p. 765, कल्पतरु on आह p. 58.

893. भोजयेद्यद्यधर्वाणां द्वे पैत्र्ये च कर्मणि । अनन्तमक्षयं चैव फलं तस्येति वै श्रुतिः ॥ शातातप q by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिषु. p. 765, कल्पतरु (आ) p. 59

894. यस्य वेदश्च वेदी च विच्छिद्येते त्रिषुरुषम् । स वै दुष्प्रह्मिणो ज्ञेयः आह्वादी न कदाचन ॥ औशनसस्मृति (Jiv I p. 524), जौ य. परिभाषासूत्र I. 10. 6 (which reads नाम यश्चैव वृषलीपतिः), q by अपराक p. 286 and p. 449 and हेमाद्रि p. 357, as यम's Vide त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I 134-135 for similar definitions.

author⁸⁹⁵ further says that six persons are merely *brāhma-bandhus* (i. e. *brāhmanas* by birth or caste alone) viz. one who is hired by a *sūdra* or a king as a servant, who has a *sūdra* woman as his wife, who is a village priest and he who subsists by killing (animals) or by catching them. So early as the *Mahābhāṣya*⁸⁹⁶ it was stated that austerities (leading a life of restraint and strict observances), Vedic learning and birth (from *brāhmaṇa* parents) are the causes of (a man being called) a *brāhmaṇa* and that he who is devoid of the first two is a mere *brāhmaṇa* by caste (but not a real *brāhmaṇa*). It is curious to note that Yama stated that, if *brāhmanas* that do not declare (or point out) the auspicious *nakṣatra* or *tithi* or day or *muhūrta* and other auspicious matters, eat (*śrāddha*) food it becomes inexhaustible.

But the requisite qualifications were so exacting that it must have been found almost impossible to secure for a *śrāddha brāhmanas* altogether free from any of the blemishes set out above from Manu. Gautama (15 15-18) contains long lists⁸⁹⁷ of over 50 kinds of *brāhmanas* that were not to be invited at a *śrāddha* dinner or at a sacrifice for gods, but Gaut. adds that according to some only those beginning with '*durvāla*' (Gaut. in 15. 18) were to be shunned at a *śrāddha* (but could be invited at a sacrifice for the gods). The persons so to be shunned, according to some who flourished before Gautama (i. e. at least before 600 B C) are, a bald man, a man who has deformed nails or has black teeth (naturally), one suffering from white

895. 'सूत्रमेवो भूतो राजा वृषली ग्रामयाजकः । वधवन्धोपजीवी च वधते ब्रह्मवन्धव ॥ औशनसः (Jiv. I.) p. 525, q. by अपराकः p. 449. ब्रह्मवन्धु is a contemptuous term for one who is a *brāhmaṇa* in name only (and has not studied the Veda).

896. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम् । तपःश्रुताभ्या यो हीनो जातिनाह्वय एव सः ॥ महाभाष्ये on पाणिनि II. 2. 6 (ed by Kielhorn, vol I. p 411) This appears to be a quotation. अनुशासनपर्व 121. 7 is तपः.... ब्राह्मण्यकारणम् । त्रिभिर्गुणैः सखदितो ततो भवति वै द्विजः ॥ In the महाभाष्ये on पा IV. 1. 44, vol II. p 220 ब्राह्मणग्रन्थः is defined as त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च । एतच्छिव विज्ञानीहि ब्राह्मणग्रन्थस्य लक्षणम् ॥ 'नक्षत्रतिथिपुण्याहान् सुहृतांस्मङ्गलानि च । न निदिशन्ति ये विप्रः सौर्धर्कं ह्यस्य भवेत् ॥' यम q by हेमाद्रि (आ p 390), कल्पतरु (आ p 62) नियमेन तपःशब्दः । आप ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 1. हेमाद्रि p 347 quotes a similar verse from बोधायन.

897. कुण्डाशि सोमविकल्पगारदाहि-गरदावकीर्णि-गणमेण्यागम्यागमि-हिंस-परिविस्ति-परिवेष्ट पर्याहित पर्याधातु त्यक्ताम-दुर्बाल-कुलसि-इयावदन्त-भित्ति-पौनर्भव-कितवाजप-राज-मेण्य-भातिरूपिक शूद्रापति-निराकृति-किलासि-कुसीदि-वाणिकू-शिल्पोपजीवि-उपावादिन्नताल-द्वय-गीतशीलान् ।... दुर्बालादीन् आज्ञ एवैके । अकृताश्च आह्वे चैवम् । गौ. 15 18, 31-32. Words joined by *sandhi* rules have not been separated by a hyphen.

leprosy, the son of a re-married woman, a gambler, one who neglects *japa* (the recitation of Vedic mantras), a servant of the king, one who uses false weights and measures, one whose (only) wife is a śūdra female, one who does not perform the daily five sacrifices, one who suffers from a virulent skin disease, a usurer, one who lives by trade or by handicrafts, one who makes his living by (manufacturing) bows (and arrows) or by playing on musical instruments or by keeping time (when another is singing), or by dancing or singing. Vas. quotes a verse⁸⁹⁸ as follows: If a brāhmana knowing the Vedas is afflicted with physical defects which (ordinarily) exclude a person from a row of diners, Yama declares that he is irreproachable and that he does sanctify the row of diners. But it must be said that even in modern times emphasis is laid on inviting learned and well-conducted brāhmanas for śrāddha. The idea (expressed by Manu III, 189 and the Padmapurāṇa) persists that the *pitr*s enter into and hover round the invited brāhmanas and that the latter are to be looked upon as representing the *pitr*s.⁸⁹⁹ The Garudapurāṇa states that Yama allows the departed souls and the *pitr*s to visit the world of men at the time of śrāddha from the nether regions.

The Visnu Dh. S. (79. 19-21) prescribes that the performer should avoid wrath, should not shed tears and should not do things in a hurry. The Varāhapurāṇa⁹⁰⁰ provides that the performer should not employ twigs for brushing the teeth (but should rinse his mouth twelve times with water), should remain chaste and pure. Āp. Dh. S prescribes⁹⁰¹ that the performer should not eat food from the commencement (from the time he goes out to invite) up to the end of the śrāddha rite. The

898. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। अथ चेन्मन्त्रविद्युक्तं शरीरैः पङ्क्तिदूषणैः। अदुष्यं तं यमः माह पङ्क्तिपावन एव ततः ॥ वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 20, q. by मेधातिथि on मनु III, 168. The verse is also अत्रि 350-51 and लघुशङ्ख 22

899. निमन्त्रितांश्च पितर उपविष्टान्ति तान् द्विजान्। वायुश्रुता निगच्छन्ति तथासीनाङ् पातते ॥ पद्मपुराण (सुष्टिखण्ड 9. 85-86) Vide note 759 above. आह्निकाले यमः श्वेतान् पितॄन्प्रापि यमालयात्। विसर्जयति मातृगणे निरयस्थांश्च काश्यप ॥ गरुडपुराण, प्रेतखण्ड chap X. 28-29.

900 बराहपुराणे। दन्तकाष्ठं च विदुर्जेह ब्रह्मचारी शुचिर्भवेत्। q by कल्पतरु (आ p. 104), आ. प्र. p. 112.

901 आरव्ये चाभोजनमा समापनात्। आप. ध सू II 7.17 24.

Kūrma (uttarārdha 22. 8) states that if a person first invites a brāhmana and then foolishly invites another (passing over the first) then he becomes a greater sinner (than the brāhmana who after accepting one invitation promises to dine at another śrāddha) and is born as a worm in human faeces. The Bhavisyapurāṇa ⁹⁰² provides that honouring gods, pitrs and men and feeding (brāhmanas) should not be done without wearing an upper garment; otherwise the rite will bear no fruit.

About the number of brāhmanas to be invited at a śrāddha there were several options and several views. The Āsv. Gr. S. states ⁹⁰³ that at the Pārvana-śrāddha (performed on a *paṇvan* day i. e. on *Amāvāsya*), the Ābhyudayika śrāddha, the Ekodista or *Kūmya*, the larger the number of brāhmanas the greater is the reward, that in no case should a person invite only one brāhmana at a śrāddha meant for all pitrs or he may optionally invite only one brāhmana except at the first śrāddha, that he may invite one, two or three brāhmanas for each of the three paternal ancestors. The Śan. Gr. (IV. 1.2) and Kausītaki Gr III. 14. 1-2 prescribe that one should ⁹⁰⁴ invite an uneven number of brāhmanas, at least three, to sit down as (representing the) fathers. Gaut. requires ⁹⁰⁵ 'He shall feed an uneven number

902. पितृदेवनहृण्याणां पूजनं भोजनं तथा । नोत्तरीयं विना कार्यं कृतं दयाजिष्कलं यतः ॥ भविष्य I 185 23.

903. ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसम्यग्मानेकेन वा काले ज्ञापितान् स्नातान् कृतपञ्चोच्चीचाना-
चाताडवृक्षान् पितृवृक्षपेदेकेकमेकस्य द्वौ द्वौ श्रीच्छीन्वा वृक्षौ कलद्रुपस्य न त्वेवैकं सर्वपादः ।
कामनाद्ये । आश्व. गृ. सू. IV. 7. 2-3. पितृवत् is explained in two ways by नारायण
'पितृवदिति वचनं गर्भेति पितर इति मनसा ध्यायकपक्षेद्वेदित्वेवमर्थमिति ।' अन्ये तु पितृवृक्ष
पितामहाय वृक्षतरं प्रपितामहाय वृक्षतमनित्येवं यथावय उपवेदान्तार्थमिति । The words
नवेवैकं सर्वपादः in आश्व. are opposed to मनु III. 125. नारायण gives several
meanings of अनाद्ये, viz. आद्य refers to सपिण्डीकरण which is the first of the
śrāddhas for a deceased person in which three ancestors are involved. आद्य
may refer to पार्षण which is mentioned first by आश्व. गृ. सू. or अनाद्य means
अभोजन and so refers to आमश्राद्ध or हिरण्यश्राद्ध; or अनाद्ये means दुर्भिक्षे. The
words एकमेकस्य ... श्रीच्छीन्वा contradict आश्व. गृ. II. 5 11-12 'नवावरात्रं भोजयेत् ।
अयुज्यो वा.'

904. अथ मासि मासि पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । ब्राह्मणां त्वेद्विदुषोऽयुग्मान् त्रयवार्धान्
पितृवृक्षपेदेययुग्मानि तिलपात्राणि तिलैरवकीर्य ब्राह्मणानां पाणिपु निनयेत् । कीपीतिक्रिद.
III. 14 1-2.

905 अमावास्यां पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । ...नवावरात्रं भोजयेद्वृज । यथोत्साहं वा ।
ओजियास्त्राग्मयय शीलसम्पन्नाम् । ..एके पितृवत् । गौ. घ. सू. 15 2, 7-9, 11. हरवत्
explains 'एके भग्यन्ते पित्राद्यनुरूपं दानमिति । यथा पित्रे तद्वत् पितामहाय वृक्षः ।
प्रपितामहाय वृक्षतरा इति' । यौतम and others simply echo what is said in शतयथ-
भा. II. 4 2, 7-8 about offering food to pitrs on *amāvāsya*.

of brāhmanas, at least nine or as many as he is able (to feed) and that they should be learned in the Veda and endowed with polished speech, good appearance, mature age and good character'. If five were invited two would be for gods and three for pitrs; if seven, then four for gods and three for pitrs and so on. Vas. XI. 27 (= Manu III. 125 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 29), Yaj. I. 228, Matsya 17. 13-14, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15.14 provide that one must feed two brāhmanas at the rite for the gods and three for the manes or one only for each of the two purposes and even a rich man should not go in for a large company. The Padma-purāṇa (Śruti 9.98 and 141) says the same thing. So the number of brāhmanas to be invited did not depend so much upon the means of the inviter, but upon the point whether the inviter would be able to honour them all properly and with ease. The idea was that at the same time when śrāddha was to be performed two brāhmanas should be fed for gods and three for the pitrs. When only one brāhmaṇa could be invited or was available, Vas. (XI. 30-31) provides that portions of the several foods cooked should be put in a vessel and should be placed at the place where Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇa would have been seated, then served in a plate and the *utve devāḥ* be invoked and should be contemplated as present and then the food should be thrown into the fire or offered to a Vedic student (as alms) and then śrāddha rite should be continued. Śāṅkha 96 14.10 provides a similar rule. The result is that if a man can afford to invite only one brāhmaṇa or can secure one only, then that brāhmaṇa is meant for the rite in honour of pitrs and the offering for the gods is to be cast into fire. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.30, Manu III. 126, Vas. XI. 28, Kūrma (uttarārdha 22 28) contain the same verse which emphatically states 'A large company destroys these five *desiderata*, viz the respectful treatment (of those invited), the securing of a proper place (such as one sloping to the south) and time, purity and (the

906. भोजयेद्यज्ञत्वेकं ब्राह्मणं पण्डितानम् । देवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्यं पश्चाद्ब्रह्मै ह तत्क्षिपेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14.10. The आ. क. छ. p. 40 remarks 'एकब्राह्मणपक्षे विश्वेदेवस्थाने पार्श्वं प्रकल्प्य देवे निवेद्य तमेकं विभं पित्रादिषु मातामहादिषु च नियुज्यते' हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1523) explains Vas. XI.31 as 'अज्ञस्य प्रत्येकमेकदेशं ससुदृत्य देवतायतने नैवेदिकद्विजोपवेशनोचिते स्थाने पात्रमासाद्य तत्र पस्विद्वयं तत्रत्यासने च विश्वात् देवानावाह्यं तान् पुरोवर्तितं हवामुध्याय .. विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदमङ्गं स्वाहा ओं तत्सदिति उक्त्वा' &c The translation in S. B. E. vol. 14 of देवतायतने in Vas. XI.31 (at p. 54) is wrong

choice of) meritorious brāhmanas; therefore one should not desire a large company' ⁹⁰⁷ The Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārḍha 22.32) insists that an *atithi* must be fed at a śrāddha or otherwise the śrāddha is not praiseworthy. Though these ancient works insisted upon the avoidance of large preparations and expenses for śrāddhas in honour of a deceased person, there were other smṛtis that favoured lavish distribution of wealth in śrāddhas. For example, Brhaspati lays down: '(An heir) should lay aside half of the wealth that comes to him (by inheritance) for the benefit of the deceased owner and should expend it in the monthly, six-monthly and yearly śrāddhas'. The Dāyabhāga XI. 12 approves ⁹⁰⁸ of this and also quotes Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13.3 'On the failure of a sapinda the teacher of the Veda takes the wealth of the deceased, on failure of the teacher, the pupil takes it and having inherited it he should employ it in the performance of works of charity for the benefit of the deceased' (or he himself may enjoy it). These passages show to what lengths the cult of benefit to the soul of the deceased was carried in India by certain writers. More practical authors such as Haradatta did not relish these extreme views. In several purāṇas such as the Vāyu ^{908a} and Viṣṇu there are express directions that when a śrāddha is performed at Gayā, it should be on a profuse scale and no stinginess ⁹⁰⁹ (lit. cheating in money matters) in spending wealth should be shown there; otherwise the performer would not reap the benefit of the performance of śrāddha at that holy place. The Padmapurāṇa appears to inculcate profuse

907 सत्किं वा देशकालौ च शौचं ब्राह्मणसम्पदः । पञ्चैतान् विस्तरौ हन्ति तस्माद्वैतं विस्तरम् ॥ मनु III. 126.

908. धनार्जनस्य हि मयोजनद्वयं भोगार्थत्वं दानाद्यष्टद्वयार्थत्वं च, तत्रार्जनस्य तु मृतत्वाद्भवे भोग्यत्वाभावेनाष्टद्वयार्थत्वमेव सिद्धम् । अत एव बृहस्पतिः । सद्यत्पञ्चाद्विनादर्थं तदर्थं स्थापयेत्पुण्यम् । मातृपितृणां सिके आद्ये पार्थिवे च प्रयत्नतः । वायुभाग XII. 13, आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र II. 6. 13 3 ॥ तदभावे आचार्ये आचार्याभावे अन्तेवासी कृत्वा तदर्थेषु धर्मकृत्येषु वापयोजयेत् । ; हरदत्त explains 'वाशब्दात् स्वयं नोपशुजीत'.

908 a. वित्तशास्त्रं न कुर्वति गयाआद्ये सदा नरः । वित्तशास्त्रं तु कुर्वाणो न तीर्थफलं भागमेवेत् ॥ वायु 82.19. This is quoted from another Purāṇa by the स्मृतिसिद्धि- (आद्य) p. 388, which adds 'अतो वित्तादिसारेण शरीरबलाद्यसारेण च गणया आर्जं कार्यम्'.

909. सविलं नामगोत्रेण दद्याच्छक्या च दक्षिणाम् ॥ गोबुधिरण्यवासांति भव्यानि क्षयनानि च । दद्याद्यविष्टं विभ्रागामात्मनः पितुरेव च ॥ वित्तशास्त्रेन सहितं पितृभ्यः शीति-माहरत् । पद्मपुराण, सुद्धिखण्ड 9 179-181.

expenditure of wealth in all śrāddhas. The Vāyupurāṇa ⁹¹⁰ (82, 26-28) further says that the brāhmanas of Gayā are supermen, that when they are gratified (at a śrāddha) the gods together with pitrs become gratified, that no question should be raised about the family, the character, the learning and the austerities (of the Gayā brāhmanas), that by honouring them a man attains liberation, that a man after honouring the brāhmanas should proceed according to his resources and strength to the performance of śrāddha, thereby he secures all heavenly desires and obtains the means of *Mokṣa*. The Skandapurāṇa goes so far as to say that Gayā brāhmanas even if they are depraved in their conduct and are backward deserve to be invited at śrāddha and are superior to brāhmanas who have mastered the Veda and Vedāṅgas. The Nirṇayasindhu (III, p. 401) notes that, according to the Tristhalīsetu of his grandfather, this provision holds good only in the case of the śrāddha at the Akṣayya Vata in Gayā and nowhere else. In modern times the brāhmanas at Gayā used to require the performer of śrāddha while he was in the sacred Phalgu river to make a declaration about his wealth and demanded fees accordingly, thereby carrying to the letter the words of the Vāyupurāṇa. Many people returned from Gayā thoroughly disillusioned and disgusted with the conduct of the brāhmanas at Gayā. In the Varāhapurāṇa ⁹¹¹ it is said that two verses were sung by the pitrs viz 'Would such a blessed and intelligent man be born in our family who will offer pindas (i. e. śrāddha) to us without being stingy about wealth and who would bestow on brāhmanas with reference to us (i. e. for our benefit) jewels, clothes, land, costly vehicles and all other kinds of wealth including water, when he has riches enough?' Here lavish expenditure on all śrāddhas (not only at Gayā-śrāddha) appears to be strongly recommended. Devala pre-

910. अमाहुषतया विद्या (अमाहुषा गयविद्या?) ब्राह्मणा (ब्राह्मणा?) ये प्रकल्पिता । तेऽपु
तुष्टेऽपु सन्नुष्टा. पितृभिः सह देवता ॥ न विचार्य कुलं शीलं विद्यां च तप एव च । पुजितैस्तैस्तु
राजैश्च ह्युक्तिं प्रमोति मानवः ॥ तत्र प्रवर्तयेद्ब्राह्मणं यथाशक्तिचलाचलम् । कामान्स लभते दिव्या-
न्मोक्षोपायं च विन्दति ॥ वायु 82, 26-28. The first two verses are quoted from
another (unnamed) Purāṇa by स्मृतिच (श्री) pp 388-389, 'अथाचारपरिभ्रष्टा आह्वार्य
एव नागरा । बलीवर्द्धसमानोऽपि ज्ञातीयो यदि लभ्यते । किमन्यैर्बहुभिर्विषैर्वेदेवाङ्गाराम् ।'
स्कन्दपुराण VI. 222, 23.

911. अपि धन्यः कुले जायाद्दत्ताकं सतिमान् नरः । अकुर्वन् विचक्षणं यः पिण्डाहो
निर्वपिष्यति ॥ इत्येवमहोपायं सर्वं वीर्यादिकं वक्षः । विभवे सति विषेभ्यः अस्माद्यद्विष्य दास्यति ॥
वराहपुराण 13 50-51, विष्णुपुराण III, 14, 22-23 (reads यानमहाभोगादिकं वक्षः).

vides that on the days of *śrauta* sacrifices, of the celebration of charitable acts, of *śrāddhas* on the anniversary of death or on *amāvāsyā*, on lucky occasions (*ṛddhi*), on *Astaka* days, one should never give a frugal or poor dinner to ⁹¹¹ the worthy *brāhmaṇas* invited for dinner.

If no *brāhmaṇa* is available, then the *Śrāddhativēka*, *Śrāddhatattva* and other digests say that effigies of *brāhmaṇas* made with seven or nine *darbhas* (except in the case of a performer following the *Sāmaveda* who is not restricted as to the number of *darbhas*) should be got ready and *śrāddha* should be performed and afterwards the fee and other materials may be given later on to other *brāhmaṇas* ⁹¹².

Rules were laid from very ancient times about the method of inviting *brāhmaṇas*. The *Āp. Dh. S.* states ^{912a} that the performer should make a request to the *brāhmaṇas* on the previous day, that on the day of the *śrāddha* he should request a second time (saying 'today is the *śrāddha* day') and then he should address them a third time (with the words 'food is ready, come'). *Haradatta* on the first of the three *sūtras* explains that the request should be 'tomorrow there is a *śrāddha*, you should do me the favour of being in the place of the *Āhavanīya* fire' i. e. you should partake of the food that will be prepared. *Manu* III 187 also says that the invitation should be on the previous day or on the day of the *śrāddha*

911 a. दद्याद्दक्षिणं दद्याद्दक्षिणं दद्याद्दक्षिणं च । पात्रेभ्यस्तु दद्याद्दक्षिणं नैव कुमोक्षम् ॥
देवद. ५. ३१ मूलिच. (अ.) p. 410.

912. ब्राह्मणमन्त्रोक्तं कृमयप्राप्तये आहुतुम् आहूतिर्विदे । . . ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रोक्तं
हुत्वा कर्मनान्द्रिजान् । आहूतिं हुत्वा विधानेन पश्चाद्विदेषु दापयेत् । इति आहूतब्रह्मण-
कामेष्टदक्षिणदक्षिणम् । आहुतवत् p 194 and again at p 197 'एवं ब्राह्मणा-
मन्त्रोक्तं पश्चाद्विधानेन कर्मनान्द्रिजान् । The three verses are in the *Viṇ* and
in the *Viṇ*.

912 a. दक्षिणं दद्यात् । अर्पणं दद्यात् । कृमयप्राप्तये । आहूतिं च ह. II 7 17.
11-15: *Haradatta* explains 'च. आहूतिं कर्मनान्द्रिजान् दद्यात् । कर्मनान्द्रिजान् ।
The exact procedure would be दक्षिणं दद्यात् हुत्वा दक्षिणं दद्यात् ।
दक्षिणं दद्यात् कर्मनान्द्रिजान् । आहुतवत् (विदेष्टुं) दक्षिणं दद्यात् ।
नान्द्रिजान् दद्यात् विदेष्टुं दद्यात् । आहुतवत् (विदेष्टुं) दक्षिणं दद्यात् ।
(च. आहूतिं) fol. 55a For the exact procedure the *d* version will be दक्षिणं दद्यात्
दक्षिणं दद्यात् कर्मनान्द्रिजान् दद्यात् हुत्वा दक्षिणं दद्यात् &c

itself. The Matsyapurāṇa⁹¹³ and Padma (Śrīti-khanda 9.85-88) provide that the person intending to perform a śrāddha should in an humble manner invite the brāhmanas on the previous day or (in the morning of) the day of śrāddha, that he should touch the right knee (of the brāhmana to be invited) with the words 'you are given this invitation by me' and repeat in their hearing the following observance 'you should be free from anger, should be intent on purity (of body and mind) and should abstain from sexual intercourse and I, the performer of śrāddha, shall also act in the same way and that the pitrs in an aerial form wait upon the invited brāhmanas.' The Brhan-nārādiya-purāṇa states that the invitation should be in the words 'O best men! You should do me a favour and accept the invitation for śrāddha.' It is noteworthy that the Prajāpati-smṛti (63) prescribes that one should invite brāhmanas for a śrāddha or sacrifice for gods in the evening of the previous day after uttering the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ &c.'⁹¹⁴ The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 37 says that the performer should address the brāhmana as follows: 'my father (is or will enter) into this your body and so will my grand-father; let him (the grand-father) come with his father and you should strictly observe the *vratā*' (the rules). The invitation to the brāhmanas representing pitrs is to be given with the sacred thread in the *prācināvīta* form and to those for Vaiśvadevika in the *yājñopavīta* form. On the question whether the Vaiśvadevika brāhmanas were to be invited first or the brāhmanas for pitrs were to be invited first

913. पूर्वैरुपरिदुषां विनीतात्मा निमन्त्रयेत्। निमन्त्रितान् पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान्। वायुसूता इ गच्छन्ति तथासीनाद्युपासते॥ दक्षिणं जाह्नूनालम्य त्वं मया तु निमन्त्रितः। एवं निमन्त्र्य नियमं आवयेत्यितुबाण्धवान्॥ अक्रोधनै शौचपरैः सततं ब्रह्मचारिभिः। भवितव्यं भवद्भिश्च मया च आज्ञाकारिणा॥ मत्स्य 16. 17-20, प by आ क्रि कौ. p. 81, आहूतत्वे p 194. The verse निमन्त्रितान् occurs in मनु III. 189 (which reads वायुवच्छाह-गच्छन्ति). हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 763) quotes the verse दक्षिणं जातुं (but reads आवयेत् पैतृकान् ह्ययः) and स्मृतिच (आ) p. 406 quotes both. पद्मपुराण (चन्द्रिका 9. 85-88) has the same verses with some slight variations, Vide हेमाद्रि (on आ) p. 1258.

914. अक्रोधनैः शौचपरैरिति गाथाहूदरियन्। सायमामन्त्रयेद्दिमांश्च आज्ञे देवे च कर्मणि॥ प्रजापति 63. It is therefore likely that the Prajāpati-smṛti is much later than the Matsyapurāṇa or it is possible that the verse अक्रोधनै is an ancient one and only repeated by the मत्स्य. Compare मनु III 192 where we have the words 'अक्रोधना शौचपरा. सततं ब्रह्मचारिणः.' नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28 20) puts the request as 'आज्ञे क्षणस्तु कर्तव्यः यसादश्चेति सत्तम'. This supports the Mit on Yāj I 225.

there is a conflict among *smṛtis* and the medieval digests propose an option (vide Hemādri on *śrāddha* pp. 1154-1157). Manu III. 205 appears to lay down that the *daiva brāhmaṇa* should be invited first (*daivādyantam tad-iheta*). Yama quoted by several digests⁹¹⁵ says that the performer should request in the evening of the previous day *brāhmaṇas* with the words 'You should all be free from exertions and should avoid passion and anger for the *śrāddha* in my house which is to be performed tomorrow,' that the *brāhmaṇas* should reply 'let it be so if the night passes happily and without any mishap to us.' The digests (e. g. *Śrāddhakriyakaumudī* p. 81, *Śrāddhatattva* p. 194 and *Nirṇayasindhu* III. p. 804) say that the verse '*sarvāyasa &c*' may be repeated when the invitation is given on the day previous to the day of *śrāddha* and the verse '*akrodhanaiḥ*' when the invitation is given on the morning of the *śrāddha* day. The words of invitation differ according to different authorities. For example, according to the *Mit.* on *Yāj* I. 225 the words are '*śrāddhe kṣanah kriyatām.*' Vide *Śr. Pr.* p. 106 also. Manu III. 187 and 191 show that the words '*nimantrana*' and '*āmantrana*' are used as synonyms. In the *Śrāddhasūtra*⁹¹⁶ of *Kātyāyana* the word '*āmantrana*' is used. But *Pāṇini*⁹¹⁷ (III. 3. 161) apparently makes a difference between the meanings of the two words and the *Mahābhāṣya* explains that invitation is called '*nimantrana*' which if rejected (without proper cause) involves a fault or sin, while that invitation which one is free to reject (without incurring blame) is called '*āmantrana*.' Therefore, it must be held that the few writers such as *Kātyāyana* who employ *āmantrana* use it in a secondary sense. The invitation should be given by a performer himself or by his son,

915. आर्चयेत् प्रदोषान्ते शुक्लार्कं क्षयितान् द्विजान् ॥ सर्वापासविनिर्मुक्तिः कामक्रोध-
विवर्जिते । भवद्भिर्भवितव्यं न- श्वोसुते आह्वयकर्मणि ॥ ते त तथेत्यभिधेनेन पाति चेद्भजनी
शुक्लम् । यथाश्रुतं प्रतीक्षेरन् आह्वयकालमतेन्मित्रता ॥ सम प. by आ क्रि कौ p 80, आह्व-
तत्त्व p. 194, मद या 564 (from अत्रि)

916. अपरपक्षे आह्वं कुर्वीतोर्ध्वं वा चतुर्थ्यां यदहः सम्पद्यते तदहर्माह्वयानामन्त्र-
पूर्वेषुर्वा । आह्वयश्च I (of कात्यायन).

917. विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्टमश्रमार्थनेषु लिङ् । पाणिनि III. 3. 161. The
महाभाष्य explains (Kielhorn, vol. II p. 165) यन्त्रियोगतः कर्मण्य तन्निमन्त्रणम् ।
किं युजस्तत् । हव्यं कव्य वा । ब्राह्मणेन सिद्धं युज्यतानित्युक्तैः धर्मैः प्रत्याख्यातम् । आमन्त्रणे
कानच्चार । The आ क्रि कौ p. 82, बोधरानन्द (आह्वयसौख्य folio 51) and आह्वयतत्त्व
p. 192 refer to this distinction between the two words.

brother or a pupil or a brāhmaṇa, but it should not be given through a person of another *varṇa* ⁹¹⁸ or a woman or a child or person belonging to another *gotra* nor from a distance (Prajāpati 64). Pracetas provides that a brāhmaṇa performer of śrāddha when giving an invitation should touch the right knee, a ksatriya inviter the left knee of the invitee, a Vaiśya inviter should hold both feet of the invitee and a śūdra should prostrate himself at the feet of the invitee (vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 and S. K. L. p. 47). The Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 35) states an exception that if, when a śrāddha rite is going on, brāhmaṇas or Vedic students or ascetics come by chance begging for food, the performer should make them pleased by falling at their feet and feed them (i. e. no formal invitation is necessary in these cases). Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 12 for feeding uninvited ascetics. It is provided by Bhṛgu quoted by Hemādri that the brāhmaṇas on accepting the invitation should pronounce the finely-worded and comprehensive Vedic benediction quoted below.⁹¹⁹

Uśanas ^{919a} provides that the performer should wash the floor of his house with water, cowdung it and cleanse the vessels on the day previous to the śrāddha and then give an invitation to the brāhmaṇas with the words 'tomorrow I am going to perform śrāddha'. The Varāhapurāṇa and the Kūrma also provide for this and for the washing of the clothes. Manu III. 206 also requires that the spot where śrāddha is to be performed should be clean, secluded, cowdunged and should slope to the south.

The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana ⁹²⁰ prescribes that a brāh-

918. अभोज्यं ब्राह्मणस्याहं क्षत्रियाद्यैर्निमन्त्रितैः। स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 4.

919. आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायतामस्मिन् रात्रौ राजन्य इषव्यः क्षुरो महारथो जायतां दोग्ध्री वेदुर्गोदाऽनङ्गानाङ्गः सति। पुराण्विर्षोष निष्पृ रणेष्टाः सभेयो शुवाऽस्य यजमान-
स्य धीरो जायतां निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु फलिग्न्यो न ओषधयः पश्वपुतां योगक्षेमो
न कल्पताम्। तै. सं. VII. 5. 18, तै. अ. III. 8. 13 (where this is explained),
वाज. सं. 22. 22. Vide हेमाद्रि (on आ p. 1159).

919 a सत्रोक्तानां। गोमयेनोदकैश्च घृनिमार्जनं पाण्डुशौचं कृत्वा श्वः कर्तास्मीति
ब्राह्मणान् निमन्त्रयेत्। स्मृतिच. (आह्) p. 409, आ. म. p. 108, हेमाद्रि on आ. p. 51;
वसुशौचादि कर्तव्यं श्वः कर्तास्मीति जानता। स्थानोपलेपनं चैव कृत्वा विमान् निमन्त्रयेत्।
वराहपुराण p. by स्मृतिच. (आ) p. 403, आ. नि. वी. p. 76, हेमाद्रि (on आ) p. 1150, आहृतत्त्व p. 192. हेमाद्रि explains 'आदिशब्दश्च प्रकाशवचनः। तेन आहो-
पयोगिसम्भारसंपादनमाण्डनेलनशोधनादि गृह्यते'.

920. अतिन्योनामन्त्रितो नापक्रामेदामन्त्रितो वाग्यवर्चं न भविगृहीयात्। आहृतत्त्व of
कात्यायन (I) p. by आहृतत्त्व p. 189 (as गोमिह).

mana who has been invited (to a śrāddha dinner) by a faultless performer should not refuse the invitation nor should he, after being invited (and having accepted the invitation), accept a gift of even (uncooked) food from another person. Manu III 190 and Kūrmapurāṇa provide that if a brāhmana after receiving an invitation for a sacrifice to gods or manes according to śāstra directions and after having accepted it violates the appointment, he incurs sin and becomes a hog ⁹²¹ (in his next birth). This does not apply where he is unable to go on account of illness or other valid reason.

The smrtis laid down some strict and elaborate rules which were to be observed by the brāhmanas invited for śrāddha and by the performer himself. Many of the rules are applicable to both. Gaut prescribes ⁹²² that the brāhmana who has partaken of śrāddha dinner should remain chaste (i. e. shun sexual intercourse) that whole day, and if he has intercourse with a wife of the śūdra caste he thereby makes his own *pitrs* stay in the ordure of that wife. Vas XI 37 makes this rule applicable both to the performer and the invited brāhmana and as regards wives of all *varṇas*. Manu III. 188 provides that the brāhmana invited to dine at a sacrifice in honour of *pitrs* and the performer of the śrāddha should remain controlled (i. e. chaste and free from anger and passion) and should not study the Veda (except *japa*). Yāj. I. 225 (latter half) briefly puts the matter by saying 'they should be controlled as to their bodies, speech and thoughts'. The Matsyapurāṇa ⁹²³ prescribes that both the performer of śrāddha and the brāhmana invited to dine at it should avoid dining again (after the śrāddha dinner), journey, going in a conveyance, exertions, sexual intercourse, study of the Veda, quarrel and sleeping by day. Similar rules to observe continence are laid down for both on the day of śrāddha if invitation be given on the morning of the day of

921. अमन्त्रितो वाह्यगो वै योऽप्यस्मिन् कुर्वते क्षणम्। स याति गरुड पौर घृतरसं मयाति च॥ कूर्म, उत्तरार्ध 22 7 q. b; आ. m. p. 110.

922. सद्यः आहूतो ब्रह्मतरुस्तत्पुत्रीये नामं नयति विष्णुः। नराणां तदर्थं ब्रह्मणाते श्रुतम्।
श्री. 15. 23-24; on आहूतो ब्रह्मतरुस्तत्पुत्रीये नामं नयति विष्णुः। नराणां तदर्थं ब्रह्मणाते श्रुतम्।
This is in V. 2. 85 'आहूतमेव श्रुतिमिति'। This explains the two forms
आहूतम् and आहूतिम्.

923. पुनर्भोजनमप्यनं यानमात्मन्युनन। आहूतश्च तदर्थं नराणां तदर्थं ब्रह्मणाते श्रुतम्।
स्वाध्यायं कर्तव्यं च दिनस्तत्र च सदा। नरक 16 27-28 q. b; आ. m. p. 95
(which reads यत्नमात्मनः) These verses are also in (सूत्रिणां) 9. 123-124.

śrāddha and also on the previous day if invitation be given on the day previous to the śrāddha day. Vide Visnu Dh. S. 69. 2-4. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 79 appears to strike a dissenting note about sexual intercourse with one's wife during the days from the 5th to the 16th; while most other medieval writers such as Hemādri (śr. pp. 1036-7) and Śr. P. p. 111 are opposed to this view. The Śrāddhasūtra⁹²⁴ of Kātyāyana provides that the performer should, from the time of giving invitation to the time when the brāhmanas sip water (i. e. perform ācamana after śrāddha dinner), remain pure, free from anger, hurry, negligence, should speak the truth and should shun a journey, sexual intercourse, hard work and study of the Veda and control speech (should remain mostly silent) and the brāhmanas invited should observe the same rules. Anuśānasa (Jiv. vol I. pp. 526-527) contains verses very similar in import to Kātyāyana. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 106-108), Markandeya (28. 31-33) and Anuśānasa 125.24 have identical verses⁹²⁵ and Vāyu 79. 60-61 are very similar in import. Laghu-Śankha 29, Laghu-Harita 75 and Likhita 60 have the same verse requiring the invited brāhmanas to avoid eight matters, viz. dining again, journey, carrying loads, Vedic study, sexual intercourse, making gifts, accepting gifts, performing homa, while Prajāpati 92 substitutes the brushing of the teeth (with a twig), tāmḃūla, bath after applying oil to the body, and fast for the first four of the above eight. The Anuśānasa-parva (90. 12-13) and Padma (Pātālakhaṇḍa 101. 94-95) also contain a list of actions that should be avoided. Briefly put, the following were the observances for both inviter and invitee, viz. avoidance of sexual intercourse, dining again, falsehood, hurry, vedic study, heavy work, gambling, carrying burdens, giving gifts and acceptance of gifts, theft, journey, sleep by day, quarrels; the performer alone was to abstain from eating tāmḃūla, shaving, applying oil to the body, brushing the teeth with a twig; while the brāh-

924. तद्ध. शुचिरक्रोधनोऽस्त्रितोऽभमत्त. सत्यवादी रयादृक्त्वमैथुनश्रमस्वाध्यायत्व-
ज्येष्ठावाहनादि वाग्यत ओपरपक्षादात्मन्त्रिताश्चैव. आह्नसूत्र I of कात्यायन. पुनर्भाजन-
मध्यान् भाराध्ययनमैथुनम् । दानं प्रतिग्रहं होमं आह्नसूत्रेण वर्जयेत् ॥ लघुशङ्ख 29, q. by
मिता on या I. 249 (without name), compare. कूर्मपुराण (II. 22. 6) and नारदीय
(पूर्वार्ध 28. 4) for very similar verses.

925. आह्न दत्ता च धुक्त्वा च पुरुषो य स्त्रियं ब्रजेत् । पितरस्तस्य तं मासं तस्मिन्नेतादि
होरेत् । अह्नसासनपर्व 125. 24. Almost the same words occur in मार्कण्डेय 28. 32-33
and in अह्नसासन 90. 12-13, वसिष्ठ 11. 37. The मिता. on या I. 79 says, 'एव गच्छन्
ब्रह्मचार्येव भवति । अतो यत्र ब्रह्मचार्यं आह्नादौ चोदितं तत्र गच्छतोऽपि न ब्रह्मचार्यस्त्वलन-
दोपोऽस्ति'.

mana invited was (alone) to observe the following, viz. not absenting oneself after accepting an invitation, making no delay when called for dinner (vide Śrāddhakalika folio 4b and 5a and Pitr-bhakti on śrāddha ⁹²⁶).

Elaborate provisions are made from ancient times about the substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and about those that should not be used therein. Āp. Dh. ⁹²⁷ S. remarks: 'the materials in śrāddha are sesamum, māsas, rice, yavas (barley), water, roots and fruits; but the pītras are extremely gratified by food that is mixed with clarified butter and for a very long time; so also they are gratified by wealth that is obtained lawfully and is bestowed on worthy persons'. Manu III. 267 (= Vāyu 83. 3) is to the same effect as Āp. Dh. S. Yaj. I. 258 is content to say that food which is fit to be offered in sacrifices (*havisya*) should be served. Manu III. 257 explains that food eaten by hermits in the forest, (cow's) milk, soma juice, meat that is not prepared with spices (or that is free from a bad smell), rock salt are by their very nature *havis* (sacrificial food). According to Gaut. 27. 11 the sacrificial food (*havis*) comprises boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley (after being baked or fried), grain separated from husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. ⁹²⁸ Other smṛtis and digests very much elaborated these brief indications in the early works. The three kinds of wealth (viz. *śukla*, *śabala* and *kṛṣṇa*) and the several lawful or uncondemned means of acquiring wealth have been described already in H. of Dh. vol. II pp 130 ff. The Mārkaṇḍeya (29. 14-15) condemns the use in śrāddhas of wealth that is obtained by taking bribes or from a *patita* (one guilty of a grave sin), that springs from bride-price or that is declared to be unlawful or is obtained by saying to another 'give me for the sake of a śrāddha to be offered to my father' (q. by Sm. O. on

926. निमन्त्रितः आहूतकर्ता च पुनर्भोजनं श्रमं हिंसां स्वर्गं प्रमादं भारोद्बन्धनं दूरतमनः कलहं शत्रुमहणं च वर्जयेत् । क्षुब्धं सत्यवादी क्षमी ब्रह्मचारी च स्यात् । पितृभक्तिं च अर्हति ।

927. तत्र द्रव्याणि तिलमाषा मीहिषवा आपो मूलफलानि । स्नेहवति त्वेषाञ्चै विपुर्णां प्रतिद्विर्धायांश्च कालम् । तथा धर्माद्वृत्तेन द्रव्येण तीर्थप्रतिपक्षेन । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 22-24.

928. अश्वमेधसकुम्भणयवकशाकपयोदधिधृतमूलफलोदकानि हवींश्चुचरोत्तरं प्रशस्तानि ।
नौ 27. 11. On आप. सू. I. 9. 6 नारायण quotes a verse of similar import
'पयो दधि यवागृह्य सपिरोद्वनगुहलाः । सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि वक्षैव दुः॥'.

śrāddha p. 412). The Skandapurāṇa emphasizes that at a śrāddha purity (*śuddhi*) must be specially secured in seven matters viz. the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (where śrāddha is to be performed), the mind, the mantras and brāhmanas.⁹²⁹ Manu III 235 (= Vas. 11.35) states: three are the sanctifying things in a śrāddha, viz. a daughter's son, a Nepal blanket and sesamum grains and three are commended in śrāddha viz. cleanliness, freedom from anger and absence of hurry.^{929a} Pracetas mentions several kinds of corn that are commended as food in śrāddha. Manu III, 255 summarises that in śrāddha the riches (i. e. the most important matters) are afternoon, *darbhās*, proper cleansing of the place (or house) for śrāddha, sesame, generous expense (on food &c.), seasoning food, eminent brāhmanas.

The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa says that several kinds of corn-yielding plants (some due to tillage in villages and some growing wild) were produced by Brahmā when he milked the earth for famished people, while Brahmavaivarta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 537) affirms that when a few particles fell down on the earth while Indra drank Soma, from them arose such corn as *śyāmāka*, wheat, *yava*, *mudga* and red paddy and as they were produced from soma they were like nectar to the pītr̥s and food prepared from these should be offered to pītr̥s. The Mārkaṇḍeya speaks of seven kinds of *grāmya* corn and seven kinds of wild (*āranya*) corn. Prajāpati 119 recommends the use of eight kinds of corn, viz. *nivāra*, *māsa*, *mudga*, wheat, paddy, *yava*, grain and sesamum. The Matsya (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 538) narrates that when the Sun drank nectar some drops fell down from which arose the several kinds of

929. शरीरद्वयद्वाराधूमनोमन्त्रद्विजन्मनाम् । ह्यङ्घ्रिः सप्तह विज्ञेया आङ्काले विशेषतः ॥ स्कन्द VII, 1. 205, 17.

929 a. ऋणि आङ्गे पवित्राणि दौहित्रः कुतपस्तिलाः । ऋणि चात्र प्रशंसन्ति शौचम कोधमलवरा ॥ मनु. III. 235, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI, 35. This very verse (the first half) is quoted in several Purāṇas as in विष्णुपुराण III. 15 52, भविष्य I. 185. 20, मार्कण्डेय 28. 64, स्कन्दपुराण (प्रभासखण्ड 205. 13). The पद्मपुराण (सुहृत्खण्ड 47. 278-279) has the whole verse but reads आङ्गे ऋणि.. दौहित्रं and सत्यमकोधमलवरा. It appears clear from the preceding verse that in Manu at least दौहित्र means daughter's son. But in the स्कन्द (प्रभासखण्ड 205 14 ff) several meanings of दौहित्र are given such as 'a vessel made of the horn on the nose of the rhinoceros' or 'clarified butter made from the milk of a cow of variegated colour.' The word कुतप also has nine meanings acc. to a Smṛti text quoted by Aparārka p. 474 'ब्राह्मणः कम्बलो गावः स्योऽग्निस्तिथिरिव च । तिला दध्नाश्च कालश्च नैवे कुतपाः स्युताः ॥'; vide note 847 for कुतप

paddy, *mudga*, sugarcane and that therefore sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrifices to gods and manes. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* ⁹³⁰ mentions several kinds of corn that may be employed for śrāddha food. The *Brahma-purāṇa* 220, 154-155, *Vāyu* 82, 3, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, III, 16, 5-6, *Viṣṇu*, Dh. S. ⁹³¹ *Brahmāṇḍa* II, 7, 143-152 and III 14, contain similar lists of different kinds of corn that may be used in śrāddhas. The *Vāyupurāṇa* (80, 42-48) mentions various desirable eatables prepared from corn of various kinds, sugar and clarified butter and milk. ⁹³²

Certain kinds of corn and cereals were forbidden. For example, the *Matsya-purāṇa* and *Padma* (*Sṛstikhanda*, chap. 9 62-66) ⁹³³ declare that masūra, linseed, nispāva, rājamāsa, kusumbhika, kodrava, udāra, gram, kapittha, madhūka and linseed are forbidden. *Viṣṇu* Dh. S. 79, 18 provides that the performer should avoid the bean called rājamāsa, masūra, stale food and salt manufactured from seawater. The *Sat-trimśa-nmata* ⁹³⁴ forbids the use in śrāddha of all kinds of cereals covered with dark husk except sesamum, *mudga* and *mūsa*.

930. राजह्यत्माकश्चामाकौ तद्वच्चैव मशासिका। नीषाराः पौष्कराश्चैव वन्धानि पितृतृप्तये ॥ यववीहिसगोधूमसिलिखट्टाः ससर्पया । मियङ्गवः कोद्रवश्च निष्पावाध्वानिभीभनः । वज्या मर्कटकाः आह्वे राजमापास्तथाणवः । विमदिका मसुराश्च आह्वकर्मणि गहिताः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29,9-11 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. pp 542-43) and explained as मशान्तिकाः मध्यदेशे यस्मिन्लो धान्यविशेषः पौष्कराः पद्मबीजानि निष्पावा. वट्टाः The last are called बाल in modern Marathi.

931. तिलैर्वीहियवैर्मापैरन्निर्मूलफलैः शकै इयामाकैः मियङ्गुभिर्नीवारैर्द्वैर्गोधूतैश्च मांसं गीयन्ते । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 80 1

932. द्वेष्याणि संप्रश्यानि आह्वे वज्याणि यानि ह ॥ मसुराणि निष्पावराजमाष-कुसुम्भिकाः । कोद्रवोदाराचणका कपित्थ मण्डूकातसी ॥ मत्स्य 15 36-38 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) pp. 548-549 and आ. म. p. 40, पद्मपुराण (V. 9, 64-67) q. by हेमाद्रि p. 548 has almost the same list. हेमाद्रि explains मण्डूक as उपेष्टीमण्डू and reads कोद्रवोदाराचणका कपित्थम् in मत्स्य. वरक is वरी in Marathi.

933. राजमापमसुरपुंषितकृतलवणानि च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 79, 18 ; राजमापमसुराश्च कोद्रवाद कोरद्वपकात् । लोहितान् वृक्षनिर्गताम् आह्वकर्मणि वर्जयेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14 21 q. by हेमाद्रि on आह्व. p. 548, who explains कोरद्वपक. वनकोद्रव.

934. वट्टनिशमन्ते । कुण्ठधान्यानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धकर्मणि । न वर्जयेत्तिलाश्चैव खट्टान्मापास्तथैव च । q. by हेमाद्रि (आह्व.) p. 544, आ. म. p. 38. 'हविष्ये आह्व-एवियोर्य जीहिशालिपयोगोधूमसुद्रमाषमुन्यज सालशाकमहाशल्कैलाण्डादीमरीचहिङ्गुलशर्करा-कर्पूरसैन्धवसाम्भरणसनालिकेरकदलीपद्वयव्यपयोद्धिपूतपायसमधुमासमधुति स्मृत्यन्तर-प्रसिद्धं वेदितव्यम् । हविष्यन्ति-यनेनैवायोग्यस्य स्मृत्यन्तरप्रतिविद्धस्य कोद्रवमसुराचणककु-लित्युलकाकिष्णापराजमापमसुराण्डवार्ताकवट्टतीक्ष्णयोपदकीवशाङ्कुरपिण्डीवचाशतशुणोपर-विडलवणमाहिषचामरकीरद्विपूतपायसादीना निवृत्तिः । मित्ता on व्या. I, 249

From considerations of space this matter cannot be pursued further. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 240 puts together a long list of allowed and of condemned kinds of grains and other articles.

What milk should be ordinarily partaken of and what should be avoided has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 782-783. A few words are added here. Manu III. 271 and Yaj. I. 258 provide that if cow's milk or rice cooked therein (called *pāyasa*) is offered in śrāddha the pitrs are satisfied for one year. Vāyu 78. 17, Brahma⁹³⁵ 220. 169, Mārkaṇḍeya 32. 17-19, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 16. 11 forbid the use in a śrāddha of the milk of a she-buffalo, of a camarl or female deer, of sheep or ewes, of she camels, of human females and of all animals with one hoof and the use of the curds and clarified butter prepared from such milk. But ghee prepared from buffalo milk was allowed by Sumantu and Devala (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 572).

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa⁹³⁶ (29. 15-17), Vāyu (78. 16) and Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 16. 10) lay down that the water to be employed in śrāddha must not have a bad smell, must not be foamy, or taken from a puddle or a small reservoir which cannot slake the thirst of a cow, must not have been brought overnight, must not be taken from a reservoir not dedicated to all or from a trough or the like meant for beasts.

Several rules are laid down about the fruits, roots and vegetables recommended or condemned for use in śrāddha. For example, the Brahma-purāṇa (220. 156-158) enumerates several kinds of fruits such as mangoes, *bīḥa*, pomegranate, cocoanut, dates, grapes, as fit to be given in śrāddha. Vide Śāṅkha 14. 22-23 also. Vāyu (78. 11-15) states^{936a} that garlic, leeks and onions, other things that are of bad odour or taste

935 माह्वं चामरं मार्गमाविकैकशफोद्भवम् । खैणमौद्भमाविकं च (०द्रमजावीकं ?) दधि क्षीरं घृतं त्यजेत् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 169 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 573.

936. दुर्गन्धि केनिलं चाम्बु तथैवालपतरोदकम् ॥ न लभेद्यत्र गौरतृप्तिं नक्तं यन्नाप्युपा-
हृतम् । यत्न सर्वार्थसुखदं यच्चामोऽप्यनिपानजम् ॥ तद्वर्ज्यं सलिलं तात सदैव पितृकर्मणि ॥
मार्कण्डेय 29. 15-17 Vide also ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धातपाद 14. 26)

936 a. लघुर्न गृह्णन् चैव पलाण्डं पिण्डमूलकम् । कर्ममाद्यानि चान्यानि हिनानि
रसगन्धतः ॥...अवेदोक्ताश्च नियोसा लवणान्यापराणि च । आह्वकर्मणि वर्ज्यानि याश्च नाया
रजस्वलाः ॥ बायु 78. 12 and 15 q. in हेमाद्रि (आ p. 555) and स्मृतिच. (आ) p. 416.
The स्मृतिच. (आ p. 415) quotes a verse and a half from Sūśruta for ten varieties of पलाण्ड.

and all exudation from trees not permitted by the Veda and sa gathered from saltish earth, should be avoided in śrāddha. The Visnudharmasūtra⁹³⁷ (79.17) contains a long list of fruits bulbs and vegetables that were not to be employed in śrāddha. The Rāmāyana states⁹³⁸ that Rāma when an exile in the Daṇḍaka forest gratified his pitrs by offering the fruits of *inguda*, *badara*, and *bilva* trees and generalises that deities are offered that food which is partaken of by a person (who is a devotee of that deity). From considerations of space detailed references to the smrtis and purānas are passed over. The Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 52-53, Śrāddhaviṇeka (pp. 43-47) of Rudradhara and other digests collect in one place the foods, vegetables, fruits and roots that are allowed to be offered in śrāddha and that are condemned in śrāddha. Manufactured salt was forbidden, but natural salt from a lake (called saindhava) was allowed. Salt was not to be served directly (as Visnudharmasūtra 79. 12 says) but when put in while cooking vegetables it was not prohibited. There was a difference of opinion about the employment of asafoetida (vide Hemādri on Śrāddha p. 565). The Visnudharmasūtra (79. 5-6) provides that flowers having a strong (or nasty) odour or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants and red flowers should not be given, but one may give white and sweet-smelling flowers even though they are taken from thorny plants and flowers though red in colour may be taken from aquatic plants. Śankha (14. 15-16) is to the same effect (q. by Hemādri p 684). Vāyu (75. 33-35) is to the same effect and adds that the flowers called Japā, Bhaṇḍi, Rūpikā (of arka plant), Kurantaka should be avoided in śrāddha. The Brahmapurāna (220. 162-165) specifies the several kinds of flowers that may be offered in śrāddha such as jāti, campaka, mallikā, mango blossom, tulasi, tagara, ketaki and various kinds of lotuses (white, blue and red &c.). The Smṛtyarthasāra includes *tulasi* among things to be avoided in śrāddha. The Sm. C. notes this and remarks

937. पिप्पली-सकुवक-सूतुण-शिग्रु-सर्षप-सुरसा-सर्जक-सुवर्चल-हृष्माण्ड-अलाङ्ग-
भार्ताकु-पालङ्क-चा-उपोदकी-तण्डलीयक-कुसुम्भ-पिण्डालुक-महिषीसौराणि वर्जयेत् । विष्णु-
धर्मसूत्र. 79. 17.

938. इक्षुदेवदरीपिल्वे रामस्तर्पयते पितॄन् । यद्वर्जं पुरुषो दृष्टे तद्वक्त्रास्तस्य देवताः ॥
रामायण, अयोध्या 103 30, 104.15 q. by हेमाद्रि on आश्व p 561, मेघालयेपि on मनु ५.
7, स्मृतिच. (आ) p 416. स्कान्द (नागरखण्ड) 220. 49 ॥ 'यद्वर्जं पुरुषोऽस्नाने तद्वक्त्रा-
स्तस्य देवताः'.

that it is not clear on what this dictum prohibiting tulasi is based⁹³⁸.

Kūśas are required in śrāddha. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 657 for general remarks on kūśas. A few words may be added here. The Śat. Br. VII. 2. 3. 2 states that the waters that loathed Vṛtra went out to waterless deserts and became bushes of darbhas⁹³⁹. Similarly, Āśv. Gr. III. 2.2 summarizes a Brāhmaṇa text stating that darbhas are the essence of waters and herbs (apām vā esa osadhinām raso yad-darbhaḥ). Prajāpati (verse 98)^{939a} provides that darbhas should be gathered from a pure spot in the morning by a brāhmaṇa, should have mantras repeated over them, should be greenish in colour, should be as long as a cow's ear and then they are holy. The Gobhila gr. (I. 5. 16-17) states 'the darbha consists of kūśa grass cut off at the points at which the blades diverge from the main stalk and that the blades should be cut off near the roots at the rites meant for the Fathers'. Dakṣa (II. 33 and 35) provides that the second part of the day (divided into eight parts) is the proper time for collecting fuelsticks, flowers and kūśas. The Gobhilaśmṛti (I. 20-21) says⁹⁴⁰ that the darbhas used in sacrifices are greenish, those to be used in Pākayajñas should be yellowish, those in rites for the pītr̥s must be taken out from the roots and those that are to be used in Vaiśvadeva should be dark-pale, and that

938 a. उपोषकी-तुलसी-कुष्णातसी-शिद्युर्नहासर्षप-पत्रहाक-कुष्णसर्षप-पूतिगन्ध-शाकानि कूलमाण्डपोलकाद्याश्च (दर्प्यानि)। स्तुत्यर्थेसार p. 53; स्तुत्यर्थेसार तु तुलरूपि वर्णयुक्तं तत्र दूर्ल चिन्मं मसिद्धस्तुतिस्तुल्येषु तुलसीनिषेधस्यादर्शनात्। स्तुतिच (भा) p. 435. The वेदभारतम् (आजूसौख्य) remarks: ग्रन्थान्तरे तुलसीनिषेधस्तु शाकविषयः मेघआजुविषयश्च। तत्र तुलसीवर्णं चङ्कुराणां हि यज्ञस्तम्। (folio 47 b.).

939. The शतपथब्राह्मण has the following legend about darbha and derives the word from हुम् 'अपश्च ह्येता ओषधयश्च या वै वृत्राद् बीमरसमाना आपो धारं हुमन् उपोषस्ते दुर्मा अभवन् बहुभन्त्य उदार्यन्तस्माद्दुर्माः। ता हैताः कुद्रा मेघा आपो वृत्राभिषधरितः पद्मार्स्तेनौषधय उभयैवेनैवैतमेतद्वक्षेत् प्रीणाति। VII. 2.3.2.

939 a. मन्त्रपूता हरिद्वर्णाः मातर्विषस्तुल्यताः। शोकर्णमात्रा दुर्माः स्तुः पवित्राः पुष्पभूमिजाः॥ यजपति 98. The उत्पादनमन्त्र is 'विरिञ्जिता सदीत्यक्ष परमेष्ठिन् निरगर्जः॥ उद पापानि तर्षणी भव स्वस्तिकरो मम॥ g. by. स्तुतिच. I. p. 107, अपराक p. 458.

940. हरिता यज्ञिया दुर्माः पीतकाः पाकयज्ञिकाः। समूलाः पितृदेवत्या. कल्माषा वैश्वदेविकाः॥ गोभिलस्तुति I. 21 g. by स्तुतिच I. p. 109, अपराक p. 458, आ. कि. की. p. 46 (which last explains: समूला मूलसमीपे लूना द्वयर्थः); हरिता वै सपिचूलाः छुद्राः रिंग्वा समाहिताः। रत्निमात्रा. प्रमाणेन पितृतीर्थेन संस्कृताः॥ गोभिलस्तुति I. 21 and ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद 11. 74-75, quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by अपराक p. 458, which explains 'बद्धस्तुतिः करो रत्नि, संस्कृता परामृष्टाः.' Vide ब्रह्मपुराण 75.38-39 for a similar verse

greenish *darbhas* together with ends uncut, that are smooth and well nourished, one *aratni* in length and touched with that part of the hand called *pitrīrtha* are pure. The Padmapurāṇa (Śrīstikhanda 11.92) and Skanda VII.1. 205.16 state that kuśas and black sesamum spring from the body of Viṣṇu and the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 139.12 says that *tilas* and *darbhas* sprang from the perspiration and hair of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation. The Matsya (22.89) says the same.

The Garuḍa ⁹⁴¹ (Pretakhanda 2.21-22) states that all the three gods dwell in kuśa grass viz. Brahmā at its root, Viṣṇu in the middle and Śaṅkara at the end and that brāhmanas, mantras, kuśas, fire, tulasi leaf—these do not become *nirmālyā* (stale and so unfit to be used again) even when the same are employed again and again. But an exception is made by Gobhila ⁹⁴² that those *darbhas* which are spread on the ground for placing pindas on them or that are used in *tarpana* and those that are held in the hand while a man is answering the calls of nature should be given up (and not used again). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79.2 and Vāyu 75.41 provide that if kuśas are not available, kāśa grass or Dūrvā may be substituted. The Skandapurāṇa VII (Prabhāsakhanda) part 1.206.17 says that straight *darbhas* are used in giving gifts, at baths, in *japa*, *homa*, dinner and worship of gods, but they are double-folded when used in rites for *pitṛs*. The Skanda VII.1 205.16 provides that the top of *darbhas* is for divine rites, while *darbha* with the root and tip is meant for *patrīka* rites. This is based on the Sat. Br II 4. 2.17 which states that the top of the *darbha* belongs to gods, the middle to men and the root part to the fathers.

Great importance was attached to the use of *tila* (sesamum) in śrāddha. The Jaiminigrhya II.1 states that the whole house should have sesamum grains scattered about in it. Baud Dh. S II 8.8 provides that when the invited brāhmanas come they should be given water mixed with sesame. The Baud. gr. II. 11.64 provides that sesamum grains are holy in śrāddha for making gifts of them or as part of food or for being mixed in

941. विष्णु मन्त्रा कुशा वह्निस्तुलसी च खगेश्वर । नेत्रे निर्माल्यतां यान्ति क्रियमाणान् । पुनः पुनः ॥ श्रृंग (मेतखण्ड 2. 22).

942. पिण्डार्थं ये स्तुता वर्मा स्तरणार्थं (वर्मास्तरणार्थं?) तथैव च । धृतैः कृते च विष्णवे स्थागस्तेषां विधीयते ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 22, q. by अवर्का p 458, हेमाद्रि p 640, आ. कि. कौ. p 49.

water. The Prajāpatismṛti speaks⁹⁴³ of four kinds of *tilas* viz. white, black, very black and *jantilas* and states that each succeeding one gives greater gratification to the pītras than each preceding one. The Tai. S. V. 4.3.2 refers to *jantilas* and Jai. X. 8.7 holds a discussion thereon. The Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārdha 28.36)⁹⁴⁴ provides that the performer of śrāddha should scatter *tilas* in the midst of the brāhmanas invited and at the doors with the mantra 'apahata' (may the asuras and evil spirits that sit on the altar be struck and run away). Yaj. I. 234 also recommends this mantra (which is Vaj. S. II. 29). The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 22.18) states that sesame should be scattered all round and a goat should be tied near the spot, since śrāddha polluted by *asuras* becomes purified by sesame and a goat. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 16.14) prescribes that by *tilas* scattered on the ground one should ward off evil spirits (Yātudhāna). The Garudapurāṇa⁹⁴⁵ (Pretakhanda 2. 16) makes Śrīkṛṣṇa say 'tilas have sprung from the perspiration on my body and are holy; *asuras*, *dānavas* and *dātyas* run away on account of *tilas*.' The Anuśāsana-parva (90.22) says that *yātudhānas* and goblins snatch away the *havis* when the śrāddha is offered without *tilas*. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540) quotes a verse as follows: 'he who applies as unguent *tilas*, who bathes with water in which *tilas* are mixed, offers *tilas* into fire, makes gifts of *tilas*, eats *tilas* and who grows *tilas*—these six never sink (i. e. are not unlucky nor in trouble).

A great deal is said about the vessels to be used in offering *arghya* (water for honouring the invited brāhmanas and pīndas), for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana⁹⁴⁶ provides that the *arghya* water

943. छल्ल. कृष्ण. कृष्णतरश्चतुर्थो जर्तिलस्तिल । उत्तरोत्तरतः आद्धे विमूणा वृत्ति-
कारका ॥ प्रजापति 99. जर्तिलस्य are wild *tilas* The तै सं V. 4.3.2 has this passage
'जर्तिलयवाग्वा वा शुहयाद्वीधुकयवाग्वा न ग्राम्याद् पशून् हिनस्ति चारण्यानयो खत्वाहुर-
नाहुतिर्वै जर्तिलाश्च गवीधुकाश्चेत्यजक्षीरेण शुहोति'. ह्यवर appears to quote काठकसंहिता
6.3 also The conclusion arrived at by Jai. X. 8.7 is that the passage about
जर्तिलस्य is an अर्थवाद for praising पयोहोम The स्मृतिच. (आद्ध) p. 433 says
जर्तिलास्तु तिला प्रोक्ता. कृष्णवर्णा वने भवा इति सत्यवतेनाभिधानात्

944. The मन्त्र is अपहता अहुरा रक्षासि वेदिषदः । वाज सं II. 29.

945. श्रीकृष्ण उवाच । मम स्वेदसमुद्भूतास्तिलास्त्वादर्थं पवित्रकाः । अमरा दानवा दैत्या
विद्वन्ति तिलैस्तथा ॥ गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड) 2.16; तिलोद्धर्तुं तिलस्नायी तिलहोता तिलभदः ।
तिलभक्षी तिलावापी पद्मिली नावसीदति ॥ q. by कुरपरत्नाकर p. 540.

946. यज्ञियवृक्षचर्मसेषु पवित्रान्तर्हितेषु एकैकास्मिन्पत्रे आसिञ्चति ज्ञानो देवीरिति । ...
सौवर्णराजतौहृत्परखड्गमणिमयानां पात्राणामन्यतमेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते पत्रपुटेषु तैर्देवैर्यैकेन
पदमिति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु । आद्धद्वय (of कार्यायन) II

should be taken in *camasas* (cups) made of sacrificial trees (such as *palāśa*, *āśvattha*, *udumbara*) or in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn, precious stones whichever may be available, or in a vessel made of leaves. The *Visnu Dh. S.* (79. 14-15) provides that the performer should employ metallic vessels, particularly vessels made of silver. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* (31.65) and *Vāyu* (74.3) state that in a vessel of silver the (ancient) *pitrs* milked *sandhā* and hence a silver vessel is highly desired by *pitrs* and brings delight to them. *Yaj. I.* 237 also specially recommends silver vessels. The *Vāyu* (74. 1-2), *Matsya* (17. 19-22), *Brahmāṇḍa* (*Upodghāta* 11. 1-2) and *Padma* (*Śrīstikhanda* 9. 147-150) state that vessels of gold, silver or copper are the (proper) ones for *pitrs*; that even the talk about silver or the sight or gift of silver gives inexhaustible results to *pitrs* in heaven, that vessels to be used for *arghya*, for *pinda* and for the food to be offered should be preferably of silver and that in rites for gods a silver vessel is not auspicious. *Atri* (q by *Sm. C. II.* p. 464) says that in rites for the gods and *pitrs*, vessels of gold and silver should be respectively employed and in default of these vessels of other metals (such as copper, bell-metal) should be used (as stated by *Visnu Dh. S.* 79.22 and 24). The *Padma* provides⁹⁴⁷ that the vessels may be of sacrificial wood or of *palāśa* or of silver or made from a sea product (such as conch shell) and that since silver was produced from the eye of *Śiva*, it is a great favourite with *pitrs*. *Prajāpati* (111) provides that the three *pindās* should be cast in a vessel of gold or silver or copper or bell-metal or of rhinoceros horn but not in earthenware or a wooden vessel, that (verse 112) the cooking vessels should be of copper or of any metal, but an earthen vessel baked in fire and immersed in water is the best (for cooking), that food cooked in an iron vessel is like crow's flesh, that (115) the vessels to be used for taking food by the *brāhmanas* should be made of gold, silver or of an alloy of five metals or they may take their food in *patrāvah* (i. e. leaves stitched together); vide also *Matsya*

947. पात्रं वज्रस्यातिमयं तथा पर्णमयं पुन ॥ राजतं वा मकुषीत तथा सागरसम्भवम् ।
सौवर्णं राजतं पात्रं पित्राणां पात्रमित्यते । ...वर्षापि अङ्गया वृत्तमङ्गयायौपकल्पते । अर्घ्ये
पितृपिण्डेषु पित्राणां राजतं स्मृतम् । ...शिवनेत्रेन्द्रं यस्माद्वत्स्तत्पितृवृत्तम् । पत्र (सहितसङ्ख 9.
147-151), तथा अर्घ्यपिण्डभोज्यादीं पित्राणां राजतं मतम् । शिवनेत्रो...वृत्तम् । अमङ्गलं तपत्नेन
देवकार्येषु वर्जयेत् ॥ मत्स्य 17. 22-23.

17. 19-20. The use of plantain leaves for bhojana is forbidden^{947a} by some. Brāhmanas should not take ācamana from a vessel made of bell-metal, kharpara, śukra, stone, clay, wood, fruit or iron. Ācamana should be performed with water from a copper vessel. Atri (153) prescribes that no food should be served from an iron vessel; if so served the food is like ordure to the diner and the server goes to hell. The vessels for cooking śrāddha food are to be made of gold, silver, copper or bell-metal or even of clay provided the last are new ones and strong (well baked) but never of iron. Vide Sr. Pr. p. 155 for details. The Visnu Dh. S. (79. 24) quotes a verse which says that food offered in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or of *phalgu* wood becomes inexhaustible.

Visnu Dh. S. 79. 11 provides that for unguents (*anulepana*) to be applied to the bodies of the invited brāhmanas, sandal-wood, saffron, camphor, *aguru*, *padmaka* may be used. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 165-166) mentions kustha, jaṭa-māṇsī, nutmeg, uśīra, mustā and some others as proper perfumed articles to be used at śrāddhas.

It has already been seen at pp. 413-14 what kinds of food were recommended or condemned for śrāddha. The Matsyapurāṇa⁹⁴⁸ states that food containing milk and curds and clarified butter from cow's milk mixed with sugar gives satisfaction to all pitṛs for one month and that whatever food, whether cow's milk or ghee or rice cooked in milk, is mixed with honey, yields inexhaustible results. The Brahmapurāṇa also (220. 182-184) provides that such eatables as are sweet and oily and are slightly sour and pungent should be served in śrāddha and one should shun eatables that are very sour or very saltish or very pungent, since they are *āsuḥa* (fit for *asuras*). Great emphasis was laid on serving preparations of food made from *mūṣa*

947 a यत्वाह्निरसोकम् 'न जातिकुसुमानि न कदलीपत्रम्' इति कदलीपत्रमत्र भोजनमिति पात्रतया प्राप्तं निषिध्यते। स्मृतिच (आ) p 434. Others said that there is an option as to कदलीपत्र, as certain smṛtis (e. g. लघ्वाम्बालयन 23. 42) allowed plantain leaves. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धातपाद् 21. 35-40) mentions that the leaves of पलाश, अश्वत्थ, उदुम्बर, विकङ्कत, काश्मर्य, खदिर, एल, व्यग्रोद्य, बिल्व may be used for taking food in and that vessels made of Phalgu wood, of Bilva wood and bamboo are allowed and yield certain good rewards,

948. अन्नं सद्यधिकीरं गोघृतं शर्करान्वितम्। मांसं प्रीणाति वै सर्वान् पितृनिर्त्याह केशव ॥ यत्किञ्चिन्मधुसंमिश्रं गोक्षीरं घृतपायसम्। दक्षमक्षयमित्याहुः पितरः पूषदेवताः ॥ मत्स्य 17. 30-36, the first being q by स्मृतिच (आ) p. 431,

beans. The *Aśvinaśā*⁹⁴⁹—smṛti pronounces the threat that the brāhmana, who, when dining at śrāddha, does not eat māsa food, becomes a beast for twenty-one births after death. The Śm. C. quotes a smṛti text saying that a śrāddha in which no māsa preparation is offered is as good as not performed.

The greatest divergence has prevailed about the employment of flesh at śrāddhas among writers from the earliest times. The subject of flesh-eating in general has been discussed at great length in the History of Dharmasāstra, vol. II pp 772-782. A few remarks about flesh in relation to śrāddha will not be out of place here. The Āp. Dh. S. prescribes⁹⁵⁰ that the obligatory śrāddha (to be performed every month) must contain food mixed with fat, the best course (for supplying fat) is to employ clarified butter and flesh; on failure of these two, sesamum oil and vegetables may be employed. The same sūtra also provides⁹⁵¹ that the pītras are gratified for a year by the offering of cow's flesh in a śrāddha, that by the flesh of a buffalo the gratification of pītras extends to more than a year, that this rule extends to the flesh of wild animals (like hares) and village (or domesticated) animals (like goats) that are declared to be fit for being sacrificed, that the gratification of pītras extends to endless time if the flesh of a rhinoceros is offered to brāhmanas seated on rhinoceros skin, so also by the flesh of the

949 श्री नादनाति द्विजो माप निशुक्त पितृकर्मणि । स श्रेयः पशुता याति सन्ततामेक-
विंशतिम् ॥ औशनसस्मृति (V.) p. 531 (Jiv. I.).

950. नैयतिकं तु आज्ञं स्नेहवेषं दद्यात् । सर्पिर्नासामिति प्रथमं कल्प । अभावे तैल
ज्ञाकमिति । आप ध सू II. 8. 19. 13-15.

951. स्वरासरं गव्येन ग्रीति । शूयासमतो माहिषेण । एतेन ब्राह्मणस्याना पशूना मासं
मेधय स्वाख्यातम् । खड्गोपरतरणे खड्गोप्रासेनानन्त्यं कालम् । तथा शतचर्मैस्त्वय्य मासेन वार्ध्वा-
णस्त्वय च । आप ध सू II 7.16 25—II 7.17.3. वार्ध्वाणस्त or वार्ध्वाणस्त is explained as
a red-coloured goat that is *tripida* (whose ears are so long that they touch the
water it drinks), that is old and the foremost of the herd त्रिपिबन्निद्रियक्षीणं
यूथस्याश्वरं तथा । रक्तवर्णं तु राजेन्द्र छगं वार्ध्वाणस्तं विदुः ॥ विष्णुधर्मोक्त I 141. 48 q. 'by
स्मृतिश्च. (आ p. 431) The Mit On य I, 260 and मेधासिधि on मनु III. 271 quote
a slightly different verse त्रिपिबन्निद्रियक्षीणं श्वेतं वृद्धमज्जापतिम् । वार्ध्वाणस्तं तु तं माधुर्वा-
जिका आज्ञकर्मणि ॥ and Mit. explains त्रिपिब as 'पिबतः कर्णौ जिह्वा च यस्य जलं स्पृशन्ति
स त्रिभिः पिबतीति त्रिपिबः'. अपराक p. 552 cites this verse as a नियमः. हेमाद्रि (आ.
p. 590) states that the 2nd verse is a various reading of the first अपराक p. 553
quotes another verse according to which वार्ध्वाणस्त is a white-feathered bird
with red head, and dark throat 'कृष्णशीरो रक्तशिरो श्वेतपक्षो विदुश्च । स च
वार्ध्वाणस्तं शोकं हृदयेषा नेमसी क्षुतिः ॥' Several forms are met with in printed
works viz वार्ध्वाणस्त or वार्ध्वाणस्त or वार्ध्वाणस्त The दीपकालिका gives the two
explanations of वार्ध्वाणस्त (this is the reading of the printed work) as a white
goat and as a bird.

fish called 'śatabali' and the flesh of a *Vārddhinasa*. Vas. XI. 34 contains the following remarkable verse: 'an ascetic, when invited in a rite for the gods or pitrs, who avoids (does not partake of) flesh, dwells in Hell for as many years as the number of hair (on the body of the animal whose flesh he avoids).' Even the *Visnudharmottarapurāna* (I. 140. 49-50) emphatically asserts that he who does not partake of flesh-food in a row of diners at a śrāddha which has been properly employed goes to hell. *Manu* V. 35 and *Kūrma* II. 17.40 contain a similar verse applicable to all those who are invited as brāhmanas at a śrāddha. The *Kūrmapurāna* II. 22.75 provides that the brāhmana who is employed for the performance of a śrāddha and does not eat flesh offered therein becomes a beast for 21 births. *Manu* III. 257 states that the following are said to be proper offerings in a śrāddha by their very nature viz. food (prepared from *nivāra* grain and the like) fit for a forest hermit, milk, soma juice, flesh that does not emit foul smell and unmanufactured salt. An ascetic was ordinarily required not to partake of flesh; but Vasistha insisted on his partaking of it when invited at a śrāddha.

Manu III. 267-272, *Yāj.* I. 258-260, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 80 1 ff, *Anuśāsanaparva* chap. 88, the *Śrāddhasūtra* of *Kātyāyana* (kandikās. 7-8), *Kūrmapurāna* II. 20. 40-42, 29. 2-8, *Vāyu* 83. 3-9, *Matsya* 17. 31-35, *Viṣṇupurāna* III. 16.1-3, *Padmapurāna* (Śrī 9. 158-164), *Brahmapurāna* 220 23-29, *Visnudharmottara* I 141.42-47 state at length the periods of time for which pitrs are gratified by the flesh of certain animals being served at śrāddha. The verses of *Yāj.* being the shortest in all these works are given below. *Yāj.*⁹⁵² states; Pitrs are gratified by the serving of sacrificial food (such as rice, fruits, roots & c) for a month, for a year by (cows's milk or) rice cooked in cow's milk, for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 months respectively by the flesh of fishes (*pāthina*), of (red coloured) deer, of ram, of a bird (such as a *tūlari*), of a goat, of a spotted deer, of a dark-coloured deer, of a *ruru* deer, of a wild boar, of a hare the offering of rhinoceros flesh, of a fish called *Mahāśalka*, c

952. हविष्याक्षेन वै मांसं पायसेन तु बल्लभम् । मात्स्यहारिणकौरव्रजशाकुनच्छागपर्वतैः ।
ऐणरीरववाराहशाश्वगर्जसैर्यथाकमम् । मांसवृद्ध्याभितृप्यन्ति द्वैरिह पितामहाः । खड्गामिदं मह
शल्कं मधु शुन्यक्षमेव वा । लौहामिदं महाशालकं मांसं वार्ध्वाणसरस्य च ॥ यददाति गयास्थश्च
सर्वमानन्यमश्नुते । या I 258-261. महाशालकं is explained as कालशालकं by the मिता
शरः, while the स्मृतिच (आ p. 431) frankly admits that it does not know
what कालशालक is. 'कालशालक कीदृशमिति न विदः ॥

honey, of food fit for hermits (wild corn such as *nivāra*), the flesh of a red goat, of Mahāśaka (i. e. Kalaśaka), and the flesh of Vārdhrinasa—these secure inexhaustible fruit. There is some divergence of views among the several works. For example, Manu III. 267 and 271, Kātyāyana (in śrāddhasūtra 7) appear to hold that by offering food prepared from village corn (such as rice, māsa & c.) or wild eatables (such as *nivāra* or fruits and roots) the gratification is only for one month and the flesh of Vārdhrinasa produces gratification for twelve years only (and not for all time). Visnu Dh. S. 80, 10 and Manu III. 270 bring in buffalo flesh and tortoise flesh as giving gratification for ten and eleven months respectively. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 590)⁹⁵³ is careful to point out that these words about the duration of time are not to be taken literally but what is really intended is to convey greater and greater gratification of the pītras according to the kind of flesh offered. Pulastya quoted by the Mit and Aparārka p. 555 provides that a brāhmana should generally or mainly offer at a śrāddha hermit's food, a ksatriya or a vaiśya should offer flesh, a śūdra should offer honey and all varṇas may offer anything else (except these three) which is not forbidden.⁹⁵⁴ Whoever may be the offerer, the eater at a śrāddha dinner was to be a brāhmana alone and so it follows that brāhmanas invited to a śrāddha by a ksatriya or vaiśya had to eat flesh. Yet it is remarkable that even the Mitākṣarā and the Kalpataru written about 1100-1120 A. D. do not expressly say that in the Kali age flesh-eating at śrāddha is totally prohibited at least for brāhmanas. It has been shown already (H. of Dh. vol III. pp. 775-776) that even when animal sacrifices were the order of the day in the Rgveda and the Brāhmanas there was an undercurrent of thought that the offerings of fuel-sticks or of boiled rice when made with heartfelt devotion to the gods were as good as flesh offerings for

953. इह सर्वत्र श्रित्यतिशयो विवक्षितः । न तु यथाशुत एव कालः । तथा सति द्वादश-वर्षपर्यन्तं पित्राणां तुलत्वात् आह्निककरणे प्राप्ते सति च प्रतिवर्षं यत्नात्कार्यम् । इत्येतद्वचनं विवक्ष्यत इति हरिद्विपद्वयः । हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 590)

954. अत्र यथापि मुख्यकर्मात्मनश्चादीनि सर्ववर्णानां सामान्येन आह्ने योग्यानि दार्श-नानि तथापि पुलस्त्योका व्यवस्थादर्णीयाः । मुख्यं ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः । मधु-प्रदानं शूद्रस्य सर्वेषां चाविरोधि यत् । मिता on या I 260, तथा च आह्निककरणे बृहदारदीये यथाचारं यदेवं तु मधुर्मासादिकं तथा—इति । तथा मांसादनं तथा आह्ने इति कलिवर्ज्यनियमा-मभिधाय देशाचाराः परिग्राह्यास्तद्देशीयजैरे । अन्यथा पतितो ज्ञेयः सर्वधर्मबहिष्कृतः ॥—इति सत्त्वैवाभ्यन्तरीहितत्वात् । पृथ्वीचंदोदय on आह्ने (folio 416) quoting नारदीय-पुराण.

securing their favour. In course of time that conception grew stronger and stronger, so much so that Manu (V. 27-44 and V. 46-47) and Vasistha appear to be in two minds (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 778-780). Gradually the offering of flesh in Madhuparka and in śrāddha came to be totally condemned in works of the 12th and 13th centuries and onwards as a matter prohibited in the Kali age (Varātithipitrbyasca paśūpakaranakriyā). (Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 945-946 and p. 964). Now except among the brāhmanas (in Northern India) who have no objection to include fish in diet as permissible to them no brāhmana offers flesh in śrāddha. The usage of Northern India would be in accordance with the view set out in Brhannāradiya purāna that one should offer honey, flesh and other things according to the usage of the country, as explained by the Prthvicanodaya.

Manu (V.11-18) contains long lists of animals, birds and fishes whose flesh was not to be eaten even by those who were flesh-eaters.

If a person is destitute, some of the Purānas such as the Viṣṇu (III. 4.24-30) and the Varāha (13.53-58) mercifully provide in identical⁹⁵⁵ verses that instead of entertaining brāhmanas with a sumptuous dinner or flesh the poor man may offer only uncooked corn, or some vegetables growing wildly or some slight *dakṣiṇā* if he cannot offer even uncooked food or vegetables, or he may offer a few grains of sesamum (7 or 8) to a brāhmana with water in his folded hands, or grass to a cow enough for one day and if he cannot afford even any one of these, then he may repair to a thicket of trees, raise his arms so that his armpits are exposed and loudly address the guardians of the worlds such as the Sun in the following words: 'I have neither wealth nor money nor anything else fit to be offered by way of śrāddha; I bow to my pitrs; may the pitrs be satisfied by my devotion; I have stretched these arms in space!' (lit. the path of the wind).

955. असमर्थोऽन्नदानस्य धान्यं मांसं स्वशक्तिः ।...सर्वाभावे चर्चं गत्वा कक्षसूत्रमदर्शकः ।
सूर्यादिकोपालानामिदं सुचैः पठिष्यति ॥ न मेऽस्ति वित्तं न धनं न खान्यन्त्याहस्य योग्य
स्वपितृकृतोऽस्मि । वृष्यन्तु भक्त्या पितरो मयैतौ शुजौ ततौ वर्त्मनि मातृतरय ॥ ब्राह्मपुराण 13.
57-58 = विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 29-30, q by मद्. पा pp. 515-16 from विष्णु and by
निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 467 from both This passage explains the origin and the
present meaning of the Marathi phrase खाका वर करणे ब्रह्मपुराण (chap. 5 p 152)
has similar provisions. The पुष्टी- (folio 56 b) notes 'धान्यं मांसानि च चर्चं
शकमिति ब्राह्मपुराणीयः पाठः'; in the printed विष्णुपुराण the reading is not धान्यं
मांसं, but the निर्णयसिन्धु had these words and it appears that the text
was tampered with in modern times.

formed in Sākamedha, the third of the four Caturmāsyaś: "He offers to Soma accompanied by the pīṭrs a cake baked on six potsherds, to the pīṭrs Barhisadah (sitting on darbha grass or in a yajña) fried grains, for the pīṭrs called Agnisvāta he milks a drink from a cow which has to be won over (to another calf). This for thee, O father and for those who come after thee (i. e. for thy descendants); this for thee, O grandfather, great-grandfather and for those who come after thee; do, ye Pīṭrs rejoice in your portions. May we gladden thee, O Indra, that castest thy glance at us, come forth now with full chariot seat; being praised (by us) thou goest to places desired by you. Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. They (*pitrah*) have eaten, they have rejoiced, the dear ones have dispelled (evil); the radiant sages have been praised with newest hymn, Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. The pīṭrs have eaten, the pīṭrs have rejoiced, the pīṭrs have been glad, the pīṭrs have purified themselves. Go away, O Pīṭrs, that art soma-loving by your majestic ancient paths. Then reach ye the *pīṭrs* that well know you (or everything) and that revel in the company of Yama."

In the Tai.⁹⁵⁹ Br. I. 2.10 the Pindapīṭryajña is dealt with at some length. In the note below the important passages are set forth leaving out the legends, repetitions and matters not relevant to our purpose: "Therefore the rite (called pindapīṭryajña) is performed the day previous (to the Darśeṣṭi).

959. तस्मात्पितृभ्यः पूर्वेषु क्रियते।...सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह ।...अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्याह । ए एव पितृणामग्निस्तं भीणाति । तन्न आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिभिर्दधाति यदसम्पद्यन्ते । यद् वा कृतव । कर्तव्यं भीणाति ।...कृतवः खलु वै देवाः । पितरः ।...सकृदाधिष्ठं बहिर्भवति । सकृद्विह हि पितरः । त्रिभिर्दधाति । वृत्तीये वा इतो लोके पितरः । तानेव भीणाति । पराह्वयते । ह्रीका हि पितरः । ओष्मणो व्यावृत्त उपान्ते । उष्मभागा हि पितरः ।...अवमेयमेव तन्नेव माशितं नेषामाशितम् । वीरं वै पितरः । प्रयन्तो हरन्ति । वीरं वा वृद्धिः । वृक्षां छिनत्ति । हरणभागा हि पितरः । पितृनेव निरवृद्धयते । उत्तर आहुति लोम छिन्दीत । पितृणामे-तर्हि नैदीयः । नमस्करोति । नमस्कारो हि पितृणाह । नमो वः पितरो रसाय नमो वः पितरः श्रुत्वा । नमो वः पितरो जीताय । नमो वः पितरः स्वधायै । नमो वः पितरो मन्थये । नमो वः पितरो घोराय । पितरो नमो वः । एष वै मनुष्याणां यज्ञः । देवानां वा इत्येव यज्ञाः । ते आ I. 3. 10. 1-10. The words नमो वः पितरो रसाय to पितरो घोराय occur in वाज. सं. II. 32 and सै. स I. 10. 3 but in a slightly different order and वाज. सं. reads श्रोत्राय for श्रुत्वा । It may be noted that though the वै. ब्रा. speaks of three deities it mentions only two deities; the third is supplied by the सूत्रकार in the words यमायाङ्गिरस्यते पितृभ्ये स्वधा नमः । Vide note 781 above. On देवाः पितरः सायण says द्विविधा हि पितरः देवात्मका मनुष्यात्मकाश्च । पितृलोकस्वामिनो देवात्मकाः । मृताः सन्तो भोगचेल्लोकं मांसं मनुष्यात्मकाः । On वीरं...वृद्धिः, सायण explains 'वैकल्ये दुर्गं शारयन्ति साकल्ये दुर्गं प्रयच्छन्ति । अत्र वैकल्यस्य दुष्परिहरत्वेन दुष्प्रमत्त्यान्मायत्वेन वस्त्राग्रनीय-स्वधं छित्वा पिण्डेषु निदध्याह ।'.

He says 'to Soma drunk by the pitrs, *svadhā*! Adoration!' He says 'to Agni, the carrier of *kavya*, *svadhā*! Adoration! (Thereby) he pleases the fire that pertains to the pitrs. He offers (into fire) three oblations; he puts down (on the darbhas spread on the ground) three pindas. (These) thus come to six in number. Six indeed are the seasons. He (thereby) pleases the seasons. The seasons are indeed the shining (or divine) pitrs.....The darbha grass is cut with one stroke; the pitrs have as it were (passed away) once for ever. He puts down thrice (the pindas). The pitrs are indeed in the third world from here. He (thereby) pleases them. He (the performer) turns his face away (to the north from the south), for the Fathers are shy. He remains with his face turned away till the steam (of the boiled rice of the pindas) ceases to rise, for the Fathers have the steam of rice as their share; he should simply smell (the pindas). That as if does not amount to eating or non-eating. The pitrs when departing (from the śrāddha rite) take away or grant a valiant son. He cuts off the fringe (of a garment to place it on the pindas), for the share of Fathers is taking away (what is offered). He (thereby) allots their proper share to the pitrs (and dismisses them). When (the performer) is in the latter part of life (i e. over 50 years of age) he cuts off hair (from his chest instead of presenting a *daśā*). At that time he is nearer to the pitrs (when above 50 years of age). He offers adoration, because adoration (*namaskāra*) is dear to the pitrs. Adoration to you, O Fathers, for vigour; adoration to you, O fathers, for life, adoration to you, O fathers, for *svadhā*, adoration to you, O fathers, for ardour; adoration, O fathers, for the terrible! O fathers! here is adoration to you. This (pindapitryajña) is indeed a sacrifice of men (i e. sacrifice to departed men) and other sacrifices belong to the gods." In the Tai Br. I, 4, 10 the Pitryajña performed in *sūkamejha* is praised (in 2) and further on it is said that *Rtus* (seasons) are pitrs and they offered pitryajña to Prajapati, their father. This passage supports the provision made in Manu and some of the digestists that the *Rtus* are to be identified with pitrs and obeisance is to be made to them.⁹⁶⁰

960 वत्सात्ताकनेधैर्यजमान. इहावत्सरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्त इत्याशासीत। यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते देवानेव तदन्ववश्यति। 2...अथर्तवः पितरः प्रजापतिं पितरं पितृयज्ञेनायजन्तः। त एतं लोकमजयन् यस्मिन्दृत्तवः। यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते एतमेव लोकं जयति यस्मिन्दृत्तवः। ऋदुर्मानेव साधुयज्यतेति। ते ब्रा. I 4 10, 8 The word पितृयज्ञ here and in ते सं III. 2 2 3, मे. सं. I. 10 17 (यदेव पितृयज्ञस्तेनैवाय पितरोऽभीष्टाः प्रीता भवन्ति) means a sacrifice
(Continued on the next page)

The Śat. Br. (II. 4. 2) contains the following somewhat fuller account of the Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña, omitting legendary or other irrelevant matters —When the moon is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (the performer of the Darśa sacrifice) presents food to the Fathers in each month He presents it in the afternoon. The forenoon indeed belongs to the gods; the midday to men; and the afternoon to the Fathers; therefore he presents (food to the Fathers) in the afternoon. While seated behind the Gārhapatya fire with his face turned towards the south and the sacred thread on his right shoulder he takes that material (for the offering from the cart). Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes the rice while standing north of the Dakṣina fire and facing the south. Only once does he clean the rice, for it is once for all that the fathers have passed away. He then boils it. While it stands on (the Dakṣina fire) he pours some clarified butter on it. After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two oblations in the fire Here he is engaged in a sacrifice to the Fathers; hence he thereby propitiates the gods and being permitted by the gods, he presents that food to the Fathers. He offers to both Agni and Soma .. He offers with the formula 'To Agni, the carrier of *kavya* (what is offered to the Manes), *svāhā!*', 'To Soma accompanied by the Fathers, *svāhā!*' (Vāj S. II 29). He then puts the pot-ladle (*meksana*) on the fire, that being in lieu of the *Svistakṛt*. Thereafter he draws (with the *spṛhya*, the wooden sword) one line south of the Dakṣina fire, that being in lieu of the altar. He then lays down a firebrand at the further (south) end of the line. For, were he to present that food to the Fathers without having laid down a firebrand, the *Asuras* and *Raksasas* would certainly tamper with it. ... He lays it down with the text 'whatsoever *Asuras* roam about being attracted by the *svadhā* (offering to Fathers), assuming various shapes, be they large-bodied or small-bodied, may Agni expel them from this world (Vāj S. II 30) ... He then takes the water jar and makes the Fathers wash (their hands) merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself (naming the sacrificer's) grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself

(Continued from the last page)

offered to the manes, while it is doubtful whether in Ṛg X. 16. 10 the word *पितृयज्ञ* means the same thing. But as the verse that immediately follows (Ṛg. X. 16 11) mentions *pitṛs* in the plural, it looks as if the meaning of *पितृयज्ञ* being well known was used in a secondary sense in Ṛg. X. 16.10.

(naming) the sacrificer's great-grandfather. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case. Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke and cut off near the root; the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men and the root part (of darbhas) to the fathers. Therefore they are cut off near the roots He spreads them along with the line with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents (to the fathers the three round cakes of rice). He presents thus:—for the gods they offer thus for men they ladle out; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way; therefore he presents (the cakes to the fathers) thus With 'N. N., this for thee' he presents one cake to the sacrificer's father. Some add 'for those that come after thee', but let him not say this, since he himself is 'one of those to whom it would be offered in common. Let him therefore merely say 'N. N., this for thee' as to the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his grandfather; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his great-grandfather. He then mutters 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves; like bulls come hither each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31). Whereby he says 'Eat each his own share'. He then turns round to the left so as to face the opposite (north) side; for the fathers are far away from men; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). 'Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath fail' say some; 'for thus far extends the vital energy'. However, having remained so far a moment—he again turns round (to the right) and mutters 'the Fathers have regaled themselves; like bulls they have come each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31); whereby what he says is 'they have eaten each his own share'. Thereupon he takes the water jar and makes them wash themselves (by pouring water on the pindas), merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) his paternal great-grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest). When he has taken his meal, so it is here. He then pulls down the tuck (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the Fathers; therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. ... Six times he performs obeisance, for there are six seasons and the fathers are the seasons. He mutters 'Give us houses, O fathers', for the fathers are the rulers of houses; and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the

pindas have been put back (in a dish) the sacrificer smells at (the rice); this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The stalks of darbha cut with one stroke he puts on the fire; and he also throws away the firebrand on to the fire.^{96a}

It will be noticed that many of the fundamental conceptions of a pārvana-śrāddha are very clearly brought out in the Śat. Br. Wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder, afternoon as the proper time, cleansing the paddy only once, boiling the rice on the Dakṣiṇa fire, offering into the same fire two oblations to the gods first, the two formulas of presentation to Agni Kavyavāhana and to Soma Pitṛmat, drawing a line or

960 a अथैनं (प्रजापतिं) पितरः प्राचीनावीतिनः सव्यं जान्वाच्योपासीवृस्तानमवी-
न्मासि मासि घोशनं स्वधा वो मनो जवो वश्वम्भमा वो ज्योतिरिति। इतपथ II. 4. 2 2...
मासि मास्येव पितृभ्यो ददतो यदैवैष न पुरस्तात् एवाहृद्वेऽथैवो ददाति... (7) ...स वा
अपराह्णे ददाति पूर्वार्द्धे वै देवानां मध्यन्दिनो मध्यपाणामपराह्णं पितृणां तस्मादपराह्णे ददाति।
स जयनेन गार्हपत्यं प्राचीनावीतिं भूत्वा दक्षिणासीन एतं गृह्णाति। स तत एकोपोत्यायोक्तरणा-
न्वाहार्यपंचनं दक्षिणां तिष्ठन्नवहन्ति सकृद्व फलीकरोति सकृद्व लोषे पराश्वं पितरस्तस्मात्सकृत्
फलीकरोति। (9) तं अययति तस्मिन्नाश्रित आज्यं प्रत्यानयति...। (10) स उहाराश्यां द्वे
आहुतीं जुहोति देवेभ्यः। ... अथैतत्पितृयज्ञेनैवाचरति... स देवैः मृतोऽथैतत्पितृभ्यो ददाति। ...
(11) स वाग्रये सोमाय च जुहोति...। (12) स जुहोति। अग्रये कष्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय
पितृभ्ये स्वाहेत्यग्नौ मेक्षणमग्न्यादधाति तत्सिद्धं कृत्वा जनमथ दक्षिणेनान्वाहार्यपंचनं सकृद्व-
ह्निषति तद्वेदिभाजनम्...। (13) अथ परस्तादुत्सृज्यं निदधाति। स यदनिधायोत्सृज्यमथै-
तत्पितृभ्यो दद्यादुत्तरक्षसानि द्वैपामेत्तद्विभज्यते...। (14) स निदधाति। ये रूपाणि प्रति-
शुश्र्वमाना अहुराः सन्तः स्वधया चरन्ति। पराधुरो नियुरो ये भरन्त्याग्निर्दालोकात्पृथुदात्तस्मा-
दिति। ...। (15) अथोदपात्रमादायावनेजयति। असायवनेनिद्वेत्थेव यजमानस्य पितरमसाव-
वनेनिद्वेति पितामहमसाववनेनिद्वेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथाशिष्यतेऽभिपिच्छेदेवं तत्। (16) अथ
सकृदाच्छिन्नान्मूलं दिनानि भवन्ति अग्रनिधे वै देवानां मध्यमिव मध्यपाणा मूलनिधे पितृणां
तस्मादुपमूलं दिनानि भवन्ति। (17) तानि दक्षिणोपरदृणाति। तत्र ददाति स वा इति
ददातीतिव वै देवेभ्यो जुह्वत्युत्तरान्ति मध्यमेभ्योऽथैव पितृणां तस्मादिति ददाति। (18) स
ददाति। असावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्विष्यु वैका आहुस्तदु तथा न ब्रूयात्स्वयं
वै तेषा सह येषा सह। तस्मादु ह्यादसावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रेऽसावेतत् इति पितामहा-
यासावेतत् इति प्रपितामहाय...। (19) तत्र जपति। अत्र पितरो मादुधन्वं यथाभागमाहुपा-
युध्नामिति यथाभागमश्रीतेत्येवैतदाह। (20) अथ पराह्णं पर्यावर्तते। तिर इव वै पितरो मध्यमेभ्य-
स्तिर इवैवज्जपति स वा आतस्मितीरासीतेत्याहुरेतावान्हासुरिति स वै शुहर्तमेवासित्वा। (21)
अथोपपठ्य जपति। अमीमदन्त पितरो यथाभागमाहुपायिपतेति यथाभागमाशिषुरित्येवै-
तदाह। (22) अथोदपात्रमादायावनेजयति। असायवनेनिद्वेत्थेव यजमानस्य पितरमसाववने-
निद्वेति पितामहमसाववनेनिद्वेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथा जहुषेऽभिपिच्छेदेवं तत्। (23) अथ नीवि-
शुद्धं नमस्करोति। पिष्टुदेवत्वा वै नीविस्तस्मात्नीविशुद्धं नमस्करोति...पदकृत्वा नमस्करोति
पद्वत्वा ऋतव ऋतवः पितरः ...गृह्यजः पितरो दत्तेति गृह्याणां ह पितर ईशते। एषो एतस्यासीः
कर्मणोऽथावजिघ्रति मत्स्वधाय पिण्डान् स यजमानभागोऽग्नौ सकृदाच्छिन्नान्मग्न्यादधाति
एनरुत्सुकमपि सृजति। (24).

furrow to the south of the Daksina fire, laying down a firebrand, making the three paternal ancestors wash (*avanejana*),⁹⁶¹ darbha grass severed from near the root, spreading the darbhas on the line or furrow and offering three pindas to the three ancestors to regale themselves, turning away from the pindas for a moment and then resuming his position and saying that the ancestors have regaled themselves, offering water for washing (*pratayavanejana*), pulling down the tuck and performing obeisance six times (and identifying the Fathers with seasons) and praying to the Fathers to bestow houses, smelling the boiled rice, throwing the darbhas and firebrand into the fire—these are the principal matters even now in the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha performed by students of the Śukla Yajurveda, although several other details (such as the introduction of the mother's paternal ancestors) and some mantras are added. The Kātyāyana Br. IV. 1. closely follows the Śat. Br., but adds certain details viz. he folds his hands and repeats the six mantras (Vāj. S. II. 32 'namo vah pitaro rasāya' &c) throwing three threads on each pinda with the mantra 'stadvah' (Vāj. S. II. 32) or the woollen fringe of a garment or hair from the chest of the sacrificer when he is beyond fifty years of age, sprinkling water on the pindas or on the ground near them with (Vāj. S. II. 34)⁹⁶².

The other *samhitās* also contain identical mantras. For example, the Vāj. S. II. 29-34⁹⁶³ are mantras most of which are

961. On 'wash thyself' the com. on कर्त्तव्य औ च IV. 1. 10 says 'अपस्वयं यथा स्वात् हस्तस्य सव्यमक्षेष्टाक्षिणमक्षेष्टेनोदफनितनयनं यथा स्वात्तथाङ्गुष्ठमक्षेष्टि-ज्योरन्तरालेनावनेजयति अवावेनोदक्त्वा ह्युच्चीक करोति पिण्डदानाय । असाविति सम्बुद्धचक्ष-भोजनानामक्षेष्टपूर्वक, अहुकसगोत्र यजमानस्य पितरदुक्तकर्मस्त्वनेतिश्च । Some other sūtra-*lāras* provide अहुकगोत्र for अहुकसगोत्र

962. About the use of the words 'those that come after thee' vide n. 781 for the Tai. S passage where those words are employed and also notes 1040, 1052, 1053. 'He presents them thus'—When the pinda is to be offered to the Fathers it is done with the *pitrīrthā* (the part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger) This is indicated by the teacher by means of a gesture 'He then pulls down the tuck—' The sacrificer (or *adhvaryu*) puts on an upper garment when the rite commences, the *dasā* or unwoven edge of which he tucks under the waistband. This he loosens or pulls out at this stage It will have been noticed that the Śat. Br. in dealing with Pindapitryajña employs Vāj. S. II. 29 (except 'apabātā asurā rakṣāmsi vedisadah'), 30, 31.

963. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमवे स्वाहा । अपहता अहुरा रक्षंसि वेदिपदः ॥ ये रुपाणि ॥...प्रष्टुदात्यस्मात् ॥ अत्र पितरो माद्वध्वं...वृथाविपत ॥ नमो व पितरो रसाय.. नमो वः पितरो मन्त्रवे नमो वः पितरः पितरो नमो वो यद्वाह पितरो दत्त सतो
(Continued on the next page)

employed in the Pindapitryajña in Sākamedha⁹⁶⁴. Similarly, in the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā⁹⁶⁵ I, 10.3. 10-21 these are mantras for the pitryajña employed in Sākamedha many of which are the same as in Vāj. S. or Tai. Br. M. S. I 10. 3.11 is the same as Vāj. S. III 52 and M. S. I 10. 3. 17-20 are the same as Vāj. S. III. 51, 53-55. M. S. I, 10. 3. 13-14 greatly resemble Vāj. S. II 32 and Tai. Br. I 3. 10. 8.

Coming to the sūtra literature, it is best to begin with the procedure of *pārvanaśrāddha* as described in the Āśv. gr. IV, 7-8⁹⁶⁶. It is stated by the Anākula on Āp. gr. 21.1 that the

(Continued from the last page)

वः पितरो देष्मैतद्वः पितरो वास आधत्त ॥ आधत्त.. सत् ॥ ऊर्जं बहुन्तीरवृत्तं वृत्तं पयः कीलालं परिरुतम् । स्वधा स्थ तर्पयत मे पितृन् ॥ वाज. सं. II 29-34 The verse दे रूपणि and the mantras अन्न . वृषापिपत are quoted above in n. 960a from the इतपथना For नमो व. पितरो, vide n. 959 and for आधत्त ..सत् n 780. Both the commentators, Uvata and Mahidhara, of Vāj. S., hold that rasa, śosa and the other four are to be identified with the six seasons from spring (madhu etc.) and some of the digests provide for the worship of ऋतु in śrāddha in this way. The कात्या. औ छ (V. 9 24-25) states that with this mantra (Vāj. S. II. 32) the performer folds his hands or makes six obeisances Vide Hemādri (Śr pp. 1459-60) who quotes the Vāj. S. (II. 32) and Tai. Br. and explains them.

964 अक्षजमीनदन्त...ते हरी ॥ सुसम्पन्नं ..ते हरी ॥ मनो न्वाह्वानहे नाराक्षसेन स्तोमेन । पितृणां च मन्त्रमि ॥ आ न एतु मनः पुनः क्रत्वे वक्षाय जीयसे । ज्योक् च सूर्यं हृषो ॥ पुनर्नः पितरो मनो वृषाहृ दैव्यो जनः । जीवं ब्रातं सत्वेमहि ॥ वाज. सं. III. 51-52 are the same as Rg. I. 82 2-3.

965. नै सं I 10.3 13-14 are as follows. अमीनदन्त पितरो नमो व पितर इषे, नमो व पितर ऊर्जे, नमो व पितरः छुष्माय, नमो वः पितरो रसाय, नमो वः पितरो यज्ञीव तस्मै, नमो व. पितरो यद्धोरं तरमै, स्वधा व. पितरो नमो नमो वः पितरः । एषा छुष्माकं पितर इमा अस्माक जीवा वो जीवन्त इह सन्तः स्याम । Compare also अथर्ववेद 18.4. 81-85.

966. अथात पार्वणे आह्वे कान्य आभ्युदयिक एकोद्विडे वा । ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशील... सर्वेषाम् । काममनाद्ये । पिण्डैर्योख्यातम् । अप. प्रदाय । दधाम् द्विगुणमुद्रानासन्नं प्रदाय । अपः प्रदाय । तैजसाश्ममयसृग्मयेषु त्रिषु पात्रेष्वेकद्रव्येषु वा दधाम् न्तिष्ठितेष्वप आसिष्य शन्नो देवीरभिष्टय इत्यष्टमन्त्रितास्तु तिलानावपति तिलोऽस्ति क्षीमदेवत्यो गोसुवे देवानिमितः । मलवद्भिः प्रतः स्वधया पितृनिर्मल्लोकाय प्रीणयाहि नः स्वधा नम् इति प्रसव्येन । इतर पाप्यद्विषात्त-रेणोपवीतित्वाद् दक्षिणेन वा सव्योपगृहीतेन पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यमिति । अथर्वम् । ताः प्रतियाहयिष्यन्तस्तुत्सकृत् स्वधा अर्घ्या इति । प्रष्टा अहमन्त्रयेत या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी सम्भूयूर्या अन्तरिक्षा उत पार्थिवीर्या । हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञिपास्ता न आपः क्षर्याना भवन्ति । संक्षान्तमवनीय ताभिरद्भिः पुत्रकामो सुखमनक्ति । नोद्धरेत्यथमं पात्रं पितृणामर्घ्यापातितम् । आहुतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः शौनकोऽब्रवीत् ॥ एतस्मिन्काले गन्ध-माल्यधूपदीपाच्छादनां प्रदानम् । उद्धृत्य शृताकमलममुद्रायायत्यग्नौ करिष्ये करवे करवाणीति मत्स्यमुद्रा क्रियायां कुण्डल कुर्वति । अथाग्नौ छुहोति यथोक्त पुरस्तात् । अभ्युद्रायां पाणिष्वेव वा । आग्निमुद्रा वै देवा. पाणिमुद्रा. पितर इति हि ब्राह्मणम् । यदि पाणिष्व्वाचान्तेष्वन्यदक्ष-मुद्रादिशन्ति अक्षमक्षे । छुहं दत्तमुद्राकामिति । वृषाञ्जाला मधुमती आवयेदक्षजमीनमदन्तेति च । सम्पन्नमिति प्रष्टा यद्यदजमुद्राकं तत्तत्प्राणीपाकेन सह पिण्डार्थमुद्धृत्य शेषं निवेदयेत् ।

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monthly śrāddha (māsi-śrāddha) is the prakṛti of Astakā and other śrāddhas in which three ancestors are to be invoked. It is as follows. Now then at a Pārvana-śrāddha, or at a śrāddha celebrated for securing some desired object, or at an Ābhyudayika-śrāddha or at an Ekoddistaśrāddha, the performer causes to sit down brāhmanas who are endowed with learning, moral character and proper conduct or who are endowed with (at least) one (of these three characteristics), who have been invited already in proper time, who have taken a bath, whose feet are washed (by the performer) and who have sipped water (taken ācamana), as representatives of (or equal to) the Fathers, with their faces turned to the north, one for each of the Fathers, or two for each or three for each. The larger the number of brāhmanas invited the greater is the fruit or reward. But in no case (should he invite) only one for all (the Fathers), or he may invite only one brāhmaṇa except at the first śrāddha⁹⁶⁷. By the exposition of the Pindapitṛyajña the rules for the pārvana-śrāddha have been declared. Having given water (into the hands of the invited brāhmaṇa or brāhmanas after they sit down) and double-folded darbha blades as a seat (on which the darbhas are to be kept), having again given water to them and having poured water into three vessels of metal (silver &c.), of stone and of earthenware or into three vessels made of the same substance (out of these three) which are covered over with darbha blades and having recited (over the water in the vessels) the verse 'śanno &c.' (Rg X. 9.4)⁹⁶⁸ the performer puts sesamum grains into the water with the mantra "Sesamum art thou, Soma is thy deity, at the Gosava"⁹⁶⁹

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अभिमतैस्तुमते वा शुक्लवस्त्रनाचान्तेषु पिण्डासिद्धयात् । आचान्तैश्चेकैः । प्रकीर्णोत्पुष्पवीर्यो
स्वधोऽप्यसिद्धिं विदुर्जेतुः । अस्तु स्वधेति वा । आम्ब ए सू IV 7-8. For the second and
third sūtras vide n. 903. कृतपञ्चोच्चाद्-मन्त्र IV. 76 states आर्द्रपादस्तु शुक्लजीव, which
is almost the same as अनुज्ञासन्तर्प 104 61-62. The first half of the verse वा दिव्या
आपो occurs in तै. ब्रा II. 7. 15. 4. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व reads मत्तमग्निं पुक्क and
मीणादि (folio 78), and explains अग्निः पुक्क. जलेन मिथितः पितृन् लोकात् पित्र्यपितृतामहा-
वृत्तिं मत्तं चिरकालं स्वधा स्वधोच्चारणेन प्रीणादि प्रीतान् कुष This yields a good sense
Different editions of the आम्ब. सू. number the sūtras differently. Here the
Nirn edition of 1894 is relied upon.

967. Vide n. 903 above for the several meanings of 'anādyē'.

968. The verse १८ इं नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पतिव्ये । शयोरभि सवन्तु न. ॥ त्र.
X 9. 4. This मन्त्र is recited only once

969. For the गोसव sacrifice, vide H. of Dh vol II. p 1213 n 2644.
The mantra about sesamum १८ repeated over each of the three vessels.

sacrifice thou hast been created by the gods, thou hast been offered by persons who are like ancient ones; through the *svadhā* mayst thou make the Fathers and these worlds pleased with us! *svadhā!* Adoration!" The different items of the rite are performed from the right to the left⁹⁷⁰. With the part of the other hand (i. e. left) between the thumb⁹⁷¹ (and forefinger) since he wears the sacred thread over the left shoulder, or with the right which he seizes with the left, (he offers the *Arghya* water) to Fathers with the words 'Father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Grand-father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Great-grand-father, this is the *arghya* for thee, after first offering (ordinary) water to the Fathers. When about to induce the brāh-

970. The rules about Pindapitryaṅga have been set forth in Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6 Nārāyaṇa notes (on Āśv gr. IV 7 2) that Āśvalāyana treats of only the procedure relating to the rite for pitrs and that he does not at all refer to the dinner given to *daiva* or *Vaiśvadeva* brāhmanas at the time of śrāddha. It is therefore possible that feeding *daiva* brāhmanas was added to the ancient ritual, though it must be said that Manu III. 125, Yāj. I. 224-28 and Vas. XI. 27 prescribe such feeding. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p. 161) asserts that he can prove that the detail of feeding *daiva* brāhmanas spread from the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana to the other śūtras and he relies on the fact that Kātyāyana (in *Kandikā* 2) prescribes that the *viśve devāḥ* should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsa āgata' and the performer should mutter the verse 'viśve devāḥ śrutemam' which are respectively Vāj. S. VII. 34 and XXXIII 53. But Dr. Caland tries to prove too much. The first verse occurs twice in the Rg. (II 41. 13 and VI 52 7) and the second occurs in Rg. VI. 52 13, Tai S II 4 14 5. They are not found only in the Vāj. S as Dr. Caland seems to have thought. It is possible that other works took over those mantras from the Rgveda or the Tai S. It may also be noted that Yāj. I. 229 mentions only 'Viśve devāsa' and specifies that it is a *rk* (and not a mantra or *yajus*). So Yāj. at least does not appear to have borrowed the prescriptions of Kātyāyana. It is not necessary to examine the other arguments.

971. The part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger is called *pitṛtīrth* and water is offered by that part of the hand for the pitrs; vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 316 note 652. नारायण explains इतरपाण्यङ्गुष्ठे in two ways as follows: 'येन पाणिना कर्म करोति दक्षिणेन वा सव्येन वा तस्मिन्नेव यज्ञोपवीते स्थिते प्राचीनावीती भवति ततोऽन्यस्मिन्नेव स्थिते उपवीती भवति। अत्र ह्युपवीतित्वात्प्राचीनावीतित्वसिद्धयर्थं सव्यपाणिपितृतीर्थेन दातव्यमित्यर्थः। अथवा सव्यपाणे. शिष्टगदितत्वाद्दक्षिणं पाणिं सव्येन पाणिना गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेनैव पाणिनोपवीत्येवाहं मयच्छेत् ॥. The कल्पतरु. (on आ. p. 148) explains: मसव्येन वामेन हस्तेन। तत्रापि न केवलं वामेनैव अपि तु इतर पाण्यङ्गुष्ठान्तरेण इतरस्य दक्षिणस्य पाणेः अङ्गुष्ठान्तरेण पितृतीर्थेन। तेनैतदङ्गुष्ठं भवति। वामहस्तेन अर्घ्यपात्रं धृत्वा दक्षिणहस्तेन पितृतीर्थं संस्पृश्य यथा ब्राह्मणहस्तेषु जलं पतति तथा देयमिति। अर्घ्यं is respectful offering of water or water with husked rice grains, flowers etc. to gods or venerable persons.

mapas to accept the arghya water he should once only (for each brāhmana or group of brāhmanas for each of the Fathers) say to them 'svadhā! these are arghya waters' and then over the waters that are poured out he recites the verse (separately for each brāhmana) 'The heavenly waters which have been produced on the earth, in the aerial regions and the waters that are terrestrial, that are golden-hued, and fit for sacrifice—may these waters bring us welfare and be favourable to us'. Pouring together (in the first vessel) what has been left in the vessels (for holding arghya water) he anoints his face with that water if he (the performer) desires that a son be born to him. 'He should not remove the first vessel into which the arghya water for the Fathers has been poured (till the end of the rite). The Fathers dwell therein concealed; thus did Śaunaka say' 972. Just at that time the gifts of sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp, and clothes are to be offered (to the brāhmanas). 973 Having taken some food (from the Sthālipaka prepared for Pīṇapitrayajña) and smeared it with ghee he asks the brāhmanas' permission in the words 'I shall offer it in the fire' or in the words 'let me offer in the fire'. The permission is given (by the brāhmanas) in the words 'Let it be done' or in the words 'do it'. He then sacrifices in the fire as stated before 974 or (if the brāhmanas give permission) in the hands of the brāhmanas; since the Brāhmana text says 'fire is verily the mouth of the Fathers'. If he offers in the hands of the brāh-

972. 'He should not remove etc.' नारायण gives two explanations of this verse of Śaunaka 'सुतीयेन पात्रेण प्रथमपात्रस्यापिधानमिच्छन्ति। अन्ये तु तत्रैव सुतीपार्थं सप्तमी। अर्घ्यपात्रं प्रथमं पात्रं न्यग्मिलं कुर्यात् तच्च नोद्धरेद्वा समासेति व्याचक्षुः ॥ आश्व. सू. IV. 8. 14.

973. Gifts of गन्ध etc.—नारायण notes on आश्व. सू. IV. 7. 10 that from अर्घ्यदान up to (excluding) the gift of the five articles गन्ध etc. the performer is यज्ञोपवीती (i. e. wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right arm). When giving these he becomes प्राचीनावीती (i. e. wears the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left arm)

974 यथोक्तं पुरस्तात् The reference is to आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 12 which reads: प्राचीनावीतीष्मदुपसमाधाय मेक्षणनादायावदानसम्पदां कुर्वेति। सोमाय पितृभ्यो स्वाहा नमः अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्वाहा नमः इति. The word अय in आश्व. सू. IV. 8. 4 indicates that all the items of the सिण्डवितुयज्ञ up to होम (i. e. excluding it) are performed before this stage is reached. If the performer has no sacred fire and offers into the hands of the brāhmanas the same mantras are employed. The आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 13 allows an option viz. the word स्वाहा may be used but then the order of मन्त्रस्य will be अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृभ्यो स्वाहा and he will be यज्ञोपवीती.

manas⁹⁷⁵, then he assigns other food to them after they have sipped water and the food (that remains) is mixed with the food that is served to the brāhmanas, since it is said 'what is abandoned and given to (brāhmanas)⁹⁷⁶ brings prosperity'. When he sees that the brāhmanas are satiated (with the food served at the dinner) he (the performer) should recite to the brāhmanas the verses containing the word 'madhu' (Rg. I. 90.⁹⁷⁷ 6-8) and also the verse 'they have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves' (Rg. I. 82.2). Having asked the brāhmanas 'was the dinner perfect?' (they should reply that it was) and then having taken (portions of) the different foods that were enjoyed by the brāhmanas together with the sthālīpāka food in order⁹⁷⁸ to make lumps (pindas) thereof he should present all (the rest of the food) to the brāhmanas. After the brāhmanas have either accepted (the rest of the food) or given him permission (to use it for his family and friends), and after they have finished eating he should, before they have sipped water (performed ācamana after finishing their dinner), put down the lumps⁹⁷⁹ (pindas) for the Fathers. According to some teachers (pindas are put down) after the brāhmanas have sipped water (on getting up from the dinner). Having strewn the food on the ground (near the remnants of food) and wearing the sacred thread on his left shoulder⁹⁸⁰ he should (after turning the first vessel with top upside and after giving *dakṣiṇā* to the brāhmanas) bid adieu to the brāhmanas saying 'utter Om!

975. 'If in the hands.' मनु III. 212 provides that if a man has no Smārta fire, he should offer in the hand of the brāhmana only. छट् is explained by हरदत्त and नारायण as मसृत्म्.

976 On IV. 8. 7. नारायण remarks. अर्थद्वयमत्र विधातुमिष्टमिति गम्यते। तत्राग्नीं कृत्वा भोजनेषु भोजनार्थमन्यदक्षमस्तुतिं ददात्येकोऽर्थः। यदि पाणिहोमः कृतस्तदाचान्तेषु अन्यद्वर्णं ददातीत्यपरः।

977. Rgveda I. 90 6-8 (सधुवाता भृतायते etc.) are called मधुमती verses because each contains the word मधु several times

978 On 'स्थालीपाकेन सह' नारायण observes 'स्थालीपाकेन सहेति नात्रापूर्वः स्थालीपाकश्चोद्यते।.. तेन यत्र स्थालीपाको विहितस्तत्र तेन मुक्तशेषेण च पिण्डनिर्पणं भवति। यत्र तु स्थालीपाकविधिर्नास्ति तत्र मुक्तशेषेणैव केवलेन निपर्णं भवति। In some आहूत such as कान्यआहूत, आम्बुदयिक, अष्टमीआहूत and एकोद्विद there is no स्थालीपाक.

979. 'He should put down the lumps'. Here आम्बुलायन appears to differ from मनु III. 253, 260.

980 The word 'उपवीत' shows that till then the performer was आग्नीनाम्नी.

Svadhā' or he should say 'Om! Svadhā!' (and they should reply 'Om! Svadhā!').^{980a}

From considerations of space it is impossible to set out all the differences among the several grhyasūtras of the R̥gveda, of the Taittirīya śākhā (viz. Baudhāyana, Āp., Hir., Bharadvāja and Vaikhānasa), of the Vājasaneyi śākhā (such as Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana), of the Sāmaveda (such as Gobhila and Khādīra) and of the Atharvaveda (being Kausika sūtra). A few matters may be set out by way of illustration. The Āp. gr. (21. 3-4)⁹⁸¹ states that (after the brāhmaṇas are invited for śrāddha dinner) from the food prepared for the dinner a portion is taken out in a vessel and therefrom seven *śhutiṣ* are cast into the fire with the seven mantras beginning with 'yan me mātā' (in Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1-7), the first two for the father, the next two for the grand-father, next two for the great-grand-father and the 7th to pitrs in general with svāhā (but without naming any one) and then six oblations of clarified butter are offered with the six formulas beginning with 'svāhā pitre' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 8-13). Thus the agnaukarana in Āp consists of two parts viz. śhutiṣ of food and of clarified butter, while in Āśv it is made only with food. Then the performer should touch all food (cooked food and the remainder of what is employed for offering into fire) with the three mantras 'esa te tata madhumān' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14-16), he should make the brāhmaṇas touch the food served to each with the *Yajus* formula 'the earth is thy vessel' (Āp. M. P. 2. 20. 1) quoted in n. 992 below.

Āp. gr. prescribes the mantra, 'putrān pautrān' (Āp. M. P. II. 20. 24) for moistening the pindas, while Baud. gr. and Vaikhānasa gr. (IV. 6) employ the mantra 'ūrjam vahanṭir' (Vāj. S. II. 34) for the same purpose. It may be noted that

980 a. It will be noticed that Āśv. omits several details viz. (1) he does not say that the brāhmaṇas for all the gods are to be seated, facing the east, (2) he mentions no mantra such as 'ye agnidagdḥā &c.' (3) nothing is said about *dakṣiṇā* or about the performer following the brāhmaṇas a few paces and then returning with their permission.

981. The आप. सू. 20. 9 sets down the whole procedure very succinctly after the brāhmaṇas have taken the dinner as follows: शुक्लवतोऽन्नं च मृदक्षिणीकृत्य द्वेयं दक्षिणायाम् दूर्भाच्च संस्तीर्य तेषुत्तरैरपो वृत्तोत्तरैर्दक्षिणायवर्गाच्च सिन्धुच्च वृत्ता पूर्ववदुत्तरैरपो वृत्तोत्तरैरुपस्थापोत्तरयोद्धात्रेण त्रिः प्रसव्यं परिवक्ष्य च्युज्य पात्राण्युत्तरं यजुरन्वानं वयवराध्वसावर्तयित्वा मोक्ष पात्राणि द्वन्द्वमभ्युदाहृत्य सर्वतः समवदायोत्तरेण यजुषा शेवत्य प्रासादराध्वं प्राप्नीयात् । The mantras referred to here occur in आप. स. पा. II. 19. 1 to II. 20. 26.

these sūtras which belong to the Taittiriya śakhā employ a verse from another recension viz. the Śukla Yajurveda.

The Hir. Gr. (II. 10-13) is more elaborate than the Āp. Gr. and not only sets out at length many of the mantras in Āp. M. P. II. 19-20, but adds some more. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (1-3) sets out the procedure of the monthly śrāddha almost in the same way as the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (which is set out below). It states that in the monthly śrāddha first come the daiva rites and then the various items occur as in the Pinda-pitryajña 'pindapitryajña-vad-upacāraḥ' (first sūtra of the 2nd kandikā). Some details which it contains (and Yaj. does not expressly mention) may be set out here. It gives in full the mantras 'tilosi', 'yā divya' (both of which occur in Aśv. gr.), 'prthivī to pātram' (which is Āp. M. P. II. 20.1). It prescribes that in addition to the Gāyatrī and the Madhumatī verses the word 'madhu' should be repeated thrice. The holy texts to be repeated while the brāhmanas are engaged in eating according to Kātyāyana are the Gāyatrī (once or thrice), the five Raksoghni verses (Rg. IV. 4. 1-5, Vaj. S. XIII. 9-13, Tai. S. I 2. 14. 1-2), Purusasūkta, the Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1-13 = Vaj. S. 17. 33-34, 46 = Tai. S. IV. 6. 4 1-4) and others. It expressly states that the *svadhūvācana* (Yaj. I 244) relates to both paternal and maternal ancestors. Besides the blessing contained in Yaj. I 246, Kātyāyana provides that the performer is to pray for and the brāhmanas are to pronounce two more viz. 'May the pītr̥s be kind (lit. not dreadful) to us' and 'May our family prosper'. Dr. Oland in his learned work 'Altindischer Ahnencult' (pp. 150-152) appears inclined to hold that when a sūtrakāra has not actually said anything on certain items in the śrāddha ritual, one has no right to anticipate, on the authority of later authors, that those items existed in the times of that sūtrakāra. I demur to this conclusion. Dr. Oland has attached no weight to the fact that Jaimini (as stated in H. of Dh. vol III p 870) laid down the principle that one may include certain items from another śakhā. Jaimini's sūtras cannot be supposed to have laid down those propositions for the first time. Jaimini's sūtras are at least as old as some of the extant śrauta sūtras such as that of Kātyāyana. Therefore hardly any chronological conclusions can be drawn with certainty from the silence of a sūtrakāra as to a certain item in the śrāddha ritual.

We shall now turn to the metrical smṛtis. Mānu treats of the procedure of śrāddha at some length in III. 208-265. But

as the procedure prescribed by the Yajñavalkyasmṛiti (I. 226-249) is more compact and at the same time more lucid it is set out here. "When the invited brāhmanas come in the afternoon the performer having a *pavitra*⁹⁸² in his hand should seat them on seats and make them sip water. The brāhmanas invited should be even in number (2, 4 &c.) according to the performer's resources at the *dava* rite (i. e. the Vaiśvadevika brāhmanas should be two, four &c.) and uneven (three or five &c.) at a (pārvana) śrāddha for the *pitṛs*; the brāhmanas should be seated in a pure (cowdunged) plot screened on all sides and sloping towards the south. At the *dava* (part of pārvana-śrāddha when Viśve-devāḥ are to be invoked) two brāhmanas facing the east should sit down and three brāhmanas facing the north should be seated in the rite for the *pitṛs* or only one may be seated for each (i. e. in *dava* and in *pitṛya*). The same rule applies to a śrāddha for maternal ancestors. In both (pitṛśrāddha and mātāmhaśrāddha) the worship of Viśve-devas may be performed separately or simultaneously⁹⁸³. Then having poured water on the hands of the brāhmanas (meant for the rite in honour of viśve-devāḥ) and having given kusa blades for a seat⁹⁸⁴ (towards their right side on the seat already

982 For the meaning of *pavitra* see H of Dh vol II p 637 notes 1553-54. It is a ring-like loop of *darbhās* to be worn in the right hand or in both hands on the finger next to the little finger. The Mit. supplies that the invited brāhmanas also should have a *pavitra*. The गोमिलसूक्ति I, 28 defines it and is quoted by अपराक pp 43 and 480.

983. On Yā. I. 228 'तन्त्रं वा', the मिता remarks यदा तु द्वावेव ब्राह्मणौ लभ्यौ तदा तु वैश्वदेवे पार्श्वं प्रकल्प्य उभयत्र एकैकं ब्राह्मणं नियुज्यथात्. यथाह वसिष्ठः Vide p. 403 above for Vas. 11. 30-31 which the मिता quotes. The विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 16 says. तथा मातामहआहुं वैश्वदेवसमान्वितम्। कुर्वीत भक्तिसम्पन्नं तन्त्रं वा वैश्वदेविकम्। तन्त्रं means उभयोर्देशेन सकृद्वह्मणम् or as क्षार on जे. XI 11 explains 'यत् सकृत् कृतं बहुनायुपकरोति तत् तन्त्रं यथा बहूनां ब्राह्मणानां नभे कृतं मदीयं'. Yā. I 228 contains several options about the number of brāhmanas. तन्त्रं वा-If the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors are to be invoked in one śrāddha one may separately invite two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for पितृत्रय and two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for मातामहत्रय, or only two ब्राह्मण may do as वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मण for both पितृत्रय and मातामहत्रय. Or even one may do as वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for both

984. For विष्टर (in वा I 229), a seat made with 25 darbhās, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 543 n. 1259. The मिता says that in addition to the vedic verse, a smṛta verse should be recited for invoking the विश्वदेवा. ॥. 'आगच्छतु महाभाग विश्वदेवा महाबलाः। ये यज्ञं विहिता. आद्रे सावधाना भवन्तु ते॥'. This verse is स्कन्दपुराण VII 1. 217. 32-33 and गरुडपुराण I 218.7. On p. 478 अपराक attributes this स्तुतिमन्त्रं to बृहस्पति and to the ब्रह्मपुराण on p. 481. The

occupied), he should, with the permission of the invited brāhmanas, invoke the *Viśvedevāḥ* with the verse 'O! all the gods come!' (Rg. II. 41. 13 or VI. 52. 7; Vāj. S. VII. 34) Having scattered on the ground (near the brāhmanas representing *Viśve-devāḥ*) barley grains and then having cast into a vessel (of metal &c) covered with a *pavitra* water with the verse 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4, Vāj. S. 36.12, Tai. Ār. IV. 42.4) and barley grains with the mantra, 'Yavosi' (Vāj. S. V. 26, Tai. S. I. 3. 1. 1) and (also sandalwood paste and flowers) he should place in the hands (of the brāhmanas) the *arghya*⁹⁸⁵ wafer with the verse 'yā divyā' (those heavenly waters &c., Tai. Br. II. 7. 15. 4). Then he should pour water into the hand (of the *Vaiśva-deva* brāhmana or brāhmanas) for washing the hand and give to them perfumes, flowers, incense, lamp⁹⁸⁶ and garment. Then wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder⁹⁸⁷ and

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कल्पतव (on आ pp. 142, 151) also attributes it to both. हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1226) quotes it from the ब्रह्मपुराण, while the मद्र पा p. 574 quotes it as बृहस्पति's. The नित्या notes that this and the following items up to (including) the gift of perfumes and four other things should be done by the performer being यज्ञोपवीती and having his right side towards the brāhmanas "एतच्च यज्ञोपवीतिना मद्रक्षिणं च कार्यं 'अपसर्गं ततः कृत्वा पितृणाममद्रक्षिणम्' इति पित्र्ये विशेषस्मरणम् ।" अपसर्गं ततः कृत्वा—is चा. I. 232 latter half. हेमाद्रि (on आ pp 1257-58) explains 'मद्रक्षिणादपसर्गमद्रक्षिणम् । मद्रक्षिणं नामाभिमुखमुत्पन्नमामाङ्गोपलक्षितं मद्रक्षं मति कर्मणो निर्वहणं यथा पूर्वमभिमुखोपविष्टदेविकपङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यद्विजादारम्य तत् पङ्क्तिचरमद्विजा-पर्वणा ।'

985. 'Arghya water'—The नित्या states 'विश्वेदेवा इदं वो अर्घ्यमित्यर्घ्योदकं विनिरूपेत् । The arghya is to be offered to each ब्राह्मण separately as required by गोभिलस्मृति III 74 'अर्घ्येक्षणयोदके चैव पिण्डदानेऽवसेजने । तन्त्रस्य तु निवृत्तिः स्वास्त्वधावाचन एव च ॥' The printed नित्या reads the मन्त्र as यवोसि धान्यराजो वा, which is not found in the Vāj. S. or other *samhitās*. Similarly, the नित्या reads the मन्त्र 'वा दिव्या आपः पयसा' for अर्घ्यं, which is probably Rg. VII. 49 2 with the order of words changed. अपराक्षि (p 479) states that if there are two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण then water and yavas should be put in two vessels and the मन्त्र is to be repeated each time when putting water, putting yavas and at each अर्घ्यं. हेमाद्रि (on आ p. 1229) defines: 'अर्घ्यो नामाहणीयान. धुरत. संमाननायो मशस्तद्व्ययमक्षेपः'.

986. 'दीपे च विशेषः काङ्क्षेनोक्तः । घृतेन दीपो दातव्यस्तिलतैलेन वा पुनः । वसानेदो-द्वं दीपं प्रयत्नेन विषर्जयेत् ॥' नित्या. on चा. I. 231. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर has the verse घृतेन (I. 141 12),

987. चा. I. 232—अपसर्गं ततः. The Mīt quotes बृहज्ज्ञातातप that from hence the performer should face the south 'उदङ्मुखस्तु देवानां पितॄणां दक्षिणामुखः । मद्रक्ष्यात् पर्वणे सर्वं देवपूर्वं विधानम् ॥'. 'Double-folded kuśas'—compare *Āśv*,

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under the left arm (i. e. being *prācināvīti*) the performer should offer to the pītr̥s (i. e. to the three brāhmanas representing them) double-folded kuśas (with water) for a seat on the left (1 e on the seats already occupied kuśas should be placed on the left side for a *vistara*), he should then invoke⁹⁸⁸ the pītr̥s after taking the permission of the brāhmanas with the rk 'uśantas-tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 1), and should then recite in a low voice the mantra (*āyantu nah pitarah*) 'may the pītr̥s come to us' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The performer, having scattered sesamum seeds all round (the brāhmanas) with the mantra 'Apahata' (Vāj. S. II. 29), should employ sesamum for all purposes where *yavas* were employed (in the daiva part of the ceremony) and should perform all the items such as giving arghya (water for worship) for the pītr̥s as before (for the daiva rite). After offering arghya water, he should collect the drops of the arghya water fallen from the hands (or fingers) of the brāhmanas in one vessel (the pītr̥ vessel), then turn it upside

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above (p. 434). The स्कन्दपुराण (VII. 1. 206. 17) provides 'दाने स्नाने जपे होने भोजने देवतार्चने। देवानामुजयो वर्मा. पितृणां हिणुणास्तथा॥' In offering each of the things in daiva or *pītr̥ya* rite in *śrāddha* water must be given before and after. The मिता says that here the method called काण्डावसमय (and not पदार्थावसमय) has to be followed. These two are dealt with in Jai. V. 2 1-15, Vide H of Dh vol II, pp. 739-740 In this case if there are three brāhmanas, water, kuśas and water are all to be given to one, then the same three to the second and the same three to the third. This is काण्डावसमय. If water is given one after another to the three, then kuśas one after another to them, then water one after another to three, that would be पदार्थावसमय. काण्ड means पदार्थार्ग. हेमाद्रि (on आ pp. 759-766) has an exhaustive and lucid discussion on these two. He states that पदार्थावसमय is the rule but काण्डावसमय also has to be followed in certain cases. For example, on p. 764 he says 'चरणमक्षालना-चमनमदानासनोपवेशनानि पदार्थावसमयेन। आसनक्षणवाहनार्चनघण्टधूपदीपाष्टादानानां पदार्थानां कृत्स्न काण्डं वैश्वदेविकेऽपि द्विलेख्यपर्यन्तं पितृकर्मणामभिधीयते' and relies on या I. 229-234 to show that all items relating to वैश्वदेविककर्मणाः are first finished and those relating to पितृकर्मणाः are then taken up : i. e. there is काण्डावसमय as to वैश्वदेविक and पितृकर्मणाः. Vide हेमाद्रि (आ) p. 1215 also.

988. आवाह्य (या. I 233). The मिता, remarks "अथ पितृन् पितामहान् प्रतितामहा-नामाहवियं इति ब्राह्मणान् वृद्धा आवाहयेति तैरुज्ज्ञात उदान्तस्त्वा निधीमहि इत्यनयर्चा पित्रादीनावाह्य 'आयन्तु नाः पितरः' इत्यादिना सन्वेणोपतिष्ठेत्॥. It may be noted that in all cases where a question is to be put or permission is to be asked the performer addresses the chief among them or all of them as the आद्वय्य of का. Says—'सर्वेषु मन्त्रेषु पारिवर्त्यैव वृत्तंति सर्वान्वा (2nd काण्डिका of आद्वय्य)'. '.

down⁹⁸⁹ on the ground (over a bunch of kuśas with ends turned towards the south) with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pits.'⁹⁹⁰ Then, being about to perform 'agnaukarana' (offering in sacrifice), he takes the food mixed with clarified butter and asks the brāhmanas (in the words 'I shall offer into the sacred fire') and when permitted by them with the words 'do so', he offers into the fire (two portions cut off from the food mixed with ghee) with a *makṣana*⁹⁹¹ according to the

989. The *mita* remarks that on the vessel turned upside down the *pavītras* covering the three vessels should be placed and unguents, flowers, incense, lamp and garment should be offered to the brāhmanas with the words 'पितर्यं ते गन्धः' etc.

990 पूर्ववत्—The *mita* very briefly sets forth how the items are to be repeated for पितृवाह्यान्: 'राजतादिषु पात्रेषु निष्ययुग्मकृत्तानिर्मितकृत्तानिदिषु 'इं नो देवी.' इति मन्त्रेणैव क्षिप्त्वा 'तिलोसि सोमदेवस्यः' इत्यादिमन्त्रेण तिलाच्च गन्धद्रव्याणि च क्षिप्त्वा स्वधाव्या—इति ब्राह्मणानां पुरतोऽर्घ्यपात्राणि स्थापयित्वा वा दिव्या इति मन्त्रान्ते पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यमिति ब्राह्मणानां हस्तेष्वर्घ्यं दद्यात्। Vide अश्व गृ in note 966 above for इं नो देवी, तिलोसि, वा दिव्याः The मन्त्र is 'अपहता अक्षरा रक्तासि वेदिष्वदः' (वाज. सं. II. 29) The बहुचयुहपरिहित, अपराक्त (p 484)

and others say that the name and gotra of the ancestors should be mentioned in offering पात्र, अर्घ्य, गन्ध etc. Therefore the अर्घ्य will be offered in the form 'अहकगीत्र पितरहकवर्मोक्तवेऽर्घ्यम्'. हलायुध (folio 18a on आह्वयच) notes that in the case of वाजसनेयस the last words are एष तेऽर्घ्यः

991 नैक्षज is a rod of Aśvattha wood one *aratm* long having at one end a square board four *angulas* in length (to be used like a mixing spoon). Two offerings are made with the words अग्नये कव्यवाहन्यै स्वधा नमः, सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः (वाज सं II. 29 where the same formula occurs with स्वाहा for स्वधा नमः) Acc to Baud. Dh S II. 8. 8-11 the offerings are three viz to सोमाय पितृपीताय, यमायाङ्गिरस्यते पितृमते, अग्नये कव्यवाहन्यै स्वधस्मृते Acc. to नद पा. p. 590 this is peculiar to Baudhāyānīyas The ब्रह्मपुराण q. by नद. पा. (p 591) speaks of आहुतित्रय and so does Brahmandā (upodghāta, 11.93-94) If the performer is आह्विताग्नि and has observed सर्वाधान method he offers into वृक्षिगाग्नि; if he is not आह्विताग्नि or has followed अधोधान method he offers into grhya or āvasathya fire and if he has neither the śranta or gryha fire he offers into the hand of the brāhmana. For the procedure of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ (which varies from one śākhā and sūtra to another) vide H. of Dh vol. II pp 1085-1090 and मनु III. 212 for पाणिहोम. The food offered on the hand has to be mixed with the food served in the plate and then eaten. When there are several pūrya brāhmanas invited the पाणिहोम is to be made on the hand of the best of the brāhmanas acc. to the नद. पा. 585 and स्पृतिच (आ. p. 462) both of which quote गोभिल II 120 'पित्र्ये यः पाङ्क्तिर्धन्यस्तस्य पाणावनशिमान्।

हत्वा मन्त्रवदन्नेषां तूर्णी पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत्॥'. हलायुध holds that, since यः (I. 237 हुतक्षेप प्रदद्यात् भोजनेषु समाहित.) employs the word भोजनेषु without any qualification, the remnants of the food for होम should be put in all plates including those for देवब्राह्मणः The सौरपुराण (19.22) says. अग्नेरभावादिमस्य पाणी होमो विधीयते। महादेवस्य पुरतो गोष्ठे वा अङ्गयान्वितः ॥

procedure laid down for Pīṇapitryajña. He, being intent (only on performing śrāddha correctly), should serve the food that remains after (making the two offerings mentioned above) in plates (except earthen one) that he may be able to secure, and particularly silver oness (plates are meant for feeding pitrya brāhmanas). After serving the food in the plates, he should invoke over the plates the mantra 'the earth is thy⁹⁹² support', he should take hold of the thumb of the brāhmanas and put it on the food (served in the plates) with the mantra⁹⁹³ 'idam Viṣṇur' ('Viṣṇu strode over this' Rg. I. 22. 17, Vaj. S. V. 15, Tai. S. I. 2. 13. 1). The performer should then mutter the Gāyatrī verse (Rg. III. 62. 10, Vaj. S. III. 35, Tai. S. I. 5. 6. 4) together with 'Om' and the 'Vyāhrtis' and the three verses beginning with 'Madhu vāts' (Rg. I. 90. 6-8, Vaj. S. 13. 27-29, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9. 3), he should say 'partake (of the food) as you please' and the brāhmanas also should eat the food silently. He should serve without anger or bustle food fit for being offered as *havis* (in a śrāddha) and liked by the brāhmanas till they are satiated (so that some food is left in their plates) and should repeat (while the brāhmanas are engaged in eating) sacred texts and the texts for *Japa* (Gāyatrī &c. already referred to in Yāj. I. 239 above). The sacred texts to be repeated according to the *Mit* on Yāj. I. 240 are the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1-16), the Pāvamāni verses (i. e. verses like 'svādīsthayā madīsthayā' from the 9th mandala of the Rgveda as stated by Medhātithi on Manu III. 86 and Haradatta on Gautama (19. 12). Manu III. 232 mentions other works for recitation such as the dharmaśāstras, *śukhyānas*, *itihāsa* (Mahābhārata), purāṇas and *khilas* (like Śrīsūkta and Vidyāsūkta). There is great divergence of views about the sacred texts to be recited by the performer in a low voice, while the brāhmanas are engaged in partaking the food

992. Yāj. I. 238. The मन्त्र meant is. पृथिवी ते पात्रं धीरपिधानं ब्रह्मणस्तथा ह्येषे लुप्तोमि ब्राह्मणानां त्वा प्राणापानपोर्लुप्तोन्मथितमसि मेवा सेष्टा अङ्गुष्ठाङ्गुलिर्मेहोके। आप. न. पा. II. 20 1. The मन्त्र is addressed to the remainder of the food used for अग्रौकरण. पात्र means support. As stated in n. 783, in आहु the आहवनीय is the ब्राह्मण invited for dinner. About अङ्गुष्ठ, यम q. by कल्पतरु (आ p. 183) says: अङ्गुष्ठमात्रो भगवान् विष्णुः पर्यटते महीम् । राक्षसानां वधार्थाय को मेऽयं प्रहरिष्यति । तस्माच्छ्राद्धेषु सर्वेषु त्वङ्गुष्ठग्रहणं रक्षितम् । These are quoted also by अपरार्क p. 494, स्मृतिच (आ.) p. 462 and by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1378.

993. यम q. by अपरार्क p. 494 says 'विष्णो हव्यं च कव्यं च ब्रूयाद्वक्षेति च क्रमात्.' The *mita* quotes it as मन्त्र's and says that in the पित्र्य rite the performer being प्राचीनावीतिन् should say 'विष्णो कव्यं रक्ष.'

cooked for śrāddha. Vide note 1005 below. It may be that the *japa* of sacred texts is to be done by the performer wearing the sacred thread in the *upavīta* way as stated by Hemādri p. 1070 and the Madana-pārijāta p. 599, but the Śrāddhatattva (p. 231) is opposed to this and relies on Manu III, 279. Certain verses from the Purāṇas also are to be recited such as the verses from the Varāhapurāṇa (14. 26-31) and Viṣṇupurāṇa (III, 15. 31-36, which are identical with the preceding) quoted by the Kalpataru on śrāddha (p. 197), Aparārka (p. 502) and Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 109), the first and last of which are quoted in the note below⁹⁹⁴. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Ācārakhaṇḍa 218.20 ff.) prescribes that while the brāhmanas are eating one may recite a eulogy of *pīṭrs* such as the 'saptavyādha' verses^{994a}. Then, after holding the food in his hands, the performer should ask the brāhmanas 'are you satisfied' (and after they reply that they are satisfied) he should tell them that there is food still left (and ask them what to do with it) and after taking their per-

994. The first and last verses are: पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः । मनं वृत्तिं मयाभ्यस्य विप्रदेहेषु संस्थिताः ॥...यज्ञेश्वरो हव्यसमस्तकाम्यभोक्ताप्यपात्मा हरिरीश्वरोऽत्र । तत्संनिधानाद्यप्यान्तु सद्यो रक्षास्थशेषाण्यसुराश्च सर्वे ॥

994 a. The सप्तव्याध verses from the हरिवंश (I. 24. 20-21) and नन्दपुराण are. सप्तव्याधा वशाणेषु युगाः कालजरे गिरौ । चक्रवाक्का. शरद्वीपे हंसाः सरसि मानसे ॥ तेभिजाता. कुक्षेत्रे जाह्नवा वेदपारगाः । प्रस्थिता दूरमध्वानं यूयं किमवसीद्यथ ॥. On these the आहृतत्त्व (p. 231) says 'अपहृतयुगवर्तिनस्तत्कृतआहृतद्वयप्रकाशकपितृणायात्मेन सप्तव्याधा इति च पठ्यते ॥'. These very verses occur in the अग्निपुराण chap. 117. 56-57. The story is very clearly set out in हरिवंश I, chapters 21-24 and the Matsyapurāṇa chap. 20-21. Seven pupils of Garga guarding their guru's cow thought of eating that cow as they were famished. But the youngest said 'let us make use of the cow's flesh in śrāddha, so that we may be saved from sin'. Two of the brothers became daiva brāhmanas, three became pītr-brāhmanas, one became the giver and the 7th became a guest. They told the guru that the cow was eaten by a tiger. They passed through several births first as seven hunters, then deer in Kālāñjara hill and so on. Śrāddha ultimately saved them. The same story is narrated in Padma V. 10.49-123, and V. 47.282-304 (in which last the disciples are said to have been those of वसिष्ठ). After becoming hamsas three of them became kings (a king and two ministers, acc. to मत्स्य) and cared not for the other world. The four others knew the path to mokṣa, sent word to the three with these verses saying that they four had started on the long road to the other world (प्रस्थिता ..ध्वानं) and asking the other three not to be immersed in the mire of wordliness (यूय...द्यथ). The story also occurs in the शिवपुराण (उमासंहिता chap. 41.24 ff.). It is interesting to note that in the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 56) the echoes of this story of the brothers are heard for illustrating the influence of *karman*,

mission⁹⁹⁵ (in the words 'partake of it along with your friends and relations'), he should spread (in front of the brāhmanas for pitrs) the remaining food on (*darbhās* with their ends to the south placed over) the ground (with the mantra 'ye agnidagdadhā', those that were cremated and those that were not cremated &c.) and he should pour water once for each into his hand (for rinsing the mouth). Collecting all the cooked food (i. e. portions from each food) with *sesamum* mixed with it, the performer facing the south should offer the *pindas* near the remains of the food (eaten by the brāhmanas) according to the procedure of the *pindapitṛyajña*. For maternal ancestors also the same procedure is to be followed (from invoking the *Viśve-devāh* to offering *pindas*). Then he should give water to the brāhmanas for sipping. Then (he should say to the brāhmanas 'pronounce benediction'); after making the brāhmanas say 'svastī', he should offer water into their hands for saying 'let it be inexhaustible (after he requests them 'let it be inexhaustible'). Then after giving to the brāhmanas *dakṣiṇā* (fee or presents)⁹⁹⁶ according to the ability of the performer, he should say to the brāhmanas "may I request you to repeat the word 'svadhā' " and when they permit him in the words 'do request us', he should say 'let *svadhā* be pronounced for the persons concerned' (i. e. the pitrs and maternal ancestors). Then the brāhmanas should say 'let there be *svadhā*'. On the brāhmanas saying so, he should sprinkle water on the ground and say 'let the *Viśve-devāh* be pleased' and when the brāhmanas have responded with 'let the *Viśve-devāh* be pleased' he should mutter the follow-

995 तद्वत् विकिरिञ्चमी दद्याद्याप. सकृत् सकृत् । या I. 241 The *mita* comments 'तद्वत् पितृस्थानमाग्नयस्य दुरस्तादुच्छिद्यसन्निधौ दक्षिणाग्रदध्नाकर्तितार्पा घ्नो तिलोदकमक्षेपपूर्वकं 'ये अग्निदग्धा' इत्यनया भ्रात्रा त्रिषिप्त् घ्नन्तिलोदकं अक्षिपेत् । तदनन्तरं माग्नयस्तैषु गण्डुपायं सकृत्सकृदप्यौ दद्यात् । ये अग्निदग्धा—this is Rg. X, 15. 14 translated above (p. 196). Sesamum grains and water were to be cast before as well as after placing the food on the ground. The *Mit.* speaks of the verse ये अग्निदग्धा as a *rk*, so it should be taken to be Rg. X. 15. 14; but later works like the *Śraद्धtantra* (pp. 231-32) prescribe that the two verses quoted in the beginning of note 1007 below should be recited here. Vide तै. ब्रा III 1. 1. 7 for pitrs that were अग्निदग्ध and that were not so in another connection.

996. या. I. 244 दत्त्वा तु दक्षिणां शक्त्या—देवल prescribes that दक्षिणा was to be given to the पित्र्यमाग्नय first and then to the वैश्वदेविकमाग्नय 'दक्षिणां पितृवैश्वेभ्यो दद्यात्पूर्वं ततो ह्यग्नौ' q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 483). मल्ल 17. 50-52, वायु 75. 14-15 specify the various gifts. Vide n. 1008.

ing: 997 'May donors increase in our family, may the (study or teaching of) Vedas prosper and progeny increase (in our family); may our faith (in rites for pitrs) not vanish and may there be plenty of things for us to make gifts' 998. Having muttered this, having spoken pleasing words to the brāhmanas, 999 having fallen at their feet (after going round them) he being pleased in his heart should dismiss the brāhmanas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38.8, Yāj. S. 21.11, Tai. S. I. 78.2), the sending them away being so arranged that the brāhmanas representing the pitrs start first, 1000 (i. e. first goes the representative of the great-grandfather, then the one for the grandfather, then the one for the father and then the one representing the Viśvedevāḥ). The vessel in which the drops of *arghya* water from the hands of the brāhmanas had been collected before should be turned face upwards 1001 and then the brāhmanas should be dismissed. After following the departing brāhmanas (up to the boundary) and going round them, he (should return) and should eat the food that (remains in the

997 वाचो नो—या I 246 This very verse occurs in मनु III. 252, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.28, पद्मपुराण (सुदित्पञ्च 9.117), मत्स्य 16 49-50, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 140.42.

998 The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.30, मत्स्य 16 50-51, पद्म (सुदि 9 118) add another verse to या I 246 viz. अजं च नो बहु भवेदतिथीश्च लभेनहि। याचितारश्च नः सन्तु मा च याचिष्म कंचन॥.

999 इत्युक्त्वोक्त्वा मिया वाच—या I 247. अपराकं p 512 quotes from बृहस्पति two verses stating what should be said 'अद्य मे सफल जन्म भवत्यादानिवन्दनात्। अद्य मे वराणां सर्वे गतास्तेष्वयमाह दिवम्॥ अत्र शाकादिपानेन क्लेशिता ये मयेष्टुः। तत्क्षेत्रजार्तं चित्तेन विस्तृत्य क्षन्तुमर्हथ॥.'

1000. For पितृपूर्वं विसर्जनम् (या I 247), compare विष्णुपुराण III 15 48 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140.15 which say 'वैश्वदेवनिविष्टानां चरमं हस्तधावनम्। विसर्जनं च निर्दिष्टं तेषु रक्षा यत्. स्थिता॥'. The मिता adds, following the मत्स्यपुराण 17 59, that before dismissal he should touch the brāhmanas with the tip of a darbha 'बाजे बाजे इति अपन् कुशयेण विसर्जयेत्'.

1001. The Mit. notices that the upturning of the vessel should be done (as the termination *tvā* in कुत्वा indicates) first before the mantra 'vāje vāje' (Yāj. I. 247) is recited and after the brāhmanas recite the benedictory mantras, and then the brāhmanas start. Compare Jai IV. 3.37 for क्त्वा denoting पूर्वकालता. संस्रव has two meanings, viz. (1) the drops of water fallen from the hands of the brāhmanas when *arghya* water was offered to them (Mit.), (2) the drops of water that remain in the *arghya* vessels. श्रीदत्त in his पितृभक्ति (D C Ms 152 of 1892-95) says 'संस्रवपदं ब्राह्मणहस्तसुतजन्मपरमिति निबन्धनम्। कर्मभावे तु अर्घपान्नस्थशेषीभूतजलं संस्रवपदमित्युक्तम्। युक्तं चैतत्। शेषे प्रतिपत्तेरपेक्षितत्वात्।' folio 25b.

house after) the brāhmanas representing the pitrs have partaken of it. He and the brāhmanas that partook of the śrāddha dinner should abstain from sexual intercourse on the night of the śrāddha day ¹⁰⁰².

Many of the Purāṇas contain detailed descriptions of the śrāddha to be performed on every *amāvāsya*; for example, Matsya 17. 12-60 (closely resembling Yāj. 225-259), Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 15. 13-49, Mārkaṇḍeya 28 37-60, Kūrma (II 22. 20-62), Padma (śrīṣṭikhaṇḍa) 9. 140-186, Brahmanḍa (Upod-ghāṭapāda, chap. 12), Skanda VI. 224 3-51, Viṣṇudharmotara I 140. 6-44. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 163 verses 2-42 are the same (with very slight variations and the omission of 2½ verses) as Yāj. I. 227-270; while Agni chap. 117 contains many verses that closely follow the Āśv. Gr and Yāj. Similarly the Garuḍa-purāṇa contains numerous verses that are identical with Yājñavalkya's. For example, compare Yāj. I. 229-239 with Garuḍa I. 99. 11-19. The Purāṇas closely follow the Gṛhya-sūtras, Manu and Yājñavalkya and often employ the same mantras and formulas, though here and there they introduce some details. As remarked by the Varāhapurāṇa 1451, the procedure for śrāddha is the same in all Purāṇas (*iyam sārva-purāṇesu sāmānyā pātriki kriyā*). For sample, a summary of the procedure in the Padma (śrīṣṭi 9. 140-186) is set out here. The performer having honoured the Viśve-devāḥ (i e. the brāhmana or brāhmanas invited to represent them) with a seat and with yava grains and flowers should fill two vessels with water and should place them on a *pavitra* of *darbhā*. The water should be offered with the verse 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9.4) and the yava grains with 'Yavosi'. They should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsah' (Rg. II. 41 13) and yavas should be scattered about with the two verses 'Viśve devāsah' (Rg. II. 41. 13-14) and he should scatter about *yava* grains with the verse 'thou art yava, the king of grains &c.' (quoted ¹⁰⁰³ below). After decking the brāhmanas with sandalwood paste and flowers

¹⁰⁰² या I. 249. नित्ता. adds that by reason of the word 'tu' in Yā I 249 the performer and the brāhmanas have to shun eight actions enumerated in n. 924 above.

¹⁰⁰³ यवोऽस्ति धान्यराजस्तु वाँषणो मधुनिभित्। निर्यादं सर्वपापानो पवित्रं हि-
स्तुतम् पद (छट्टि) 9.144 जो. घ सू III. 65 is almost identical The नित्ता. on
या. I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'यवोस्ति धान्यराजो वा' which appears to be the
same. अपर्णाक p 479 speaks of 'यवोस्ति' as a *yajus*.

he should honour them with water with the verse¹⁰⁰⁴ 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985). After taking leave of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas that have been honoured with *arghya* he should begin the pitṛ yajña. He should prepare seats with darbhas on them, worship three vessels, place *pavitrās* on them and pour water in them with 'śam no devir' (Rg. X. 94), should cast sesamum grains in them with 'tilosi' and then put in them sandalwood and flowers. (Then verses 147-152 speak about the vessels to be employed). He then should announce the names and gotra of his ancestors and give darbhas in the hands of the brāhmanas. He should then request brāhmanas with the words 'I shall invite the pitrs' and when they reply 'let it be so' he should invoke the pitrs with the two verses 'usantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16.12) and 'a yantu' (Vaj. S. 19.58). Then, having offered *arghya* to the brāhmanas (representing the pitrs) with 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985), having given them sandalwood paste and the other things including garment as the last, he should collect the remainder of the water (in the *arghya* vessels) into the vessel meant for the father and should keep aside the latter to the north with its top turned downwards with the words 'thou art a seat of the pitrs'. Then he should begin to serve various kinds of food after bringing the utensils in which the food was cooked and holding them with both hands. (Verses 157-165 speak of the various foods to be offered and the periods of gratification caused thereby to the pitrs). While the brāhmanas are engaged in eating he should recite the Vedic hymns¹⁰⁰⁵ referring to

1004. मित्ता. on या I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या आपः पयसा'. The mantra in आश्व. गृ. IV. 7.13 'या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी' has been translated above, as also the mantra 'tilosi' from Āśv. gr. IV. 7.8. How the offering of *tila* water in the midst of mango trees serves two purposes is finely stated in the following verse एको ह्यनिस्ताम्रकराग्रहस्तो ह्याग्नेषु मध्ये सलिलं ददाति। आम्नाश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च तृप्ता एका क्रिया ह्यर्थैकरी मसिद्धा॥ पद्म (सहितपद्म 11 77). वासु 111. 37, अग्नि 115. 40, compare महाभाष्य 'आम्नाश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः।' vol. I p. 14.

1005 The verses of the पद्म (सुष्टि 9. 165-169) about what is to be recited are quoted by अपराक्ष p. 502, the first verse स्वाध्यायं etc. being मनु III. 232. Compare नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28 65-68) which among others mentions राक्षोघ्न, वैष्णव and पैतृक (Rg X. 15 1-13) मन्त्रस, पुरुषसूक्त, त्रिमधु, त्रिसुपर्ण. The Sāntika chapter, acc. to हेमाद्रि (श्र.) p. 1075, is वाज सं. 36.10 ff which begins ईं नो वात. पवताम्. The मधुब्राह्मण is what is called मधुविद्या contained in the बृह. उ II 5 (beginning with इयं पृथिवी सर्वेषां भूतानां मधु) and छान्दोग्य III 1 (beginning with असौ वा आदित्यो देवमधु). The मण्डलब्राह्मण is an उपनिषद् (vide Indische Studien III, p. 325). हेमाद्रि (on श्र.) p. 1075 says 'यदेतन्मण्डलं तपतीत्यादि मण्डलब्राह्मणम्.'

(Continued on the next page)

the Fathers, all the Purāṇas, various eulogies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, the Sun, Rudra and the Vedic hymns addressed to Indra, Rudra and Soma and the Pavamāni verses, the Sāmans called Brhat, Rathantara and Jyestha Sāman, the chapter on Śānti rites (propitiatory rites for removing evil events or prognostications), the Madhubrahmana, the Mandala Brāhmana and whatever else gives pleasure to the brāhmanas and the performer, and the Mahābhārata also should be recited, as it is very dear to the pitṛs. After the brāhmanas have finished their dinner the performer should collect together in a lump portions from all kinds of food, put water over them and spread ¹⁰⁰⁶ it (on the ground over darbhas) in front of the plates of the dining brāhmanas and should say ¹⁰⁰⁷ 'May those persons in our

(Continued from the last page)

These verses of the पञ्चपुराण about what it is to be repeated occur in मत्स्य-पुराण also (17.37-39). The राक्षोघ्नमन्त्रः are five verses (Rg IV. 4 1-5 = Vā. S. XIII. 9-13 = Tai S. V. I. 2.14). हेमाद्रि (श्र) pp. 1069-1073 first sets out the texts mentioned by मनु, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र and the पुराण, then gives the vedic texts to be repeated by the respective followers of the four Vedas (pp 1073-1074), then deals with the Saptārcis mantra (vide note 1020). Ultimately Hemādri and Śr. P. say that if a man does not know much he should engage in गायत्रीजप.

1006. The verse सार्वभौगिकमन्त्राय . विकिरन्नुवि in पद्म (सूति 9 170) is the same as Manu III. 244, मत्स्य 17.41 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.21

1007 अग्निद्वग्धा ये जीवा येऽप्यद्वग्धा कुले नमः । शून्यौ द्वतेन हृत्पण्ड वृषा पाण्डु परा गतिम् ॥ वेदा न माता न पिता न बन्धुर्न शान्पानिव न तथाक्रमस्ति । तच्छ्रयेऽन्ये भुवि द्वत्तेन तस्य पाण्डु योगाय यतो यत्तत्तत् ॥ असंस्कृतप्रमीतानां स्वाग्निना कुलयोगिताम् । लङ्घितभाग-वेद्यानां वर्धये विकिरासनम् ॥ पद्म. (सूति 9 171-173) These verses occur in मत्स्य 17. 42-44 which presents various and better readings (viz वृषाण्डु लोकेषु सुखाय सङ्घत् and त्यक्तानां कुलयोगिताम्), नौ य द्वा II 10.42 (येऽग्निद्वग्धा जाता जीवा ये ये त्वद्वग्धा . गतिम्) is almost the same as the first verse. The verse असंस्कृतः in मनु III 245, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81 22, and Skandapurāṇa VI. 218 10-11. कात्यायन as quoted by अपसरक p 505 reads 'ये अग्निद्वग्धा ये अग्निद्वग्धा जीवा जाता कुले नमः । शून्यौ . गतिम्' । Halāyudha in his com on Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasūtra holds that अद्वग्धा is the proper reading and अग्निद्वग्धा is a bad reading and relies on a verse of the Brahmapurāṇa (folio 26b) स्वाग्निना कुलयोगिता in मनु III 245 and elsewhere is explained in different ways. The words may mean 'of persons who abandoned wives descended from good families' or 'of women who forsook their families' or 'of those who committed suicide and of childless women' One can appreciate the kindly and noble sentiments underlying the above verses. In honouring the pūndas, Manu III. 217 (which speaks of salutation to the six seasons) is deemed to provide for salutation of the six seasons as identified with six ancestors mentioned in the words रस-क्षोषजीवस्वधावोत्सृज्य named in वाज स. II. 32 'नमो व. पितरो रस्य . पितरो मर्यवे' Vide आद्वत्तल pp. 241-242.

family that were cremated or not cremated be gratified by the food offered on the ground and being gratified may they attain the highest world (or bliss)! May this food offered on the ground for the gratification of those that have neither father nor mother nor relative nor any other friend and have no food (offered by any one else in śrāddha) proceed for union with them wherever it may have to go! The remainder of the food cooked for śrāddha and food spread on the ground are the lot (or share) of those that died without the saṃskāras (*caula*, *upanayana* and the like) being performed on them, that abandoned their *gurus* and of (unmarried) women of the family. Finding that the brāhmanas are satisfied (by the dinner) he should give water once in the hand of each brāhmana, should place on the ground smeared with cow's dung and urine darbhas with their ends turned to the south and place on them pindas made from all kinds of foods (cooked for the śrāddha dinner) following the method employed in *Piṇḍapitṛyajña* after washing them with water. He should then utter the names and gotra (of the ancestors to whom the pindas are to be offered) and should offer flowers and the rest and should again wash them (pindas). He should perambulate the pindas thrice holding darbhas in his hand and he should light lamps and offer flowers for the pindas. When the brāhmanas sip water after eating the dinner, he should himself sip water and give water once to each of the brāhmanas and flowers and *akṣatās* and then *akṣayyodaka* with sesamum grains. He should then make according to his means presents (to the brāhmanas) of cows,¹⁰⁰⁸ land, gold, clothes, splendid beds and whatever else was liked by the brāhmanas or by the performer himself or his father. He should not be stingy in his presents. Then he should request the brāhmanas to say

1008. पञ्च (सुवि 9 180) is गोषाहिरण्यवात्सोसि भग्नानि क्षयनानि च। दद्याद्विद्वि विप्रानामात्मनः पितुरेव च॥ There is epigraphic and other recorded evidence for gifts of land in śrāddhas. An inscription of Karnadeva, son of Gāṅgeyadeva of the Cedi; year 793 (1042 A. D.) records the grant of a village (called Susi) to a brāhmana on the occasion of the Sāmvatsarika śrāddha of Gāṅgeyadeva at Prayāga, Vide I A. vol. 16 pp. 204-207 for the grant of a village by the Chandella king Devavarmadeva in *samvat* 1107 (1050-51 A. D.) on the anniversary of his mother's death and a grant in 1790 A. D. by Fattesing Bhosle, prince of Alkalkot, to a learned brāhmana of thirty *bigas* of land on the 10th day of his father's death (*Bhārata-īthāsa-saṃśodhana-maṇḍala*, vol. 29, parts 1 and 2, 1948 p. 41). In the *Āśramavāśikaparva* 14 3-4 सुविद्वि is said to have made gifts of gold and jewels, slaves, blankets, villages and fields, elephants and horses with their trappings and of girls to ब्राह्मण in आद्रस for भोजन, द्रौण, दुर्घोषन and others.

'svadhā' and they should do so. Then he should request the brāhmapas to pronounce the following benedictions and should receive them from them while he faces the east. They are 'May the pītṛs be kind (not dreadful) to us'; the brāhmanas should say 'let it be so'; 'May our family increase'; they should say 'so be it'; 'May donors in my family prosper and also (the study of) the Vedas and progeny and may these benedictions come out true.'; they should respond 'let it be so'. He should then remove the pindas and request the brāhmanas to utter the word 'svasti' and they should do so. The remains of the food eaten by the brāhmanas remain (unremoved or unwiped) till the brāhmanas are dismissed; then he should perform the (usual) daily rites *Vaiśvadeva*, *bāhīhoma*¹⁰⁰⁹ &c. The remnants of food that lie on the ground are the share of the group of slaves that were straight-forward and not roguish (dishonest or shirkers). The performer holding a vessel full of water and muttering the verse 'vaje vaje' (Rg. VII. 38. 8, Vāj. S. IX. 18, Tai. S. I. 7. 8. 2) should touch the brāhmapas with the tip of kusas and dismiss them. He should follow them out of his house for eight paces, should circumambulate them, should then return with his relatives, sons and wife, should then perform the daily *Vaiśvadeva* and *bāhīhoma*. Then after *Vaiśvadeva* he should together with his relatives, sons, guests and servants partake of the food that remains in the cooking pots after what was eaten by the brāhmanas.

It should be noticed how closely the Padmapurāṇa follows the procedure (including the mantras) contained in Yājñavalkya. What procedure the author of a Purāṇa follows depends upon his learning and the sūtra that he studied. For example, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* I.140 appears to rely on the Āp. gr. and the Āp. M. P. (II. 19-20), since I. 140. 12 refers to Āp. M. P. II. 19.1, I. 140. 29-30 to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14-16, I. 140. 35 to Āp. M. P. II. 20.1. Similarly, Skanda (VI. 224. 3-51) closely follows Āśv. gr. and Yāj.

Owing to the difference in details of śrāddha in the several grhyasūtras, the smṛtis and the purāṇas, an important question arises whether a person should perform a śrāddha rite only in accordance with the grhyasūtra of his own Veda or Śākhā or whether he may perform it after the inclusion (*upasaṁhāra*) of

¹⁰⁰⁹. दम, दृष्टिखण्ड 9. 185-186 are the same as मनु III. 265, 246 and Matsya 17. 56-57.

the several items found in other sūtras and smrtis though not included in the kalpa or grhya sūtra of his own Śākha. This topic is discussed at great length by Hemādri (on śrāddha) pp. 748-759 and briefly by Medhātithi on Manu II. 29 and XI. 216, by the Mit on Yāj. III. 325, Aparārka p. 1053 and others. Those who are for strictly following the details in one's own sūtra alone argue as follows: If one were at liberty to include details other than those contained in one's own sūtra, the order of the details (*kāma*) given in one's sūtra and the time specified for each detail would be interfered with. Besides, if the addition of details were permissible, one would be liable to the charge of giving up the usages of one's own family handed down for generations. These objectors rely upon such passages as that of the Visnudharmottara which states 'He who violating (the dictates of) his own sūtra acts according to a sūtra meant for others, treats thereby his own sage (the author of his sūtra) as unauthoritative and incurs (the blame of) doing what is improper.'¹⁰¹⁰ The smrtis that contain additional details may be meant for those men who have no kalpa or grhya sūtra of their own or they may be useful for śūdras.

Those who espouse the view that as far as possible all details found in several grhyasūtras and smrtis on one rite should be included by every one rely mainly on Jaimini II. 4. 8-33 which is called 'śākhantarādhikarananyāya' or 'sarvaśākhāpratyayanāya'. The principal sūtra is Jai. II. 4. 9.¹⁰¹¹ It is established in this sūtra that the *prayōjana* (purpose) or *phala* (reward to be secured) of the rite is the same in different sūtras and smrtis. For example, the rewards of śrāddha are stated to be the same in all sūtras and smrtis (vide notes 787-790 above); then the *dravya* (materials) and the deity are the same (in *Pārvaṇa* śrāddha the deities are the paternal ancestors and the materials,

1010. याः स्मृत्यन्तर्गतिक्रम्य परस्मिन्नेव वर्तते । अपमानमुपि कृत्वा सौम्यधर्मेण शुज्यते ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 127, 148-149.

1011. एकं वा संयोग-रूप-चोदनाख्याविशेषात् । जै II. 4. 9 (separate as चोदना + आख्या + अविशेषात्), on this शबर explains 'तदेव प्रयोजनमुद्दिश्य तदेव विधीयमानं मत्संनिजानीमः । रूपमप्यस्य तदेव द्रव्यदेवतम् । उपपद्यन्तस्तोदना एव चोद्यते । नामधेयं चाविशिष्टम् । तेन तदेव कर्म सर्वशाखास्त्विति ज्ञेयम् ।' The तन्त्रवार्तिक explains 'संयोग इति माध्यायात् कलसंयोगग्रहणम् ।...चोदनेति सर्वधात्वर्थभावनाविधयो विधिः ।' Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 870 for a brief explanation of this सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययन्याय. मेधा. on मनु XI. 216 puts the maxim very briefly as 'आप्यायस्य सं ते पयंसि-इति स्मृत्यन्तर्गतो विधिरपेक्षितव्यः । एकशास्त्रत्वात्सर्वस्मृतीनामसति विरोधे समग्रं योज्यं विरोधे तु विकल्पः'.

viz. *kuśas*, tilas, water, vessels, foods &c. are the same in all works). The effort that is enjoined (the *vidhā*) is the same and the name (*Pūrvapakāśārūddha*, *Ekoddista śrāddha* &c.) is the same. Therefore, on account of these various signs one easily recognizes that the same rite is being dealt with by all sūtras, even if many of them differ in details. It cannot be said that smrtis will be useful for those who have no sūtras of their own. Each man of the first three varnas is attached to some sūtra or other by the tradition of his family or caste. Similarly, the smrtis cannot be held to be meant for śūdras alone, since the smrtis mainly deal with *upanayana*, the study of the Vedas, *agnihotra* and other matters with which a śūdra has no concern. Similarly, the objection that if details were allowed to be inserted from other sūtras and smrtis the *krama* and *kāla* prescribed in one's sūtra might have to be set aside, the reply is contained in Jai. I. 3. 5-7 (explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 841-848).¹⁰¹² The *śruti* says 'after getting ready a bundle of kuśa grass he prepares the *vedi* (altar)'. Here a certain order of acts is laid down. If after a bundle of kuśas is got ready, the man has a sneeze, he has to sip water (perform *ūcamana*) immediately as laid down by Manu V. 145 and Vas. III. 38 before he prepares the *vedi*. So the objector says the *krama* will be interfered with. The reply is that the sequence (*krama*) is only a characteristic of the items in the *śruti* passage, that all that is meant is that the making of the altar follows the getting ready of a kuśa bundle, but that it is not meant that the making of the *vedi* should follow immediately after the bundle is got ready. Therefore, the conclusion is that whatever detail is not in conflict with one's own śākhā or sūtra may be included in the rite one is about to perform, but if there is a direct conflict, then one should stick to one's own sūtra. As observed by Kātyāyana 'whatever is declared, whether in great detail or in brief, in one's own gṛhyasūtra about a rite, if he performs that much, it may be taken that he has done all that is required of him; but what is not handed down in one's śākhā (or sūtra) but is contained in another śākhā and is not in conflict with one's own śākhā, should be performed by the learned, as in the case of

1012. अपि वा कारणाग्रहणे प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् । जै. I. 3. 7 On this शबर observes: आचान्तेन कर्तव्यं यज्ञोपवीतिना कर्तव्यं ... इत्येवंलक्षणप्रयुक्ताहरणानि । किनेतानि श्रुतिविरुद्धानि न कर्तव्यानि उताविरुद्धानि कार्यानि चेत्प्रत्यसि तैरप्यनुष्ठीयमानैर्विदिके किंचिन्न कुप्यति तस्मादविरुद्धानीति । नैतदेवम् । शास्त्रपरिच्छिन्नं हि क्रमं यायेरन् । कथम् । वेदं कृत्वा वेदं कुर्वीतित्वा श्रुतिमुपबन्धावन्तरा वेदं वेदं चानुष्ठीयमानमाचमनादि । This *pūrvapakāśa* is refuted later on.

āgnihotra and the like'.¹⁰¹³ The first verse of Kātyāyana may be explained as applying where one's śākhā or sūtra deals with a matter without requiring any addition or as the next best course where one is not able to supplement one's sūtra owing to some unseen cause or owing to human difficulties. The Sangraha says that where different items of the śrāddha rite are declared to be performed at different times and there is no agreement among the sages, one should follow one's grhya-sūtra, but where one's grhyasūtra is silent as to a certain item or, as to the stage when it is to be performed, there is an option and one may follow the opinion of some sage as to that item.¹⁰¹⁴ It appears that even the ancient grhya sūtras exhibit tendencies that led to the sarvaśākhā-pratyaya-nyaya e. g. Āśv. gr. (q. in n 966) employs several passages (such as 'Tilosi', 'Yā divyā,' which do not occur in the Rgveda.)

It is owing to this maxim of 'sarvaśākhā-pratyayanyaya' that medieval digests go on heaping up details from all smrtis and purānas in their descriptions of the several śrāddhas, the procedures of which were not originally very extensive.

The Kūrmapurāṇa¹⁰¹⁵ provides that the performer should before noon time is past bring to his house the invited brāhmanas

1013. अविकृद्धानि तु परशास्त्रात्मनातानि सर्वाण्यप्यङ्गान्पुनस्तद्वत् कर्माजुष्टेयम् । तदुक्तं भविष्यपुराणे । यस्मात्मातं स्वशाखायां पारक्यमविरोधि यत् । विद्वद्भिस्तदजुष्टेयमग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा ॥ इति । हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 759 This verse is गोभिलस्मृति I. 35 (reads परीकृतमविरोधि and ° होत्रादिकमवत्), अपराकं p 8 and स्मृतिच. I p 5 quote this verse as कात्यायन's and also another of his 'बह्वर्पं वा स्वयङ्होत्रं यस्य कर्म प्रकीर्तितम् । तस्य तावति शास्त्रार्थे कृते सर्वं कृतो भवेत् ॥'. हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 756 quotes this last verse as वैजपायन's Both verses (बह्वर्पं ° and यस्मात्मातं °) are quoted as from the परिशिष्ट by हलायुध in his com. on the आङ्गसूत्र of कात्यायन (folio 30 a). The स्मृतिच (I p 5) adds another half verse of कात्यायन viz. आत्मतन्त्रे तु यस्मात्कं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम् । In आत्मतन्त्र, तन्त्र means सिद्धान्त (i. e. one's sūtra) अग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा—This is explained by आङ्गसौख्य (दोडरानन्द folio 64a) as follows. 'यथा छन्दोगानामनुक्तोपि यजुर्वेदविहितोऽग्निहोत्रादिकं क्रियते'

1014 यान्यत्र कालभेदेन कर्माणि हुनयो जम् । स्वयङ्होक्तानुसारेण विकल्पस्तेषु ज्यते ॥ न गृह्यादिस्मृतियेषा आङ्गादाजुपलभ्यते । कर्तुमर्हन्ति ते कृत्वा यस्य कस्य हुनेर्मेतम् ॥ संग्रह प by हेमाद्रि (आ. p 1484) The आ क्रि. कौ p. 125 briefly puts the position as follows 'आकाशितं परशास्त्रोक्तमपि कर्तव्यमनाकाशितं तु न कर्तव्यमेव । पुराणोक्तं तु आकाशितमनाकाशितं वा सामान्यधर्मत्वात्सर्वेराजुष्टेयम् । तत्रापि स्वशास्त्रोक्ताविरोधना कार्यमिति ।' The following verse quoted from Gobhila by the com. on Sān Sr. S IV 4. 10-15 takes a very strict view 'ऊनो वाप्यधिको वापि यः स्वशास्त्रोन्थितो विधि । तेन सन्तुष्टयाद्यज्ञं न कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम् ॥'

1015 ततो निवृत्ते मध्याह्ने ह्यसरोमनखान् द्विजान् । अवगम्य (अभिमग्य?) यथामार्गं प्रपच्छेदन्तथावनम् । आसध्वमिति सजल्पकासीरंस्ते पृथक् पृथक् । तैलमग्न्यञ्जनं स्नानं स्नानीयं च पृथग्विधम् । कूर्मे (उत्तरार्ध 22 20-21) In B I edition the order of verses is different. The first is quoted by हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 1167 from देवल and कूर्मे and by कल्पतरु (आ p. 117) from देवल.

who have shaved themselves and pared their nails, should offer them materials for brushing the teeth and request them to sit down on separate seats, then give them oil and water for bathing. It will be seen that here the purāṇa has added several details that were not provided for by the Āśv. gr. (n. 966), Manu (III. 208), Yāj. (I. 226) and even by some of the purāṇas such as the Varāha 14. 8, which begin the procedure with seating the brāhmanas in the afternoon on seats after welcoming them. Many more examples could be given, but that attempt is not made owing to considerations of space.

Before proceeding to give some idea as to how the pārvana-śrāddha was dealt with in medieval and modern times, observations must be made on several relevant matters, on which there is a difference of views or which are important in a general way.

When the invited brāhmanas come after noon, it is provided in some of the purāṇas that two *maṇḍalas* should be made in front of the performer's residence for receiving the brāhmanas. For example, the Nārada-purāṇa states¹⁰¹⁶ 'the mandala for a brāhmana performer should be square (four cornered) in size, for a kṣatriya triangular, circular for a vaiśya and for a śūdra mere sprinkling of the ground with water is enough.' The *maṇḍalas* should be made on ground smeared with cowdung and with water mixed with cow's urine. Of the two mandalas one should be on the northern side sloping towards the north and the other on the southern side sloping towards the south. On the northern mandala kuśas with points towards the east should be placed along with aksata (unbroken or whole) grains and on southern one double-folded kuśas should be placed along with sesamum grains. The northern mandala should generally be two cubits on each side while the southern one should be four cubits on each side. The brāhmana or brāhmanas that represent the *Viśvedevāḥ* should be honoured in the northern mandala first by the performer himself with water for washing their feet after bending his right knee and the brāhmanas representing the *pitṛs* should be then honoured in the southern mandala with water for washing the feet (hence called *pādya*) after bending his left knee. The mantra at the time of offering *pādya* is 'śan

1016 आद्वार्थं समनुज्ञातः कारयेन्मण्डलद्वयम् । चतुरस्रं ब्राह्मणस्य त्रिकोणं क्षत्रियस्य च । वैश्यस्य वर्तुलं ज्ञेयं शूद्रस्याशुक्षणं भवेत् ॥ नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्धे 28 32-33); सौरपुराण (19. 13-14) has almost the same verse as 'चतुरस्रं' etc. Vide अपराकं p 475 for मण्डलः.

no devir' Rg. X. 9. 4).¹⁰¹⁷ After the mantra is recited he should give the water to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas and to the pitrya brāhmanas as noted below (in n.1017). After the pādya water is offered the brāhmanas should come in front of the maṇḍalas and sip water (take *ūcamna*).

The ancient sūtras and smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. (I. 229) say generally that the Viśvedevāḥ are to be invoked, but some of the later smṛtis (such as Prajāpati, verses 179-190) and purāṇas contain verses enumerating ten names of Viśvedevās and assign two each (out of the ten) to five classes of śrāddhas. They say:¹⁰¹⁸ "in śrāddha performed in an *ṛṣi* the Viśvedevas are Kratu and Dakṣa, in a Nāndimukha śrāddha they are Vasu and Satya, in Kāmyaśrāddha Dhuri and Locana, in naimittika śrāddha Kala and Kāma and in Pārvana-śrāddha Purūravas and Ādrava'. According to the Sm. C. and Hemādri a seat (*ūcana*) is to be given to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas and invocations are to be made in the several śrāddhas after taking the names enumerated above. The Mit on Yāj I. 229, Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1225) and other digests state that the mantras

1017. सं नो देवीरिति मन्त्रं पठित्वा उरुरगार्द्धसङ्गता विश्वेदेवा इदं वः पायमिति दद्यात् । एवं विप्रर्थं ब्राह्मणपादयोरपि शक्तौ देवीति मन्त्रान्तो पितरुक्कोत्राद्युक्शनर्न पशुरुप इदं ते पायमिति दद्यात् । मद्. पा. p. 567.

1018. ऋतुर्वशो बहु सत्यः काल कामस्तथैव च । धुरिश्चोचनश्चैव तथा चैव उरुरगः । आर्द्धश्च दशैते तु विश्वे देवाः प्रकीर्तिताः । बृहस्पति q. by अपराक p. 478, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 142), रघुलिख (आ. pp 442-443); the words विश्वे देवाः are to be kept separate and not compounded. 'इष्टिआद्धे ऋतुर्वश सत्यो नाग्नीमुखे बहु' । नैमित्तिके काटकासौ काम्ये च धुरिलोचनौ ॥ उरुरग आर्द्धश्च पार्षणे सहस्राक्षनौ । बृह q. by अपराक p. 478, आ. म. p. 23, मद्. पा. (p. 573-574) which explains 'इष्टिआद्धमाधानादौ क्रियमाण ... । नैमित्तिके सपिण्डीकरणे । कामनपाद्युत्तेययामहालययादि आद्धे काम्यम् । इष्टिआद्ध is the कर्माङ्गआद्ध, 9th among the 12 आद्धs quoted above from विश्वामित्र (in n. 858) The आ. म. p. 23 notes the different readings of some of the names such as उरुरगत् and आर्द्ध, some saying the first is उरुरग and the second is माद्र. The printed आद्धतर p. 199 has माद्र. and so has लोडतानद् (आद्धसौदय folio 57 a) आद्धतर explains इष्टिआद्ध as इच्छाआद्ध and नैमित्तिक as एकोद्दिष्ट. The आ. क्रि. कौ. (p. 56) reads 'पुरोवा' and माद्र. कल्पतरु (आ. p. 142) reads माद्र.श्च दशैते तु The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (III. 3. 30-31) enumerates the ten विश्वेदेवा somewhat differently. It reads 'उरुरवो माद्र.सो रोचमानश्च' The ब्रह्माण्ड (III. 12. 3 ff.) states that ten sons were born to विश्वा, one of the daughters of दक्ष. When they performed severe *tapas* on a Himālaya peak Brahmā gave them the boon they wanted (आद्धेरमान भवेदंशो षष्ठ न काशितो वरः) and the pitrs agreed. The pitrs said (verse 13) 'अये दत्ता तु पुत्रमनमस्मान् ददधते तत । विसर्जनमथारमान् पूर्वं पश्चात्तु देवतम्' । This legend is obviously an attempt to explain the usage about vaiśvadeva brāhmanas at a आद्ध.

for invoking the Viśvedevas in Pārvana-śrāddha are two viz. 'Viśvedevāsa āgata' (Rg. II. 41. 13) and 'āgacchantu mahābhaga' (q. above in note 984), while the Sm. C. (p. 444) prescribes an additional mantra 'viśve devāḥ śrunuta' (Rg. VI. 52. 13).

The general rule is that the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas are to be seated facing the east and the *pitṛya* brāhmanas facing the north (Yāj I. 228, Varāha 14. 11), but there were at least five differing views about the directions which the brāhmanas were to face as Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1200) points out. It is further pointed out by Hemādri and others (like Yāj I. 247) that in all items in the procedure of śrāddha the Vaiśvadevika brāhmanas have precedence except in the matter of washing the hand smeared with the remains of food and the final dismissal of the brāhmanas at the end of the śrāddha.¹⁰¹⁹ It may be noted that in southern and western India brāhmanas invited at śrāddha are worshipped, while in Bengal it is the effigy made with darbhas (darbhābatu) that is worshipped as shown by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri (Catalogue of Mss. vol. III p. 406). The Śrāddha-tattva (folio 2b) of Raghunandana provides for the same: 'pūrūrāvā-mādravaṣaṁ vśvesām devānām pūrva-śrāddham laśūmayabrāhmaṇe karāsyē itī precheṭ.'

In the Vāyupurāṇa¹⁰²⁰ it is stated that the following mantra should be repeated thrice at the beginning and end of a śrāddha and at the time of offering pinda; on repeating it the *pitṛs* come quickly to the śrāddha and *rākṣasas* run away and that the mantra saves the *pitṛs* in all the three worlds. The mantra is 'Perpetual adoration to the gods, to *pitṛs* and to the great *Yogins*, to *svadhā*, to *svāhā*'. The Sm C (on śrāddha

1019. उच्छिष्टवर्तितहस्तशालनं विसर्जनं च वर्जयित्वा सर्वेषां आर्जयिष्यदीर्घानां वैश्वदेविकपुर्वकत्वात् । हेमाद्रि (आ) p 1196 'This is supported by विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 15 'वैश्वदेवनिविष्टानां चरमं हस्तधावनम् । विसर्जनं च निर्दिष्टं तेषु रक्षा यत् स्थिता ॥'

1020. मन्त्रं बहुयान्यहं तस्माद्युतं ब्रह्मनिर्मितम् । देवतान्यः पितृन्मन्त्रं महायोगिन्म एव च । नमः स्वधायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव भवन्त्युत । आचारवसाने आहार्य विराजते जपेस्तदा । पिण्डनिर्वापणे चैव जपेदेतत्समाहितः । पितरः क्षियमायान्ति राक्षसाः प्रद्वलन्ति च । पितृत्तत्विजु लोकेषु मन्त्रोऽयं तारयत्युत ॥ वायुपुराण 74 15-18. These verses are स्कन्द VII. 1. 206, 114-116, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 11. 17-18, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 140. 68-72 (with slight variations). The मन्त्र occurs in गरुडपुराण (आचारखण्ड) 218 6. कल्प-तरु (आ) p. 144 quotes these. In most other purāṇas the मन्त्र ends 'नित्यमेव नमो नमः' हेमाद्रि (on आद्र pp 1079 and 1208) calls it सप्तविंश and notes that it occurs in seven purāṇas. It is stated in some works that the reading भवन्त्युत is for followers of सामवेद अथ सम्बन्धनात्मनोऽवशब्दानां नानाक्रमदर्शनादिकल्पः । स ऐच्छिकः शास्त्राभिदेन वा व्यवस्थितः । आ प. p. 29.

p. 441) states that the mantra should be repeated after the brāhmaṇas come and sit down and before kuśas are placed on the seats of the brāhmaṇas. This mantra occurs also in Brahmapurāṇa 220. 143, Brahmanda (Upodghātapāda 11. 22), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140 68-70 and is styled 'saptārcis' by the last two and is said to be equal to Āsvamedha.

A certain order of words about referring to the ancestors in offering a seat, offering kuśas on seat, and *arghya* is laid down by Brhaspati,¹⁰²¹ some of the purāṇas and the digesters. As almost in every case there are different views here also. Brhaspati says: 'when giving a seat, when offering *arghya*, or pindas, in offering ablutions of water on pindas, the performer has to declare his relation to each of the ancestors, the names and *gotras* of the ancestors and also the form in which each of the ancestors is to be contemplated (viz as Vasu, Rudra, Āditya respectively). It is further laid down that the genitive is to be employed for the ancestor's name in offering a seat (to the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa) and *aksayyodaka*, the objective in invoking the pitṛs, the dative in offering food, the vocative in other cases.

It is laid down that the performer has to take *ācamana* (sip water) in śrāddha rite six times viz., at the commencement of śrāddha, when washing the feet of invited brāhmaṇas, in worshipping them, in making the *vikṛa*, in offering pindas and at the end of the śrāddha.¹⁰²²

1021 आसने चार्घ्यदाने च पिण्डदानेऽवनेजने । सम्बन्धनामगोत्राणि यथार्हमस्तु-
कीर्तयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति ५. by हेमाद्रि (on आ p 1257). The word आसने is only illustra-
tive and is meant to include आवाहन and other पित्र्य items. अक्षर्यासनेयोः
पठ्यो द्वितीयावाहने तथा । अन्नदाने चतुर्थी स्याच्छेषाः सम्बन्धयः स्तुताः ॥ सम्बन्धं प्रथमं
ब्रूयात् नानगोत्रं तथैव च । पश्चाद्रूपं विजानीयात् क्रम एव सनातनः ॥ आङ्गकालिका folios
6b and 7a, आङ्गसंग्रह ५ by स्तुतिच (आ.) p. 442 and p. 449. The verse
अक्षर्यासने is found in नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28, 38) also. The स्तुत्यर्थसार (p 50)
quotes it as from श्लोकसंग्रहकारस्तुति. The formula may be 'ओ असुक्तगोत्राणान-
शुकशर्मणामस्त्यिदृणां सपत्नीकानां वसुरुपाणानिदनासन्नम्'; then in place of पितॄणां
पितामहानां and प्रपितामहानां and in place of वसुरुपाणां, रुद्ररूपाणां and आदित्य-
रूपाणां will have to be respectively employed. The words may also be
employed in the singular as the स्तुतिच (आ p 449) says 'एतास्तु च षट्त्रयवि-
विमक्तिषु सर्वत्रैकवचनबहुवचनयोरपिकल्प एव स्तुतिपुराणश्रद्धादिषु पितृपितामहादिशब्दानां
कचिद्वैकवचनान्त्या कचिद्बहुवचनान्त्या च प्रयोगदर्शनात् ॥

1022. स्तुत्यन्तरे । आङ्गारम्भेऽवसाने च पादशौचे द्विजाचने । विकिरे पिण्डदाने च
पृष्ठे चार्चनन चरेत् ॥ ५ by पृथ्वीचन्द्र (on आ) folio 62a.

An important question which exercised the minds of many mediaeval writers was 'who was the real recipient (*sampradāna*)¹⁰²³ of the offerings made in śrāddha, whether the brāhmanas or the pitrs'. Relying on the words of the Āśv. gr. IV. 8.1 (quoted above in n. 966 'etasmīn kālē ... dānam) and passages of the purānas such as the Varāha (13. 51) 'vibhave sati viprebhyo asmān uddiśya dāsyati', the Mahānavaprakāśa, Harihara and some others held that brāhmanas were the recipients, while others like Śrīdatta, relying on indications furnished by *śruti* passages like Vāj. S. 19. 36 (*akṣan pitarah amīmadanta pitarah*) and such formulas as 'pitar-etal te arghyam' or 'etadīah pitaro vāśah,' hold that the real recipients intended were the pitrs, but, as the pitrs had gone to another world and could not be bodily present to receive the gifts of such things as sandalwood paste, flowers and clothes, the latter were only handed over or assigned to the brāhmanas who were for the moment contemplated as not different from the pitrs.^{1023a} Vide Sm. C. (śrāddha pp. 447-449), Śr. Pr. pp. 30-31 for a discussion of these two viewpoints. It should, however, be noted that the water given to the brāhmanas and the *dakṣiṇā* given to them were only meant for the brāhmanas, the former for purification and the latter for the inexhaustible merit that *dakṣiṇā* to brāhmanas conferred.

It is to be noted that in the invocation (*āvāhana*) of the pitrs there is a divergence of views as to the mantras to be employed and also as to the stage when it is to be made. Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1254-56) states that there were five different views on the latter point, the three most important of which were that *āvāhana* should come before giving darbhas as *āsana* on the left side of the seats of the *pitrya* brāhmanas or after giving such darbhas or after *agnaukarāṇa*. As regards the former (*viz.* the mantras), Yāj. (I. 232-233), the Brahmandapurāṇa and several others say that the invocation mantra is 'uśantas-tva' (Rg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai S. II. 6. 12. 1) and after the *āvāhana* the performer should perform *japa* of the verse 'a yantu nah' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra¹⁰²⁴ (73. 10-12) states 'The performer after having received

1023. For the meaning of संप्रदान, vide पा. I. 4. 32 'कर्माणा यमभिप्रेति स संप्रदानम्'.

1023 a. Vide n. 911 for the विष्णुपुराण passage (III. 14. 22-23) which means 'that will give jewels &c to brāhmanas for our benefit'.

1024. सतो ब्राह्मणास्तुतिः पितृनावाहयेत् । अपचन्वत्युत इति हार्या तिलैर्पातुधानानां विसर्जनं कृत्वा । एव पितरो सर्वास्तान् आ मे यन्त्वितद्देः पितर इत्यावाहनं कृत्वा ... । विष्णु.

(Continued on the next page)

permission from the brāhmanas should invite the Manes. Having driven away the *Yātudhānas* (demons) by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two mantras (the first of which begins with 'may the Asuras go away') he should invite the Manes with the four mantras 'come near, ye Manes', 'conduct them here, O Agni!', 'May my (ancestors) come near', 'this is your (share), O Manes'. Hemādri (*śrāddha* pp. 1260-1267) points out how the mantras differ according to different writers.

There is a great deal of discussion about *agnaukārana* mentioned in Yaj. I. 236-237. The Mit points out that if a man has kept śrauta fires by the *sarvādhāna* method then in the pārvana-śrāddha that he offers after pindapitrayajña he offers homa in the Dakṣinagni, as he has no *aupāsana* (i. e. grhya) fire and supports this by quoting a passage which occurs in the Viśvudharmottara-purāṇa.¹⁰²⁵ But if a man consecrates the śrauta fires by the *ardhādhāna*¹⁰²⁶ method, then he has to offer pārvana homa in the *aupāsana* fire and one who is without śrauta fires and has kept up only *aupāsana* fire has to offer homa in that fire. One who has neither the śrauta fires nor the grhya fire offers it in the brāhmaṇa's hand only. The Mit. relies on Manu III. 212 and on two verses from a grhya and comes to the conclusion that one who has consecrated śrauta fires performs homa in dakṣiṇa fire in the case of Anvastakya śrāddha, the śrāddha on the day previous to Astakā, the śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

धर्मसूत्र 73. 10-12. The commentator notes that here it is the काठकीय-आह्व-प्रयोग that is set out. Compare काठकपृष्ठ 63. 2-4, 10 for all these mantras except one 'पितृनावाहविष्णुमोत्तुङ्क्त्वा। अपयन्त्वहुरा इति ह्यग्न्यां तिलैः सर्वतोऽवकीर्य। एत पितर आगच्छत पितर आ मे यन्त्वन्तर्दधे पर्वतेरिति जापेत्वा। ये नामका. पितर एतद्वाः पितरोऽयं यज्ञ इति तिसृभिः कल्पिताक्षमभिमुवाच।' Dr. Caland (the editor) notes that these are not found in the printed काठकसंहिता. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 140. 9-10) corresponds with the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र completely as to the mantras. अन्तर्दधे पर्वते.—is आप. स पा II 19. 4.

1025 यथाह मार्कण्डेयः। आहिताग्निस्तु जुहुयादक्षिणाग्नौ समाहितः। अनाहिताग्निस्तथैव सदे अग्न्यभावे द्विजप्सु वा॥ मिता on या. I. 236. This is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 18, as हेमाद्रि says 'तदेतद्वाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयः' (आ p 1330).

1026 For सर्वाधान and अर्धाधान, vide above n. 991. यतः आह्वाङ्गमशौकरणाक्षौ लौकिकाग्नौ न युक्तः किंतु दक्षिणाग्नावेव स च दर्श एव भवति। अतो दर्शेन विना नाग्नि-होत्रिणः आह्वयः। टीडराजन्द (on आह्व folio 24a). न दर्शेन विना आह्वमाहिताग्ने-द्विजन्मनेः॥ मनु III. 282, which कुल्लुक explains as 'आहिताग्नेर्द्विजस्य नामावास्याप्यति-रेकेण कृष्णपक्षे दक्षिणादौ आह्वं विधीयते.'

performed in the dark half of each month on some day from the 5th and in the case of pārvana-śrāddha, but he performs, in the case of kūmya, ābhyudayika, Ekoddista and Astakā śrāddhas, *homa* only on the pitrya brāhmaṇa's hand; while for one who has kept no sacred fire the *homa* is to be made only in the pitrya brāhmaṇa's hand. Vide Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1328-1344), Bālabhāṭṭi (on ācāra p. 518). The Tadarānanda (śrāddha-saukhyā) following Manu III 282 states that one who is an Agnihotrin cannot perform a pārvana-śrāddha on any day except on *darśa* (i. e. on amāvāsya).

Another important question on which there is great divergence concerns the number of āhutis to be offered in *agnaukarana*, the deities to whom the *homa* was to be offered, the order in which the deities were to be named and the form of words to be used. On these matters there appears to have been divergent views from very ancient times. According to the Śat. Br. II 4. 2. 12-13 the āhutis were only ¹⁰²⁷ two, they were offered to Agni and Soma in that order and the word *svāhā* was used at the end. According to the Tai. Br I 3. 10. 2-3 ¹⁰²⁸ the āhutis were three, they were to be offered to Soma, Agni and to Yama in that order and the formula ended with 'svadhā namah' (and not with 'svāhā'). It is therefore that a verse of Kātyāyana ¹⁰²⁹ says "whether to employ the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namah', whether and when to wear the sacred chord in the yajñopavita form or prācināvita form and what was to be the number of āhutis—all these have to be understood from one's own sūtra." The difference of views which is noticed as far back as the Brāhmaṇas persists in the sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and is briefly indicated here. The Āp. Gr S. (quoted above in n. 981) speaks of thirteen āhutis, seven with food and

1027. स जुहोति । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेत्यप्यग्नौ भिक्षण-
मग्नादधाति तत्स्वित्कुञ्जाजन्तम् । शतपथभा. II. 4. 2. 13 The words अग्नये... पितृमते
स्वाहा are वाज. सं. II. 29.

1028. सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह । ... अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम
इत्याह य एव पितृणामग्निस्तं श्रियाति । तिस्र आहुती जुहोति । तै. ब्रा. I 3 10. 2-3, on
which सायण explains 'ज्ञात्वान्तरगतेन यमापाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति मन्त्रेणैका-
भाहुतिमभियेत्य त्रित्वं विधधाति' Vide अथर्व. 18 4. 71-74 also. आप. श्रौ. (I 8, 3-4
and 6) says 'सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इति दक्षिणाग्नौ जुहोति । यमापाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते
स्वधा नम इति द्वितीयाह । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इति तृतीयाह । न यमाय
जुहोतीत्येके ।'

1029. 'स्वाहा स्वधानमः संन्यमपसंन्यं तथैव च । आहुतीनां तु यो संख्या सोमयमः
स्वधैः ॥ कारत्यायन q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 458).

six with clarified butter. Two āhutis only are mentioned by Āśv. Śrauta II. 6. 12 (quoted in note 974), Āśv. gr. IV. 7. 20, Śāṅkha-Likhita.¹⁰³⁰ Kathaka-grhya, Nārada-purāṇa (pūrvārtha 28. 48) and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa. Three āhutis are mentioned by most of the smṛtis and purāṇas, such as Baud. Dh. S. II. 14. 7,¹⁰³¹ Śān. Śrauta IV. 3 and grhya IV. 1. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 12, Manu III. 211, Varāha-purāṇa¹⁰³² (14. 21-22), Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (Upod-ghātapāda 11. 93-94), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 19. It is here that various combinations of the order of the deities and of the words 'svāhā' and 'svadhā' occur. The texts of a few works are cited below for illustration. Some give the order as 'Soma accompanied by the pitṛs, Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Yama Āṅgiras;,' while others give it as 'Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Soma accompanied by the pitṛs, Yama Vaivasvata &c.' It is further provided that the *āhuti* to Agni is made to the southern side of the fire, to Soma on the northern part of it and in the middle of the two sides to Vaivasvata (Yama).¹⁰³³

Various rules of etiquette about serving food, about the way brāhmanas are to eat and related matters have been laid down from ancient times and are observed even now. The Sm. O (p. 465-470), Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1367-1384), the Śr. Pr. pp. 116-123 and other digests contain elaborate rules on these matters. Yāj. I. 237 prescribes that what remains after offering homa should be served in the plates meant for the brāhmanas representing the Fathers and the plates should preferably be

1030 धूपयन्मनाह्वयैरलङ्कृत्य बाह्याणान्तपूतमन्त्रमनुज्ञात्प दूर्ध्वैर्दक्षिणाग्रैरग्निं परिस्तीर्य जुहुयादग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेति । इति लिखिते q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1354), नद् पा p 589; अग्नौ करवाणीत्युक्त्वा । अग्निं परिस्तीर्य सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमोऽग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्यग्नौ हुत्वा । काठकपृष्ठा 63. 89, उपात्तनाग्निमाधाय स्वयम्भोकाविधानतः । सोमाय च पितृमते स्वधा नम इतीरयेत् ॥ अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इतीह वा । स्वाहान्तेनापि वा माज्ञौ जुहुयात्पितृयज्ञवत् ॥ नारद (पूर्वार्ध 28. 48-49),

1031. अक्षर्यैव तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति । सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नमः स्वाहा । यमाया-ङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नमः स्वाहा । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय तिस्रकृते स्वधा नमः स्वाहेति । तच्छेदेणाक्षमनिधायोऽक्षरेणा एव तिस्रो जुहुयात् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 8-12 It should be noted that बौ employs both स्वधा नमः and स्वाहा. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वाहेति । शाङ्खायनश्रौत IV. 4 1.

1032. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहेति प्रथमाहुतिः । सोमाय वै पितृमते दातव्या तदन्तरम् ॥ वैवस्वताय चैवान्या तृतीया दीयते हुतिः ॥ ब्राह्मण. 14 21-22, सोमायादौ पितृमते कव्यवाहनाय चाग्नये । यमाय चैवाङ्गिरस्वते हुत्वा प्रयतमानतः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 19-20; मार्कण्डेय (28.47-48) prescribes the आहुति as अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा, यमाय मेतपत्ये स्वाहा ।

1033. दक्षिणतोऽग्नये नित्यं सोमालेचरतस्तथा । इतयोरन्तरे नित्यं जुहुयाद्दे विवस्वते ॥ q. by कल्पवच (आ. p. 169),

of silver. Kātyāyana says that the performer who has no fire (either śrauta or smārta) should offer the homa on the hand of the most eminent among the pitrya brāhmanas to the accompaniment of a mantra and should offer the remainder in the plates of the other pitrya brāhmanas.¹⁰³¹ The Sm. C. notes that Yama and the Vāyupurāṇa say that the homa should be in the hand of the *daiva* brāhmana and that on account of this conflict there is an option. It is further provided that a portion of the food from which agnaukarana was effected should be kept aside for making pindas (Mārkaṇḍeya and Garuda). The food should be served by the performer himself wearing the sacred thread in the *yajñopavīta* form or by his wife of the same caste or by some attendant who is purified. Manu (III, 224-229, 231-233, 236-238) contains several rules.¹⁰³² 'Himself holding the vessels full of food with both hands the performer should slowly place them near the brāhmanas seated for dinner while thinking of his ancestors. That food, which is brought near the brāhmanas without (the containing vessel being held in) both hands, is snatched away by wicked *asuras*. The performer being himself pure and concentrating his mind (only on the serving of food) should place the vessels containing the

1031. विष्णवे यः पक्विर्मुख्यस्तस्य पाणान्नग्निसाम् । हुत्वा नमनश्चक्ष्येया कूर्णो पात्रेऽु निक्षिपेत् । गोभिल II, 120 q by स्मृतिच. II p. 462.

1032 a. मनु III, 225 is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S II, 8, 22 and Vas XI, 25. मनु III 224 is पाणि-या उपसंगुह स्वयमकरय वधितम् । विमान्तिके पितृ-व्यायङ्ग्यं शनैकपक्षिपेत्॥ अक्षय is to be taken as अक्षेन and विहर is to be understood after वधितम्. The आङ्गिरस (p. 229) explains: 'पाकस्यास्य आहुत्यं मयं भोजनपात्रे न देयं किन्तु द्यावत्यादिकं पाणिभ्या पात्रसमीपे धृत्वा संस्थाप्य पश्चादुभयपाणिभ्या पात्रान्तरिताभ्यां आद्ये परिवेष्टायत्' and relies on मत्स्य 17, 28 'उभयपाणिभ्यां हस्ताभ्यां पादभ्यां परिवेष्टायत्', ब्रह्मोद्यम्—मनु III, 231. ब्रह्मोद्यम् are such riddles, questions and answers as are found in Tal. S. VII. 4 18, वाज स 23, 9-12 (क. सिद्धेकाकी चरति etc.) and 23, 45-62; At Br. (अथ ब्रह्मोद्यं चक्षुष्यमिष्टपतिरिति एक आहुः॥) Or ब्रह्मोद्यं may mean, as explained by मेधा (ब्रह्मणि वेदे या उद्यन्ते कथ्यन्ते ता ब्रह्मोद्याः), the legends of the wars of gods and asuras, the slaughter of Vṛtra, the story of Saramā &c. Or ब्रह्मोद्या कथा may mean 'talks relating to the exposition of Brahma' (the cause of the world), as Kullūka explains. विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81, 19 is हविर्गोत्रं ब्राह्मणा ह्युद्दीना पृष्टा. This is like Manu III 236. मनु III, 237 is the same as वसिष्ठ XI 32, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 81, 20, Aṅgiras verse 133, Brhad-Yama III, 27, Laghu-Sātaṭapa 103, Viṣṇudharmottara I, 140 46. About the sacred texts and other verses to be recited by the performer (being upavīta) while the brāhmanas are dining, vide above p 445 and notes 994 and 994a. जमदग्नि says 'अपस्येन कर्तव्यं सर्वं आद्यं यथाविधि । सूक्तस्तोत्रजप मुक्त्वा विष्णो च विसर्जनम्' ॥ q. by आद्यम् of पृथ्वीच folio 101a,

side dishes viz. broths, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee and honey on the ground (and not on a wooden stool or the like). The vessels placed on the ground should contain various kinds of food (such as sweetmeats, *pāyasa*), fruits and roots, delicious flesh, spiced or perfumed drinks. Having brought near the brāhmanas all the vessels containing food, he should serve it in the plates declaring the characteristic of each kind of food (saying 'this is sweet, this is sour' &c.). The performer while serving should not shed tears (remembering his ancestors), he should not become angry, should not utter falsehood, he should not touch the (vessel containing) food with his foot and should not serve food with a violent jerk. Whatever is liked by the brāhmanas should be served to them without any grumbling and he should talk about Brahma (or about Vedic riddles), because that is agreeable to the pitra. The performer himself, being pleased, should (by his sweet speech) gladden the brāhmanas, should make them partake of food without hurry, and should urge them on frequently (to take more food) by declaring the good points of the various items of food. All food should be steaming hot and the brāhmanas should partake of it silently and should not themselves speak of the good points of the food even when questioned by the performer. When the food is hot, when the brāhmanas eat in silence and when the good qualities of the food are not declared by the brāhmanas, the Fathers partake of it. When a brāhmana (at a śrāddha dinner) partakes of food, having his head covered with a garment (a turban &c) or facing the south or having his sandals on, evil spirits partake of the food (and not the Fathers). As early as Gaut., it is provided that the food for the brāhmanas should be of the highest sort and should be enriched by condiments and flavoured.

Some of the other rules are: The Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 57-62) states who should cook the food for the śrāddha dinner. The wife, any fortunate (or handsome) woman of the performer's gotra whose husband is living and who has a son or brother and is devoted to waiting upon her elders, the performer's teacher's wife, his maternal uncle's wife, paternal or maternal aunt, his sister, his daughter or daughter-in-law, all of them having their husbands alive, should engage in the cooking of the food for śrāddha. Women of good family, who have a large progeny, whose husbands are alive and who are about 50 years old or these women if they have become widows, and the wife of one's paternal uncle or brother, one's mothers (natural or

step-mothers) and the mothers of one's father may cook the śrāddha food and also a woman of the same gotra who is mild by temper. In the Anuśāsana parva (92.15) it is stated that a woman belonging to a gotra other than that of the deceased should not be employed for cooking śrāddha food. One's brother, paternal uncle, brother's son, sister's son, one's son, pupil, one's daughter's son or daughter's husband may also engage in cooking the śrāddha food, but not a woman who wears a white and wet garment, who has let her hair loose, who does not wear a bodico, who is ill or who has bathed her head. Before the brāhmanas begin to eat, the food should be first served in the plates for the Vaisvadeva brāhmanas and then in those of the *pitrya* brāhmanas (Visnu Dh S. 73 13-14), but once the brāhmanas have begun to eat there is no such precedence, whatever each brāhmana may be noted as requiring should be served to him (as indicated by Manu III. 231). The performer of the śrāddha when serving food to the brāhmanas (including *pitrya*) wears his sacred thread in the upavīta form. Though it is said that the food should be hot, that does not apply to such eatables as curds, fruits and roots and flavoured ¹⁰³⁵ drinks (as Śankha XIV.13 and Skandapurāṇa say). As Hemādri (śrāddha p. 1371) points out, the serving of food in a śrāddha rite should be done with the right hand supported by the left; besides, nothing should be served with the bare hand or with a single hand, but with a wooden ladle or other utensil (but not an iron one). All cooked food, all side dishes and ghee should be served with a ladle (and not with the bare hand) but not water or eatables like *laddus*. No salt was to be directly served (Visnu Dh S. 79. 12). In Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra it is provided ¹⁰³⁶ "The food that remains after *agnaukarana* should be served in the plates of the *pitrya* brāhmanas and the performer should touch

1035. उष्णमक्ष द्विजातिभ्यः श्रद्धया विनिवेद्यायेत् ॥ अन्यत्र फलपुष्पेभ्यः पानकेभ्यश्च पण्डितः ॥ हस्ते दत्त्वा तु वै रसेर्हल्लिखणव्यञ्जनानि च । आयसेन च पात्रेण तद्वै रक्षसि ति ह्युच्यते ॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII 206 37-39; शङ्ख (14 12-13) has the first verse but with slight variations and also कूर्म II. 22. 64, शक्तितः मरुपेक्षं उष्णसत्कारविधिरक्षस्य । गो. 15. 6.

1036. पिण्डपितृत्यज्जनवस्तु हस्तोर्ध्वं दत्त्वा पात्रमालभ्य जपति पृथिवी ते पानं द्यौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे अमृतं अमृतं ब्रह्मोमि स्वादेति वेणव्यर्चा यजुषा वातुष्टमन्त्रेऽवगाह्यापहता इति तिलान् मनीषीर्गणं स्विष्टमर्कं दद्याच्छर्कणा वा । कार्याः श्रद्धाश्च 3 quoted and explained by Hemādri on Śrāddha p. 1374. The वेणवी rk is 'इव विष्णुर्विचक्रमे' (मं I. 22.17) and वेणवी *yajus* is 'विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्य' (तै सं. I. 1. 3. 1. वाज सं. I. 4.), अपहता—Is वाज. सं. II. 29.

each plate for those brāhmanas after repeating the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel, the sky is the cover, I offer nectar in the brāhmana's nectar-like mouth; svāhā'. Then the performer plunges the (-right) thumb of the *pitrya* brāhmana in the food (the remains of the homa in fire) with the *rk* or *yajus* addressed to Visnu; and after scattering sesamum grains all round the place where the dinner is to go on with the mantra 'the asuras and rāksasas) are struck and driven away' he (the performer) should serve hot food very much liked (by the departed or by the brāhmanas)". Yaj. I. 238 briefly refers (as translated above) to the mantras and the item of plunging the thumb of the brāhmanas in the food; and so does the Baud. Dh. S. also (II. 8. 15-16). The Kālika-purāṇa prescribes¹⁰³⁷ that the thumb of the brāhmana should be moved about in the food covered with ghee and honey with the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel &c.' because Visnu in the form of the thumb protects food meant for sacrifices to gods and manes. The Baud. Pīrmedhasūtra provides that while plunging the thumb of the brāhmana in the food served it should be so arranged that the nail of the thumb is not smeared with food.¹⁰³⁸ Vasiṣṭha provides that the brāhmanas eating śrāddha food should always hold the plate from which they are eating with (the left) hand till the end of the dinner. Śankha-Likhita provide¹⁰³⁹ that brāhmanas (eating śrāddha food) should not declare the good or bad points of the food served, should not say what is untrue, should not praise each other, nor should they say 'there is plenty of food and drink (and so do not serve more food),

1037. धृत्वाङ्गुष्ठं द्विजानां तु आवर्त्याज्यमधुप्लुते । पृथिवी त इति मन्त्रेण हव्यकव्ये च रक्षयेत् ॥ विष्णुर्द्व्यङ्गुष्ठरूपेण तस्य चाक्षस्य रक्षिता । कालिकापुराण q by हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1378) अयैतानि ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपनिक्षिप्य ब्राह्मणस्याङ्गुष्ठेनानखेनादृशति-अह्यग्ना उप-तिष्ठतु-इति । श्री पितृनेधसूत्र II. 9 19 (Mysore ed.)

1038 तस्माद्वक्षस्य (न्य?) हस्तेन कुर्याद्वक्षसुपागतम् । भोजनं (भाजनं?) वा समालम्ब्य तिष्ठेत्तोच्छेपणे शुभे (तोच्छेपणाद् द्विज ?) ॥ वसिष्ठ 11 26 explained by हेमाद्रि (आ) p 1024 as 'तस्माद्यदेवाक्षसुपागतं भवति ततः प्रभृत्योच्छेपणात् शुक्तशिष्टाक्षस्य भाजनाद्द्विज-कारणपर्यन्तं वामहस्तेन भाजनं विधृत्य तिष्ठेत् । कण्डूयनाद्यर्थं वामहस्तस्यापारसमये तु दक्षिण-हस्तेन भाजनं समालम्ब्य वर्ततेति तात्पर्यार्थः' आ p. 119 reproduces this explanation verbatim.

1039 शङ्खलिखितौ । ब्राह्मणा अजगुर्न दोषं नाभिवद्वेयुर्नादृतं ह्युरन्योन्यं न प्रशंसे-उरक्षपानं न प्रभृतमिति ह्युरन्यत्र हस्तसंज्ञाया । q by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p 1019, आ p 118, which says पात्रे प्रभृतमक्षमस्ति अन्यत्र परिवर्त्यमिति भोक्तृभिरनं वक्तव्यं किंतु दस्तसङ्केतेन सूचनीयमित्यर्थः ।

except by signs made with the hand.' Whatever is offered in a brāhmana's hand (by way of agnaukarana) and whatever food is placed in the plates should be mixed up and eaten. Hemādri quotes passages from the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra and from the Skandapurāṇa setting out the mantras wherewith certain articles were to be served; e. g. the Skandapurāṇa says that *pāyasa* should be served with the verse 'namo vah pitaro' (Vāj. S. II. 32, Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 5), clarified butter with the mantra 'Tojosi śukram', curds with the mantra 'dadhikrāvo' (Rg. IV. 39. 6, Vāj. S. 23. 32, Tai. S. 1. 5. 11. 4). Ap Dh. S. (II. 8, 18, 11) provides that the leavings of a śrāddha dinner should not be given to one who is inferior to the invited brāhmanas in qualities and Manu III. 249 states that the man who after eating śrāddha dinner gives the leavings to a śūdra falls in the Kālasūtra Hell.

The Matsyapurāṇa and some other works provide that the brāhmanas should pronounce blessings on the performer (who faces the east) after they have sipped water and have been given water, flowers and *akṣata* grains. The performer prays 'May our Fathers be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us.' The brāhmanas reply 'let it be so'. The performer prays 'May our family grow', 'May donors increase in our family and also food', 'May these blessings turn out to be true'. To all these the brāhmanas reply after each one of the prayers¹⁰⁴⁰ 'May it be so'. There are rules about the time when the leavings or particles of food in the plates of the brāhmanas that ate the dinner should be removed or swept away Vas. (XI 21-22) and the Kūrmapurāṇa provide that the leavings of food should not be removed till the Sun sets, since streams of nectar flow from them, which are drunk by the (spirits of) those departed persons for whom no water was offered. Manu III. 265 (which is the same as Matsya 17 56 and Padma, Sṛstikhaṇḍa 9.185) provides another rule that the leavings of the food in the plates may remain where they are till the brāhmanas are dismissed and depart.

1040. तत स्वधावाचनिक विश्वेदेवेषु चोदकम् ॥ दत्वाही प्रतिगृहीयाद् द्विजेभ्यः प्रादुषो ब्रुवः । अथोरा. पितरः सन्तु सन्तुल्युक्त. पुनर्द्विजे ॥ गोत्र तथा वर्धता नस्तथेत्युक्तश्च तेः पुनः । दातारो नोऽभिवर्धन्तामिति चैवमुदीरयेत् ॥ एता सत्याक्षिणः सन्तुल्युक्तश्च ते पुनः । रस्तिवाचनिक कुर्यात्पिण्डाबुद्धय भक्तिः ॥ मत्स्य 17 52-55 q by हेमाद्रि (आ. p 1482), स्मृतिच (आ) p 482, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 220). Compare आप्र औ. 1. 10. 4 शुद्धाक्षः पितरो दत्त सद्गो वा पितरो देवम् । Yāj. I 246 (दातारो नो etc.) is the same as भविष्य I. 185 28

Hemādri (śrāddha, p. 1512)¹⁰⁴¹ therefore provides that if the performer has another house the leavings may not be removed till sunset, but if he has only one house, they may be removed after the brāhmanas have gone away (vide Yāj I. 257, Matsya 17.56). It is further provided by Brhaspati¹⁰⁴² that the plates should not be removed before the brāhmanas pronounce the word 'svasti', and Jātūkarnya¹⁰⁴³ and the Skandapurāna say that the plates and the leavings should be removed by the performer himself or by his pupil or son, but not by women nor by a child nor by one who is not of the same caste. Manu III 258 provides that, after the brāhmanas have left, the performer should look at the south and pray to the pitrs for certain blessings contained in Manu III 259 which are the same as Yāj I 246 translated above (vide p. 447), Viṣṇu Dh. S 73. 28, Matsya 16. 49-50. The Āp. gr. 209 (q. in note 981), Āp Dh. S II 7. 17. 16, Manu III 264, Yāj. I. 249 provide that the performer should partake of the remainder of the food cooked for the śrāddha along with his wife, paternal and maternal relatives after reciting (according to Haradatta) the Yajusa mantra (Āp. M. P. II. 20.26) which means 'entering the life breath I offer nectar; my soul is centred in Brahman for the sake of immortality.' The Āp. gr and Āp. Dh. S. provide¹⁰⁴⁴ that the performer must eat at least a morsel of the food left after serving to the brāhmanas. Vyāsa and Devala prescribe that on the day of śrāddha the performer must not observe a fast (even if he usually does so as on Ekādaśī or Śivarātra). A way out was provided by the Brahmayajurveda-purāna by recommending that the performer should merely smell the remnants of the śrāddha food. Vide

1041. आह्वे नोद्वासनीयानि उच्छिष्टान्या दिनक्षयात् । श्वपोतन्ते हि सुधाधारस्ताः पिबन्त्यकुतोदका ॥ वसिष्ठ XI 21, नोद्वासयेत्तुच्छिष्टं पात्रास्तमितो रविः । कूर्मपुराण II 22 85 कल्पतच (आ p 227) remarks 'नोद्वासनीयान्युच्छिष्टानीति भूमिर्दोच्छिष्ट-विषयम्' उच्छिष्टं न प्रचुर्यात्-इति भूमिगतोच्छिष्टपात्रविषयम् ।

1042. भाजनेषु च विष्टसु स्वस्ति कुर्वन्ति ये द्विजाः । तद्वत्तमसुरैर्भुक्तं निराज्ञैः पितृभिर्गते ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (आ p. 482), हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1485)

1043. पात्राणि चालयेच्छ्राद्धे स्वयं क्षिप्योऽथवा सुतः । न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नासजात्या कथंचन ॥ जातुकर्ण्य q. by स्मृतिच. (आ p 482), हेमाद्रि (आ) p. 1486, न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नाप्येनैव च केनचित् । आह्वे पिण्डं च पात्रं च स्वयमेव प्रचालयेत् ॥ स्कन्द (नागर खण्ड) q. by हेमाद्रि (आह्व) p 1486,

1044 सर्वेषु वृत्तेषु सर्वतः समवदाय ज्ञेयस्य आसावराहर्षं प्राश्नीयाद्यथोक्तम् । आप य च II 7 17.16. यथोक्त refers to आप य 20 9 The यजुस् referred to in the latter is प्राणे निविष्टोऽमुतं जुहोमि ब्रह्मणि मे आत्मा मृतत्वाय । आप म पा. II 20. 26. This मन्त्र occurs also in तै. अ. X 33.

Homātri (śrāddha, pp. 1519-1521) for the discussion. Homātri (p. 1485) refers to the practice (observed even now) that after the performer receives the blessings referred to above, his son, grandson and the like should offer adoration to the *devatās* in the form of pindas. The brāhmanas should praise the good characteristics of the food served at the end of the śrāddha ceremony.¹⁰¹⁵ The brāhmanas should not get up from the dinner, carelessly leaving remnants of food in their plates, but they may leave in the plates a little food except milk, curds, honey or barley flour.¹⁰¹⁶

There were several views as to the exact stage at which the offerings of pindas were to be made. According to Śān. Gr. IV. 1.9., Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12,¹⁰¹⁷ Śankha 14.11, Manu III. 260-261, Yāj. I 242 and several other works, the performer offers the lumps of boiled rice after the brāhmanas have finished eating their dinner. The pindas are made with boiled rice mixed with sesame and are placed on darbhas on a clean spot and at a distance of about one aratni from¹⁰¹⁸ the plates in which the brāhmanas ate and the performer faces the south. Here again there are two opinions, one being that pindas were to be offered before the brāhmanas sip water (perform *ūcamana*) after dinner (e. g. Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12-13, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana, kandika 3), while others hold that they were to be offered after the brāhmanas have rinsed their mouth and taken *ūcamana*. Another view referred to as the view of some by Śān. gr. IV. 1. 10 and Manu III. 261 was that pindas were to be offered to the ancestors first after honouring the invited brāhmanas or after *agnaukarana* and then the brāhmanas were to partake of the dinner. The

1045. आह्वायसाने कर्तव्या द्विजैरक्षयणस्तुति । इन्द्रवसिष्ठ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1019).

1046. तदाहोक्ताः । भोजनं तु न निःशेषं कुर्यात्प्राज्ञ ऊचन् । अन्यत्र वृद्धः क्षीराह्वा क्षौद्रास्तुकुम्भ एव च ॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1026) Acc to मनु III 243-46, विष्णु 81. 22-23, मत्स्य 17. 56-57, the leavings of food in the plates of ब्राह्मण्य and the विकिर were the lot of persons of the family dying young, while the leavings of food that fell or were left on the ground were the share of deceased slaves. 'पात्रगतसुच्छिद्यमसंस्कृतप्रमीतानां भूमिगतं दासवर्गस्य' इत्यादि on कात्यायन's आह्निकसूत्र (folio 30a) Vide n 1007 above for मनु III 245.

1047. अभिमतेष्टमते वा शुक्लवत्त्वनाचान्तेषु पिण्डास्तिदध्यात् । आचान्तेष्वेके । आश्व गृ. IV. 8. 12-13.

1048. सन्तिलेन तलोन्नेन पिण्डान् सर्वेषु पुत्रके । पिण्डद्विष्य वर्धेषु दद्यादुच्छिद्यसन्निधौ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28 55 अरलि is the band from the wrist to the small finger,

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa¹⁰⁴⁹ emphatically asserts that this is the correct position as stated by Brhaspati. The Visnu Dh. S. (73 15-24) provides that the pindas are to be offered to the ancestors while the brāhmanas are actually eating. A fourth view is that of the Āp. gr. 24.9, Hir gr. (II. 12.2-3) which state that the performer¹⁰⁵⁰ should, after the brāhmanas have eaten and gone away and he has followed and circumambulated them, offer pindas. Owing to this conflict of views Hemādri (quoting smṛti) and the Madanapārijāta (p 600) say that each one should follow the procedure laid down in his own śākha¹⁰⁵¹. Hemādri adds that those in whose gṛhyasūtra no special time is mentioned for pindadāna should follow the view that pindas are to be offered after the brāhmanas have partaken of the dinner and sipped water. The Śr. P. (p. 247) endorses this view.¹⁰⁵² The pindas were to be deposited on bunches of (25) darbhas for each pinda. Aparārka on Yāj. I. 24 states that in all cases without exception pindas were to be offered near the plates from which the brāhmanas took their meals, while Hemādri who relies on Kātyāyana's word 'ucchistasannidhau' says that where the performer is an *āhūtāgṇi* the pindas were to be offered near his sacred fire, but when a performer had not kept the sacred fires pindas were to be offered near the plates from which brāhmanas ate the śrāddha food. The Śrāddhasāra (p 163) quotes Atri to the effect that pindas should be offered at a distance of three *aratnis* from where the brāhmanas ate the śrāddha dinner and that in such śrāddhas as Navaśrāddhas Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before pindadāna and that it is to be performed after

1049 पूजनं चैव विप्राणां पूर्वमेवेह नित्यं ॥ तद्धि धर्मार्थकुशलो नेत्युवाच बृहस्पतिः ।
पूर्वं निवेदयेत् पिण्डान् पश्चाद्विमाश्रं भोजयेत् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घात 12 24-26. These
verses are quoted from ब्रह्मपुराण by कल्पतरु (आ. प. 221). The सौरपुराण
19. 23 says 'पिण्डनिर्घर्षं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणांश्चैव भोजयेत् । केचिदप्येवमिच्छन्ति नैव भानोर्मतं
हिजा. ॥'

1050. धुक्तवतोऽनुपमत्रय शेषमनुज्ञाप्योदकुम्भं धर्महृदि चावाप दक्षिणपूर्वमवाप्तव-
द्देशं गत्वा दक्षिणग्रान्दर्भात् संस्तीर्य तेषवाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणापवर्गाञ्जिह्वाकाञ्जलिं निनयति
मार्जयन्तो पितरः सोम्यासः मार्जयन्ता पितामहाः सोम्यासः मार्जयन्तो पपितामहाः सोम्यास-
इति । असावनेर्निश्वासावनेर्निदयेति वा । तेषवाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणापवर्गान् पिण्डान्वदाति । हिरण्य-
सू. II. 12. 2-3. For आप, सू. vide n 981.

1051. तथा च स्मृतिः । हनिभिर्भिक्षकालेषु पिण्डदानं तु यत्स्मृतम् । तत् स्वशास्त्रान्तं
यत्र तत्र कुर्याद्विचक्षणः ॥ हेमाद्रि (आ. प. 1408), who adds 'उपलक्षणं चैतत् स्व-
श्रुत्याद्यनुमतेः ।'

1052 येषां तु श्रुत्यादी पिण्डदानकालो नोक्तस्तेषां सौकर्याद्याचाश्लेषित्वेन पक्षो
प्राप्त इति बहवः । आ. म. प. 247.

pindadāna in Sāmvasarika śrāddha, Mahālaya and the like (p. 164).

There is another conflict of views as regards the ancestors to whom pindas are to be offered at the śrāddha on amāvāsya. Most of the ancient Vedic works refer only to the three paternal ancestors as the *devatās* of the Pārvana-śrāddha and not to any other relatives. The three paternal ancestors are separately the *devatās* of śrāddha and not cumulatively, as indicated by the Āśv. Śrauta II. 6. 15 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73 13-14. The important questions are whether the wives of the paternal ancestors, viz. the mother, the grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother were associated with their husbands in ancient times and secondly, whether the three paternal ancestors of one's mother viz. the maternal grandfather, the maternal great-grandfather and the maternal great-great-grandfather were invoked together with their wives in the Pārvana. The answer to both these questions so far as the Vedas and Brāhmanas are concerned is in the negative. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 5.1, Tai. Br. I. 3. 10, II. 6. 16, Vāj. Ś. 19 36-37, Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 16, in all of which the only persons expressly named are the pitrs and three paternal ancestors. It may be noted, however, that in Vāj. S. 9. 19 (which is cited by Kātyāyana at the end of Śrāddhasūtra 3 as the mantra to be recited when following the brāhmanas that are dismissed) there is a clear reference to paternal ancestors and also to mothers. Almost all sūtras also are silent as regards the invocation of the maternal ancestors in Pārvana-śrāddha along with paternal ones. Vide 1053 Āśv. Śr.; Sudarśana on Āp. gr. VIII. 21. 2 states that the Sūtrakāra and Bhāṣyakāra did not speak of Mātamahāśrāddha as it is not obligatory for a daughter's son to offer it. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana 1054 speaks of three pindas being made for the paternal ancestors and three for the mother's paternal

1053. तस्या पिण्डान् निष्पृणीयात्पराचीनपाणिः पित्रे पितामहाय प्रपितामहायैतत्तेऽसौ ये च त्वामवाप्सन्ति । आश्व. श्रौ. II 6, 15 on which गार्ग्यनारायण explains 'निष्पृणं पित्र्येणैव तीर्थेन । पाणेरुत्तानत्वमजहदेव पित्र्येण तीर्थेन यदा कुर्यात् तदा पराचीनपाणिर्भवति । असावित्यस्य स्थाने सम्बुद्धचन्तानि पित्रादीनां नामानि दृष्टीयात्' । तस्या refers to देहाया

1054. सर्वमङ्गनेकतोद्धृत्योच्छिद्यसमीपे दूर्ध्वं उर्ध्वान् पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यादाद्याने-
जित्येके । ... वाच्यतानित्यदृष्टान् पितृभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः प्रपितामहेभ्यः प्रपिता-
महेभ्यो बुद्धप्रमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वर्गोच्यताम् । ... वाजे वाजेत्येति निरुज्य आ मा वाजस्वत्येजुज्य
प्रक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् । कात्यायनः अजिह्व III The मन्त्र reads 'आ मा वाजस्य
प्रसवो जगन्पादने द्यावापृथिवी निम्बस्ते । आ मा मन्तां पितरा मातरा वा मा सोमो अशुतलेन
गन्ताम् । वाज. सं. 9. 19.

ancestors. The Gobhilāsmṛti provides¹⁰⁵⁵ that six pindās should be offered except in the Anvataśrāddha, the first śrāddha (on the 11th day), the sixteen śrāddhas and the yearly śrāddha for a deceased person. Dhaumya¹⁰⁵⁶ prescribes that where the paternal ancestors are honoured (or fed) the maternal ancestors also should be certainly honoured without making any difference (between the two classes); if he makes a distinction the performer will go to Hell. The Viṣṇupurāṇa,¹⁰⁵⁷ the Brahmandapurāṇa and the Varāhapurāṇa say that some hold that a śrāddha for maternal ancestors is to be performed separately while other sages hold that one śrāddha is to be offered at the same time to the paternal and maternal ancestors. Brhaspati (q. by Kalpataru on śrāddha p. 204) prescribes¹⁰⁵⁸ that one should offer pindas made from all food cooked for the śrāddha and mixed with honey and sesamum grains for both paternal and maternal ancestors according to the rules of one's grhyasūtra. The Varāhapurāṇa (14 40-41) says that *pitrya* brāhmanas should be dismissed first and then the *daiva* brāhmanas together with those for the mother's ancestors and that separate pindas were to be offered to the mother's paternal ancestors (1437). Some held the view that the offering of pindas to maternal ancestors was obligatory for the *putrikā-putra*¹⁰⁵⁹ (son of the appointed daughter) or for a daughter's son that inherited the wealth of his maternal grandfather. Bṛhat-Parāśara (chap. V. p. 153) mentions several views on this point. It seems probable that when the appointment of a

1055. कर्त्तव्यमन्वितं शुद्धत्वा तथाच आह्वयोदशम् । मर्यादिवर्कं ह शेषेषु पिण्डाः स्युः षड्विंशति स्थिति ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 73. कर्त्तव्यमन्वितं is explained by निर्णयसिन्धु (III p 395) and हेमाद्रि as सपिण्डीकरण and by आ. क्रि. को. p 93 as अष्टकाभाद्र

1056. पितरौ यत्र दूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा ध्रुवम् । अविशेषेण कर्तव्य विशेषाचारकं ब्रजेत् ॥ धौम्य q by आ. म p 14. स्मृतिच. (आ p 337) quotes it as स्मृत्यन्तर, the स्मृत्यन्तर p. 56 merely quotes it (without name) and आ. क्रि. को. p 93 quotes it from योगियाज्ञवल्क्य.

1057. पृथक्पृथो केचिदाहुः आह्वयस्य कारणं नृप । एकत्रैकेन पाकेन वसन्त्यग्रे महर्षय ॥ विष्णुपुराण III 15 17, पृथङ्मातामहानां ह केचिद्विच्छन्ति मानवाः । त्रीन् पिण्डानामनुपुष्येण साङ्गुष्ठान् शुद्धिवर्जान् ॥ अष्टाण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 11. 61. The verse पृथक्पृथो. is also बराहपुराण 14 12.

1058. सर्वरमायकृतादक्षात् पिण्डान् मधुतिलान्वितान् । पितृमातामहादीनां दद्याद्दूध-विधानतः ॥ बृहस्पति q by स्मृतिच. (आ p. 479), हेमाद्रि (आ) p. 1428. It may be noted that या (I. 242) does not mention honey.

1059. Vide मनु IX. 132 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp.- 647 and 657 (for श्रविकाश्रव).

daughter as a son became rare or went out of vogue the maternal ancestors came to be associated with the paternal ancestors in pārvana-śrāddha.

The question when the wives of ancestors became associated with the male ancestors cannot be solved satisfactorily. The *pitāmāhī* is not mentioned in the extant Vedic Literature. But it is certain that the wives of male ancestors had come to be associated with their husbands in the sūtra period. For example, the Hir. Gr. II 10 associates the mother, the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother with their respective husbands in the monthly śrāddha performed in the dark half. Similarly, the Baud. gr. II 11.34 not only associates in the Astakā śrāddha the male maternal ancestors with the male paternal ancestors, but also their respective wives. The Āp. M. P.¹⁰⁶⁰ has mantras referring to the three male paternal ancestors as well as their wives. The Śān. gr. (IV. 1.11) provides that behind the lumps for the paternal ancestors the performer places the lumps for their wives, putting something between the two sets of pindas and the commentator explains that darbhas are placed between the two sets. The Kauśika sūtra (88 12) also provides for the offering of pindas to the wives of male ancestors to the south of the pindas for male ancestors. The Āśv. gr. (II 5. 4-5), while speaking of the Anvastakya rite, refers to pindas to be offered to the wives of ancestors with the addition of rum and the scum of boiled rice. The Vaikhāṇasa-smārta-sūtra IV. 7 (after describing the Pinda-pitryajña in IV. 5-6) notes that the difference between it and the ordinary monthly śrāddha is that in the latter pindas are offered to the wives of the pitrs¹⁰⁶¹. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p. 164) thinks that this inclusion of the women ancestors among those to whom pindas were to be offered was made by taking over from Anvastakya ceremonial described above. This conjecture does not look very probable. The Astakā rites existed from remote antiquity as shown above. If the offering of pindas to women ancestors were borrowed from the Anvastakya

1060. मार्जयन्तां नमः पितरो मार्जयन्तां नमः पितामहा मार्जयन्तां नमः प्रपितामहा ॥
मार्जयन्तां नमः मातरौ मार्जयन्तां नमः पितामह्यौ मार्जयन्तां नमः प्रपितामह्यौ । आप. म. पा.
II. 19. 2-7.

1061. अथ आर्जं मांसि मास्यपरपक्षेऽन्यतमेहृदयजन्मर्क्षे ब्राह्मणनिमन्त्रणादि सर्वसं-
काषत् । तथाज्यचरुं हुत्वास्त्रं पिण्डार्थं पात्रे समरुदाय ब्राह्मणान्भोजयित्वा नमो वः पितरो
रुसायेति पिण्डं प्रथमं पितृभ्यो नमो वः पितरः सोम्यास इति द्वितीयवृत्तीषो पितामहप्रपितामहा-
भ्याम् । पितृभ्यस्तत्पत्नीभ्यः पिण्डानर्पयतीति विशेषः । वैखानसश्रृङ्ग IV. 7.

this item would have figured in all sūtras just as Aṣṭakā śrāddha does. It is rather more probable that the extension to women was a natural growth in course of time. Some of the smṛtis emphasize the participation of the wives of paternal ancestors in the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* offerings. Śātatapa states¹⁰⁶²: 'In what is offered to the pītṛs after Sapindīkaraṇa, the mother is a participant everywhere. A śrāddha may be separately offered to the mother in the Anvaṣṭakā rites, in Vṛddhi-śrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of the day of her death; but in other cases it is performed along with the husband'. It is stated by Bṛhaspati that the mother partakes of the śrāddha food along with her husband (i. e. the father of the performer); that the same rule applies to the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother¹⁰⁶³. The Kalpataru¹⁰⁶⁴ and others held that the wives of the paternal ancestors were not *devatās* in the *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, but they only enjoyed the ethereal food which came to the pītṛs, while Hemādri and other southern writers held that the mother and other female ancestors were among the *devatās* of *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, but not the step-mother. There was a divergence of views whether the words 'mother', 'paternal grandmother' and 'paternal great-grandmother' included the co-wives (*sapatnīs*) of these. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 97-104) has a long disquisition on this question. According to one view the step-mother, the co-wife of the *pitr̥mahī* and the co-wife of the *prapit̥mahī* would be included in

1062. सपिण्डीकरणदूर्ध्वं यत्पितृभ्यः प्रदीयते। सर्वजांशहरा माता इति चर्नेषु निम्नयः ॥ अन्वष्टकाद् ब्रह्मैव गयार्थं च कथ्येद्वनि। मातुः आर्द्धं पृथक् कुर्वाद्व्यत्र पतिना सह ॥ शातातप्ये ५ by आ. म. p. 9, स्मृतिच (आ.) p. 369 as स्तुत्यन्तर.

1063. स्वेन भर्त्रा सह आर्द्धं माता दुक्ते स्वयानयद्। पितान्ही च स्वेनैव तथैव प्रपिता-मही ॥ बृहस्पति ५. by स्मृतिच (आ.), p. 369, हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 99, आ. म. p. 9.

1064. न सपत्नीकानां देवतालानिति कल्पवचनवृत्तयः। हेमाद्रिनवतृतीया दक्षिणात्यास्तु... एकस्वानेव आह्वय्यतीति पितृन् तद्योषितश्च देवतात्वेनोद्दिशेदिति विधीयते। आ. म. pp. 9-10. The argument of those who hold the former view is 'सपत्नीकापिल्लक्षकज्ञानं लिख्येले पितृदेव देवतात्वं भवेत्तु ह विज्ञेयपत्नीयतायाः परम्परा—इति।' (होदरानन्द (आह्वय्य) folio 3a. The आह्वय्य p. 190 similarly says 'उक्तश्रुत्यादिषु पित्रादीनां प्रत्येकं निर्देशात्, अत्र पितरो देवता इत्यापस्तम्बस्यैव देवता इति बहुवचननिर्देशात्, न योषिद्वय इत्यादेवचनाच्च पित्रादीनां प्रत्येकेन पत्नीनिर्पेक्षेण च देवतात्वम्।' Vide n. 783 for the आप. च सू. passage. न योषिद्वय—is apparently गोमिलस्मृति II. 102 'न योषिद्वयः पृथग्दद्याद्वसानदिनाहते। स्वमर्तृपिण्डनाञ्च द्रविषात् चतः स्तुता ॥'. The कल्पवच (आह्वय्य p. 4) says: नापि पित्रादेः सपत्नीकस्य देवतात्वं तथात्वे मनाभाभावात्। अस्तु न योषिद्वयः पृथग्दद्याद्वसानदिनाहते। स्वमर्तृपिण्डनाञ्चास्तुतिरासां यतः स्तुता ॥ इति शातातप्येनोक्तं मर्तृसम्बन्धि पिण्डभागस्त्वैव पत्नीतृतिहेतुत्वेनाभिधानाच्च त्रिपरीतमेव प्रत्यव्यनस्ति। कल्पवच, आ. p. 260.

the presentation formula (as quoted below), while according to Hemādri only the real mother, the real paternal grand-mother and the real paternal great-grandmother would ordinarily be included except on rare occasions such as a Mahālayasraddha or a śraddha at Gayā. 1065

As regards the mantra to be recited when offering each of the pindas there is some divergence of views, which reaches far into antiquity. The pinda¹⁰⁶⁶ is offered to each ancestor after stating his gotra, his relationship to the performer and name (all in the vocative). According to several writers the form of the presentation of the pinda is 'this is for thee, O Father! N. N. (by name) and so and so by gotra.' In the Tai. S. I. 8.5 1, in the Āp. M. P. II. 20.13 and in some sūtras, the following is added 'and for those who follow thee' (ye ca tvām-ānu)¹⁰⁶⁷ In the Gobhila-grhya IV. 36 and Khādiragrhya the formula is still longer 'This pinda, is thine, O father! and of those who follow thee and of those whom thou followest.¹⁰⁶⁸ To thee, Svadhā!'. The Bhāradvaja¹⁰⁶⁹ gr. II. 12 introduces slight changes. It has been already noted above (p. 781) how the Śat. Br. disapproves of

1065. तदेवेतस्मिन्पुं पद्मपत्नीकपित्रादिवैवस्यामावास्यादिसाधारणकालिकआहु-
प्रयोगे अस्मत्पितृपुत्रपुत्रादिभिः पार्श्वगोत्राद्युक्तानामिकाभिर्पातिष्ठगोत्राभिः पत्नीभिः
सप्रेतजन्मभूमिभिरादिभिः स्त्रीपुंसोद्देशोपलक्षितैर्वाक्यैरुक्तान् फलं प्रयति । This is the
पूर्ववक्ष view. हेमाद्रि replies 'अथ सिद्धान्तोऽभिधीयते । तत्र तावन्मुख्ये पार्श्वे जननी-
व्यतिरिक्तानां पितृपत्नीनां न सप्रेतद्वेषः कार्यः । नापि पितृजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां पितामहपत्नीनां
नापि पितामहजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां प्रपितामहपत्नीनाम् । हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 100) हेमाद्रि
adda (p. 102) 'यदा ह नामापितृपुत्रिकामया विशिष्टे मदालयादिकालपरिधेय गयादि-
तीर्थेतिहोत्रे वा आहुं कुर्यात्तदा पुत्रपत्नीनामनुज्ञायां वा मातृसपत्नीनामपि आहुं कुर्यात् ।'

1066. अर्धदानेऽथ सङ्कल्पे पिण्डदाने तथा क्षये । मोक्षतत्त्वमन्थमानानि यथापत्यतिपाद-
येत् ॥ पारस्कर q. by अपराक p. 506, हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1434), आ. म. p. 258 which
explains 'सङ्कल्पे अजत्याने' . The form of the address will be 'अहुकगोत्रात्त-
स्मिन्पुत्रपुत्रादिभिरुक्तैः एतत्तेऽर्थं (or एष ते पिण्डः) इत्यथ नमः पुत्रमहुकगोत्रावात्मस्थिते अहुकशर्मणे
न ममेति' हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1436). It should be noted that this formula is to be
employed only by the Vājasaneyins.

1067. एतत्ते तत्तासौ ये च स्वामनु, एतत्ते पितामहसौ ये च स्वामनु, एतत्ते प्रपितामह ये
च स्वामनु । आप. म. पा. II. 20. 13. — Vide note 781 for तै. सं. passages and
n. 1053 for आश्व. ओ. passage.

1068. असावयवेनिह्य ये चात्र स्वामनु याश्च स्वामनु तस्मै ते श्यते । गोभिलगृह III.
3. 6 and खदिरगृह III. 5. 17. The वेदव्रतानन्द (आहुत्तोरूप folio 77a) gives the
formulas for followers of यजुर्वेद and सामवेद as follows: अहुकगोत्रपितृपुत्रपुत्रादिभिरु-
क्तैः एतत्ते यजुर्वेदिनाहुकशर्मणावाक्यम् । अहुकशर्मणोऽपि पितृपुत्रपुत्रादिभिरुक्तैः ये चात्र स्वामनु
याश्च स्वामनु तस्मै ते श्यतेति छन्दोगानाम् !; compare आहुत्तर p. 237 and आ. शि. कौ.
p. 70 for similar formulas

1069. याश्च स्वामनुवति ये च स्वामनु । भारद्वाजगृह II. 12,

the usage of the Tai. S. in this matter, the reason being¹⁰⁷⁰ that when the son offers a pinḍa to his father and employs the formula 'this is thine and of those that follow thee', he would be included among those that follow the father and be thus offering a pinḍa to himself, which is inauspicious. It is provided by Gobhila-grhya¹⁰⁷¹ that if he does not know the names of his ancestors he should put down the first pinḍa with the Formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling on the earth', (he should put down) the 2nd pinḍa with the formula 'svadhā to the fathers dwelling in the air', the third with the formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling in heaven' and should recite in a low voice the words 'Here, O Fathers, gladden yourselves, show your vigour each according to his own part,' Yama quoted by Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), following Gobhila provides generally (whether the ancestors be known or not) that the first pinḍa should be offered to the father with the expression 'prthivī', the second to the grandfather in the aerial regions and the third to the paternal great-grandfather with the mantra 'dyaur darvī'. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (73 17-19) has similar provisions, the mantras respectively being 'prthivī darviraksitā', 'antarikṣam darviraksitā', 'dyaur-darviraksitā'. Medhātithi on Manu III, 194 says (following Āśv. Śr. and others) that if the names of the ancestors are not known he should simply say 'O Father, Grandfather' &c. If the gotra be not known then he should employ the gotra name Kāśyapa.¹⁰⁷²

Certain matters pertaining to pinḍas must be stated in one place once for all. There is a good deal of discussion about the

1070. तदेतद्वमङ्गल्यमभिधानं भवति । यतोऽयं पिण्डदानं कुर्वाणः पुत्रादिः ये च त्वामनु इति मन्त्रेण येषां ममीतानां सहेत्याह तेषां पश्चाद्भूतः स्वयमेव सह भवति । अतश्चासौ स्वस्मा एव पिण्डदानं करोतीति प्रतिभाति । हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1437.

1071. यदि नामानि न विन्ध्यात् स्वधा पितृभ्यः पृथिवीपद्वय इति प्रथमं पिण्डं निदध्यात् । स्वधा पितृभ्योऽन्तरिक्षसद्वय इति द्वितीयं स्वधा पितृभ्यो दिविपद्वय इति तृतीयं निधाय जपति अत्र पितरो मातृपञ्चं यथाभागमाहुपायध्वमिति । गोभिलगृह्य IV. 3. 10-11 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 1443 and आ. p. 260. Compare तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 1 एतत्त तत्... प्रपितामहं ये च त्वामन्व पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वम्' and वाज. सं. II. 31 'अत्र पितरो मातृपञ्चं यथाभागमाहुपायध्वम्'. The आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 24 says 'नामान्यविद्वांसस्तपितामहं प्रपितामहेति'.

1072. गोत्राज्ञानेप्याह व्याघ्रपाद.—गोत्रनाशे तु कश्यपः—इति । गोत्राज्ञानं कश्यप-गोत्रमहर्षेण कर्तव्यम् । कश्यपसगोत्रस्य सर्वसाधारणत्वात् । तथा च स्मृतिः । तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति । स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 481), vide आ. p. 260 for a similar provision. The शुक्लमल्लकर p. 49 says, यद्यपि तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति शतपथश्रुतेः... कश्यपं गोत्रमस्ति तथापि आहु एव तत् । 'सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य.'—These words occur in शतपथब्राह्मण VII 5. 1. 5.

size of the pindas. Marici (quoted by Aparārka p. 507) provides that in pārvana-śrāddha the pinda should be of the size of undried *āmalaka* fruit, of the size of a *bilva* fruit in Ekoddhista, in navaśrāddhas the pinda should be bigger than in any one of the preceding when offered every day during the days of impurity on death. The Skandapurāna says that pindas should be of such a size as would enable a calf two years old to put it easily into its mouth.¹⁰⁷³ Angiras (q. by Sm. C p. 475 and Hemādri, śrāddha p. 1429) prescribes that the pindas may be of the size of *kapittha* or *bilva* fruit or of the size of a hen's egg or of an *āmalaka* or *badara* fruit. In the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra¹⁰⁷⁴ it is said that the pinda for the paternal grandfather should be bigger than that for the father and should be in the middle (of the three pindas), that the pinda for the great-grandfather should be the largest of all. The next point is from what materials the pindas were to be made. If pindas were offered before *agnaukarana* they were to be made from the boiled rice (*caru*) prepared for *agnaukarana*. If made after *agnaukarana*, the pindas were to be made from the cooked food (remaining after *agnaukarana*) mixed with sesamum (vide Yāj I 242). If pindas were to be offered after the brāhmanas took their dinner, the pindas were to be made from the remainder of the food cooked for the brāhmanas which was to be mixed with the boiled rice for *agnaukarana* as stated in Kṛtyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra.¹⁰⁷⁵ The pindas were to be placed according to the Matsya¹⁰⁷⁶ on darbhas spread on the ground cleaned with water mixed with cow's dung and urine. There were others such as Devala, the Brahmapurāna and Bhaviṣyapurāna that prescribed that an altar, either circular or square, of sand was to be raised on ground 4 fingers in height and one cubit in extent near the plates from which brāhmanas were to eat and thereon darbhas

1073. द्विदायनस्य वस्त्रस्य विशन्तपार्ष्वं यथाहस्त्वम् । तथा कुर्वीत्यमलीनं पिण्डान् स्वासेन भाषितम् ॥ स्कान्द VII. 1. 206. 41 q. by स्मृतिक (आ. p. 475) and हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1429 as स्वास's.

1074. द्रव्यैर्दृष्टयोद्धतेषु पिण्डाभिदधाति पितृन्मांसात्सावेतते ये चात्र रात्रौ तामे तेज्यश्च स्वधेति प्रथमं, पितृमहस्य नाम्ना स्वकीयांस मध्यमं, प्रपितामहनाम्ना स्थगितं दक्षिणं द्वयोः परयोर्नामनी यद्वत् मूलदेशे लेपं निर्माद्वि । मैत्रायणीयस्य q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1430, आ. प्र. p. 257.

1075. तृतां स्म द्रव्यमुज्जातः शेषमन्नमदुष्काप्य सर्वमन्नमेततोद्धृत्योच्छिद्यतमीपे दर्शयु श्रीक्रीन्पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यात् । आश्वस्य of कात्या III.

1076. उपलिते महीधृते शोशकृष्णूजगणिना । निधाय वर्गान् विविधदक्षिणामान्यप्रसक्तः । सर्ववर्णेन बालेन पिण्डोस्तु पितृयज्ञवत् । मत्स्यपुराण 16. 45-46.

were to be placed and then pinḍas. The Vāyupurāṇa provides that a line should be drawn on the altar or the ground with the root of a *darbha* to the accompaniment of the following mantras viz.¹⁰⁷⁷ 'I destroy whatever is impure; I have killed all *asuras*, *dānavas*, *rāksasas*, *yaksas*, *piśācas* (goblins), *guhnyakas* and *yātudhānas*' and the mantra 'struck down (are the *asuras* and *rāksasas* sitting on the Vēdi)'. In Āp. Śr. I 10.2, Manu III 217, Visnu Dh. S. 73.17-19, Yama (q. by Hemādri p. 1440), the Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), Mahānavaprakāśa (q. by Hemādri), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1440-42) and Śr. P pp. 266-267 reference is made to adoration of the six seasons and the obeisance (*namaskāra*) to the pitrs in the words 'namo vaṣṭ pitaro' (Vāj S II 32)¹⁰⁷⁸ and the repetition of three mantras when each of the three pinḍas is offered, some holding that the seasons were to be deemed as identified with 'rasa', 'śoṣa' and four other words (in Vāj. S II 32), while others held that the adoration of the seasons is quite distinct from the *namaskāras* to the pitrs. In the Śaunakātharvānaśrāddha-kalpa, the pinḍas are offered in the reverse order i. e. first to the great-grandfather, then to the grandfather and then to the father (Hemādri on śrāddha p. 1442). Āp. Śr. I. 9. 4 refers to this method in 'pitamahaprabhrtin vā'.

1077. निहन्मि सर्वं यदनेष्यवद्भवेज्जताय सर्वेऽसुरदानवा मया । रक्षानि यक्षाश्च पिशाच-सङ्घा इता मया यादुधानाश्च सर्वे ॥ अनेन मन्त्रेण सुसंयतात्मा वेदीं च सर्वां सकृदुद्धिजेत् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (आ) p. 214, 216, आ प्र p. 251. This is cited as from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण by अपराकी p. 478 (which reads 'सुसंयतात्मा तिलान् क्षिपेद्वादिष्टु तथा विविष्टु'). The verses are वायुपुराण 75 45-46 and are mentioned as from वायुपुराण in आह्वतत्त्व p. 235. Both अपराकी and आ. प्र. add the vedic mantra 'अपहताः' (वाज. सं. II. 29) here.

1078. पूर्वपिण्डं प्रयच्छेत् पितॄन् च पृथिवीति च । पितामहाय त्वपरमन्तरिक्षे च वाप-येत् ॥ प्रपितामहाय च ततस्तृतीयं तु निवेदयेत् ॥ धीर्दिविरिति मन्त्रेण श्रुतिरेवा समातनी ॥ यम q. by कल्पतरु (आ p 203), हेमाद्रि (आ p 1440). उच्छिष्टसन्निधौ दक्षिणाग्रेषु वनेषु पृथिवीं दर्विरक्षिता इत्येकं पिण्डं पित्रे निवेद्यात् । अन्तरिक्षं दर्विरक्षिता इति द्वितीयं पितामहाय । धीर्दिविरक्षिता इति तृतीयं प्रपितामहाय । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73. 17-19 आचम्यो-दकं परावृत्य त्रिरायम्य शनैरसूय । पञ्चदश्व नमस्कुर्यात् पितृन्नेव च मन्त्रवित् ॥ मनु III, 217. The मन्त्र is पृथिवी दर्विरक्षिता वृत्तिः स्वधानुपदस्ता ता पृथिवी दर्विमक्षितां वृत्तिं स्वधामनु-पदस्तामग्निरिव पृथिवीसुपजीवासी ये चात्र त्वामन्वेया ते स्वधा. In the other two mantras in honour of पितामह and प्रपितामह substitute अन्तरिक्षं and धीः for पृथिवी, वायुः and सूर्यः for अग्निः wherever necessary. The meaning is 'the earth is a ladle giving inexhaustible gratification' &c. The काठकगृह्य (63 14) provides 'पृथिवी दर्विरिति निपरणं कुर्यात्' and the कौशिकसूत्र (88. 8-10) also mentions the three mantras uttered at the time of offering the three pinḍas (viz पृथिवी दर्विरक्षिता, अन्तरिक्षं दर्विरक्षिता, धी दर्विरक्षिता). Compare काठकसंहिता IX. 23,

About the final disposal (*pratipatti*) of the pindas several views were entertained. We have already seen (note 780) that the Vāj. S. and several sūtras provided that the middle one of the three pindas for paternal ancestors was to be eaten by the wife of the performer of the śrāddha if she was desirous of a son. Manu (III. 262-263) provides that the *dharmapatni* (i. e. a wife of the same varṇa and married before any other wife) should eat the middle pinda with the mantra 'ādhatta pitaro garbham' (q. in n. 780) and then she gives birth to a son who lives long, secures fame, is intelligent and obtains wealth and progeny and who is of a good and righteous turn of mind. The same rule is provided for by the Laghu-Āśvalāyana 23.83, the Kūrma II. 2. 71, 76, Matsya 16.52, Vāyu 76.31, Visnudharmottara I. 171 8, 220, 149, Padma (śrīstikhanda 9.121) and other purāṇas. As regards pindas in general, the Āśv. Śr. (II. 7. 14-17) says that the other two pindas (except the middle one) should be cast into water or in fire or they may be eaten by a brāhmana who has suddenly developed a distaste for food or they may be partaken by one who has been suffering from a serious disease (such as tuberculosis or leprosy) and that in the latter case the man either recovers or dies. The Gobhila-gr. (IV. 3. 31-34) provides that the pindas should be thrown into water or in fire or should be given to a brāhmana or a cow to eat. Manu (III. 260-261) says the same and adds that they may be given to a goat for eating and that some allow them to be devoured by birds Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 16.52-53, and Padma¹⁰⁷⁹ mention the same five ways of disposal but the last adds one more viz. placing them near a mound of earth. The Varāha-purāṇa¹⁰⁸⁰ (190 121) says that the performer may eat the first pinda himself, he should give the middle to his wife and the third he should cast into water. The Anuśāsanaparva (125. 25. 26) provides that the first and the third should be thrown into water or fire and the middle pinda should be eaten by the wife. It is provided by Brhaspati that if the wife is suffering from a disease or is already pregnant or is staying in some other

1079 पिण्डांश्च गोजविभ्रयो दद्यादग्नौ जलेपि वा । व्रजान्ते वाथ विकिरेवापोभिरथ वाहयेत् ॥ पद्म (सृष्टि 9 120), अपरार्क p. 550 and हेमाद्रि read विमान्ते and वयोभिरथ वाहयेत् । (p. 1504) That birds should be allowed to eat the pindas is natural since it was believed as stated above (p. 339) that the pitra wander about in the form of birds Vide कूर्म II. 22.83 for a similar verse.

1080 भक्षयेत् प्रथमं पिण्डं पत्न्यै देयं तु मय्यमम् । तृतीयमुदके दद्याद्वाङ्मे एवं विधिः स्मृतः ॥ वराहपुराण 190 121.

place, then an old bull or a goat may eat the middle pinḍa (quoted by Sm. C. on Śr. p. 486, Kalpataru on Śr p 224). The Visnudharmottara (I 141. 8) prescribes that when a śrāddha is performed at a *tīrtha*, the pinḍas should be cast into the sacred water. The Anuśāsanaparva 125. 38-40 and some of the purāṇas such as Vāyu (76 32-34) and Brahma (220 150-152) provide that certain consequences follow from the disposal of pinḍas in one way or another viz. the best worlds by giving pinḍas to cows, intellect and fame from casting into water, long life from offering them to birds &c. Vide also Brahmāṇḍa (upodghāta, chap. 12. 31-35) which provides that if given to cows the result is best complexion, if to cocks then delicacy, long life if given crows. In this connection it should be noted that pinḍas of rice or of flour were not to be offered in all śrāddhas. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā (pp. 86-89) has a long discussion about the śrāddhas in which the offering of pinḍas of food is forbidden. For example, it quotes Pulastya to the effect that in śrāddhas performed on the two *ayana* days, on the two equinoctial days, on any sankrānti, no pinḍas are to be offered, so also in śrāddhas on Ekādaśī, Trayodaśī, on Maghā and Kṛttikā nakṣatras, if a man desires to have sons and wealth.

On the question as to what is the principal item in the śrāddha there are three views. Some, like Govindarāja,¹⁰⁸¹ hold that feeding of brāhmanas is the principal thing and they rely on Manu III. 129 which says 'One may feed even a single learned brāhmana in a rite for gods and manes and not many who do not know vedic mantras; by doing so he reaps abundant reward'. Here the reward or fruit is associated with feeding a learned brāhmana. There is a maxim¹⁰⁸² of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that 'whatever is mentioned in proximity with an action that has a reward or fruit but has no special reward of its own, is subsidiary (*aṅga*) to what is declared to have a reward.' Besides, there is no pinḍadāna in certain śrāddhas such as āmaśrāddha, śrāddha on the Yugaḍi days.¹⁰⁸³

1081. शुक्लं फलममोतीत्यभिधानात् ब्राह्मणस्य भोजनमत्र प्रधानं पिण्डदानादि तद्वृत्तित्यवसीयते । गोविन्दराज on मनु III. 129 (Mandlik's ed.). कुल्लुक on the same verse refers to this opinion.

1082. The न्याय is फलवत्संनिधावफलं तदङ्गम् mentioned by शबर on जै. IV. 4. 19 and by शङ्कर on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 14. Vide जै. IV. 4. 29-38.

1083. तथा च पुलस्त्यः । अयनद्वितये आर्द्धं विषुवद्वितये तथा । युगादिषु च सर्वसु पिण्डनिर्देषणाद्वैते ॥ इति । कर्तव्यमिति शेष । स्मृतिच (आ.) p 369, vide हेमाद्रि (आ.) pp 334-336.

Others like Karka hold the view that pindadāna is the principal item in śrāddha. They rely upon the fact that in the śrāddha at Gayā it is the offering of pindas that is the most important matter and upon the fact that in the Visnudharmasūtra (78, 52-53, and 85, 65-66) and in several Purāṇas such as the Varāha (13.50), Viṣṇu (III, 14.22-23), Brahma (220.31-32), Viṣṇu-dharmottara (I 145.3-4) the pitrs are stated to have expressed a deep yearning for a son who would offer them pindas at Gayā and water on sacred rivers &c (vide note 911). Further support is sought for this view in the fact that in the śrāddha on the birth of a son and in śrāddha offered even by a good śūdra the feeding of brāhmanas is forbidden. A third view is that both the feeding of brāhmanas and the offering of pindas are the principal matters in a śrāddha. The Gobhila-smṛti, after stating¹⁰⁸¹ the other two views and some of the reasons therefor, tells us that the author of it is himself in favour of this third view. In cases where the word śrāddha is employed and there is neither brāhmana feeding nor pindadāna as in Darva śrāddha, the word śrāddha is applied in a secondary sense (*gauna*). Vide Hemādri (śrāddha) pp. 157-160. In the Dharmapradīpa it is said that among the followers of the Yajurveda (i. e. Vājasaneyins) the offering of pindas is principal, among the followers of the R̥gveda the feeding of brāhmanas is principal, while among the followers of the Sāmaveda both are principal. In this way śrāddha partakes of two characters viz it is a *yāga* (sacrifice) and also¹⁰⁸⁵ a gift (*dāna*) Haradatta, Hemādri, Kapardī and others appear to hold that all three (bhōjana pindadāna and agnaukarana) are principal. Vide Samskāra-ratnamālā p. 1003.

The Matsyapurāṇa says in a famous passage 'ancestors from the fourth (i. e. the father, grand-father and great-grand-father of the great-grandfather of performer) are entitled only to the wipings of the articles of food (sticking to

1084 प्राधान्यं पिण्डदानस्य केचिदाहुर्मनीषिणः । यथाहौ पिण्डमात्रं तु वीर्यमान-
निदर्शनात् ॥ भोजनस्य प्रधानत्वं वदन्त्यस्यै महर्षेयः । ब्राह्मणाणां परीक्षायां सहायज्ञे प्रदर्शनात् ॥
आमआहुविधानस्य विना पिण्डैः क्रियाविधिः । तद्वाङ्मन्यप्यनध्यायविधानभ्रममाहपि ॥
विद्वन्मतस्तुपादाय समाप्येतद्धृदि स्थितम् । प्राधान्यसुभयोर्यस्मात्तस्मादेष सहस्रयः ॥ गोभिल-
स्मृति III, 160-163.

1085. धर्ममदीयेति । यजुषां पिण्डदानं तु बहुचानां द्विजार्चनम् । आहुशब्दाभिधेयं
स्वाहुभयं सामयेदिनाम् ॥ तत्र पितृभ्यजेत पितृभ्यो दद्यादित्युभययोगदर्शनाद्यागदानौभया-
त्मकम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध प. 372.

the hand of the performer of *śrāddha*); the father, (the grand-father and great-grandfather) are entitled to the *pinda*; the offerer of the *pinda* is the 7th; thus *sapinda* relationship extends to seven generations¹⁰⁸⁶. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* states that three ancestors beginning from the paternal grandfather of the paternal grandfather enjoy the wipings (of the hand of the performer when he offers *pindas*).¹⁰⁸⁷ The *Brahma-purāṇa* (220, 84-86) has similar verses. *Manu* provided¹⁰⁸⁸ that the performer should place three *pindas* on *darbhās* and then wipe off from his hand the particles of food and water sticking to it with the roots of the *darbhās* (on which the *pindas* were placed) and that such wipings are meant for those who are called '*lepabhāgin*' (the three paternal ancestors after the paternal great-grand-father). Similar provisions are made by the *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 73.22, *Varāhapurāṇa* 14.36, *Garudapurāṇa* (*Ācarakāṇḍa* 218 24), *Kūrma II* 22.52. *Medhātithi* on *Manu III* 216 says that even if no food or water sticks to the hand still the performer rubs the hand against the roots of the *darbhās* on which the first *pinda* was placed. A special rule was provided by *Devala* quoted in *Śrāddhakalpatalā* (p. 14) that if the father or mother became a *mlecchā* (by forcible or voluntary conversion &c.) one should not observe any impurity for him or her and no *śrāddha* should be offered and when offering the three *pindas* in place of the father the name of *Viṣṇu* should be uttered.

One question that exercised the minds of well-known writers was whether the daily *Vaśīvadeva* should be performed before starting the *śrāddha* ceremonies or after the latter were finished. We have to remember first that several works state that rites for *pitr̥s* deserve pre-eminence over those for the

1086. लेपभाजश्चतुर्थाद्याः पित्राद्याः पिण्डभागिनः। पिण्डदः सप्तमस्तेषां सापिण्ड्यं साप्तपौरुषम्॥ मत्स्य 18 29. These very verses occur in पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 10, 34-35), which reads सापिण्डाः सप्त पूरुषाः. They are quoted from मत्स्यपुराण by अपराङ्क p 507, मत्स्य 16 38 is तेषु दर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमृज्याल्लेपभागिनाम्।

1087 लेपसम्बन्धिनश्चान्ये पितामहपितामहात्। प्रभृत्युक्तास्त्रयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः। इत्येवं शुनिभिः प्रोक्तः सम्बन्धः साप्तपौरुषः। मार्कण्डेय 28, 4-5 q by द्वायभाग XI 41 (which connects these verses with the rules of impurity on death) The printed द्वायभाग reads पिण्डलेपभुजश्चान्ये

1088. न्युप्य पिण्डांततरतास्तु प्रयतो विधिपूर्वकम्। तेषु दर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमृज्याल्लेपभागिनाम्॥ मनु III. 216. The latter half occurs in मत्स्य 16.38.

gods¹⁰⁸⁹. Mañu (III 265) states¹⁰⁹⁰ that after the brāhmanas have been dismissed the performer of śrāddha shall offer the (daily) domestic *bali* offering and that this is the settled rule of dharma. Medhātithi explains that the word 'bali' is merely illustrative. The Matsyapurāna¹⁰⁹¹ 17 61, the Varāha-purāna (14.43), Skanda VII. 1. 266. 101-102, Devala, Kārsnājini and others provide that after the rites for the fathers are finished Vaiśvadeva should be performed. When Vaiśvadeva is performed after the completion of śrāddha rites, it is to be offered from the food that remains after being utilized for the śrāddha dinner. But Hemādri (pp. 1058-1065) holds a long discussion and arrives at the following conclusions. In the case of an *ūhiāgṇi* (p. 1064), Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha except in the case of the śrāddha on the 11th day after death. In the case of one who has not kept the sacred fires there are three optional times for Vaiśvadeva, viz. after *agnaukarana* or after the *vikṛa* (scattering of food on darbhas for those dying without the *samskāras* being performed for them), or after the brāhmanas are dismissed on the completion of the śrāddha (p. 1064). If Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha or in the midst of it, then the cooking of food must be done separately for Vaiśvadeva and for śrāddha. In the case of all, whether *sāgnika* or *anagnika*, Vaiśvadeva must be performed with the remainder of the food left after use in śrāddha, if the former is performed after the latter. There were sages like Paithinasi¹⁰⁹² that held that Vaiśvadeva should not be performed with the food cooked for śrāddha without first offering the food to the brāhmanas invited for śrāddha dinner i. e. Vaiśvadeva must be performed after śrāddha if the same food is to be used

1089. देवकार्याद् द्विजातीनां पितृकार्यं विशिष्यते । मनु III. 203, ब्रह्माण्ड (उपो-
जातपाद 10, 104), मत्स्यपुराण 15 40, वायु 73. 55.

1090. ततो गृह्यर्हं कुर्यादिति धर्तोऽप्यवस्थितः ॥ मनु III 265. मेधातिथि remarks
'ततो गृह्यर्हं निष्पन्ने आहुकर्मण्यनन्तरं वैश्वदेवोमान्वाहिनातिथ्यादिभोजनं कर्तव्यम् ।
बलिशब्दस्य भद्रार्थनायत्वात् ।'.

1091. निवृत्य प्रणिपत्याथ पर्युपासि समन्त्रवत् । वैश्वदेवं प्रकुर्वीत नैत्यक बलिमेव च ॥
मत्स्य 17. 61, निवर्तताम्यजुज्ञात आहारान्तमज्यजन्तु । ततस्तु वैश्वदेवाख्या कुर्यान्नित्यक्रिया
तत ॥ बराह 14. 43, पितृपाकात् सञ्जुह्यत्यैश्वदेवं तु होमयेत् । देवल 5 by इलायुध in
his com. on कार्त्तवीर्य's आहुश्च (folio 31a). The verse निवृत्य प्रणिपत्याथ
occurs in पद्मपुराण (सुप्रतिष्ठ 9. 190) also.

1092. पित्राणामनिवेद्य तस्मादन्वाह्यैश्वदेवादिकमपि न कार्यम् । तथा च पैठीनसि ।
पितृपाकात्सञ्जुह्यत्यैश्वदेवं करोति यः । आसुर तद्भवेच्छ्राद्धं पित्राणां नोपतिष्ठते ॥ स्मृतिच.
(आ) p. 410, दोहरानन्द (folio 75b).

for the former. The *Nirnayasindhu* (III. p. 459) states that as most *smṛtis* place the performance of *Vaiśvadeva* after *śrāddha* and as many writers of commentaries and digests such as *Medhātithi* and *Smṛtiratnāvali* do the same all should perform *Vaiśvadeva* after finishing *śrāddha*.

It is now necessary to illustrate how *pārvana śrāddha* is performed in modern times. Here the greatest variety prevails. The details of the rite vary in the different parts of India. They vary also according as the performer belongs to a particular Veda or a particular recension of the Veda, they vary according to the particular eminent writer that is followed and further additions are made according as the performer is a *Vaiṣṇava* or a *Śaiva*. Such differences have to be passed over here, particularly because they are not material. We saw above that the *Pārvana-śrāddha* was very simple in the days of the *Brahmanas* and most of the *sūtras*. There was then no express mention of the worship of *Viśvedevāḥ* in *Pārvana-śrāddha*, or of the maternal ancestors or of the wives of any ancestors. Gradually these came to be added and by the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* there was special invocation of the *Viśvedevāḥ*. But these latter were probably not expressly divided into groups at the time of that work. During the *smṛti* period groups of *Viśvedevāḥ* came to be assigned to different kinds of *śrāddhas* (vide p. 457 note 1018). The *Purāṇas* prescribed several *Paurāṇic* mantras for being recited during the *śrāddha* rite, such as the verse 'agacchantu' (note 984) and the verse 'devatābhyah pitrbhyaśca' (p. 458 note 1020). Then there arose the principle of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* that all rites described in the different *śākhās* and *sūtras* constitute but one rite, and that one may take over from another *śākhā* or *sūtra* details described therein, which are not opposed to one's own *śākhā* or *sūtra* (vide pp. 453-55 notes 1011-1013). This principle tended to make the *śrāddha* rites all inclusive and the whole procedure became swollen to an enormous extent. How even the slightest variation causes difference in the details may be illustrated by an example. In *Mithilā* villages even among poor men eleven *brāhmanas* are invited for *pārvana-śrāddha*, but it is often difficult to secure a very learned man (who is called *pātra* or *mahāpātra*) to officiate. In such a case where a *mahāpātra* or a *pātra* *brāhmaṇa* is not available the *śrāddha* is called *apātraka-pārvanaśrāddha* (for which really there is no *śāstric* authority) and is distinguished from the *sapātraka* *pārvana-śrāddha* in several matters, two of which in the case of the

Vājasaneyins may be stated here. Though the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, which is of special authority among Vājasaneyins, declares (at the end of kandika III) that the brāhmanas are to be dismissed at the end of the śrāddha with the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18) and the performer should circumambulate the brāhmanas with the mantra 'a mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), it is not the practice among the śīstas in Mithilā according to the editor of the Śrāddharatna to observe these directions in what is called 'apātraka-pārvana-śrāddha' in these days. In Rudradhara's Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 138-146) the 'apātraka-pārvana-śrāddha-prayoga' is set out at length.

In mediæval and modern times in the different provinces of India different manuals are followed by the followers of the several Vedas. For example, in Bengal the Samavedins, Yajurvedins and R̥gvedins follow the procedure of pārvana-śrāddha laid down in the manuals (or *paddhatis*) of Bhavadeva, Paśupati and Kālesi respectively and there are many persons who follow the rules laid down by Raghunandana in his Śrāddhatattva and Yajurvediśrāddha-tattva. In Mithilā, Śrīdatta wrote his Pitrbhakti for Yajurvedins and the Śrāddha-kalpa for Samavedins and the Śrāddha-ratna of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmīpati (between 1500 to 1640 A. D.) which is printed at Darbhanga and claims to be the traditional manual for Maithilās (Maithilā-sāṃpradāyika-śrāddhapaddhati) in several places says that it follows the Sugatisopāna of Pratihastaka for Chandogya and also for Vājasaneyins. In the Madras State Vaiṣṇava brāhmanas follow special treatises on *Pūrvā* and *Āpārā kṛyās* of Vaidika-Sārvabhauma or Hārila Venkatācārya or Tolappār and Smārta brāhmanas follow the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha, which does not much differ in major matters from the works of Vaidika-Sārvabhauma. Often the only differences are in the sankalpa and at the end. It is impossible to exhibit in this work the contents of all these manuals and to compare and contrast them. Therefore I shall set out here a model pārvanaśrāddha rite as performed by R̥gvedins in Western India and then a Śukla Yajurveda rite. The Pratisāmvaṣṭasārika śrāddha¹⁰⁹³ rite for R̥gvedins in

1093 The darśaśrāddha differs only very slightly from the above. The summary here is taken from the 'R̥gvedibrahmakarma-samuccaya' published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press in Bombay in Poṭhi size, folios 98-108 (ed. of 1936, śaka 1858).

Western India may be set out as follows :—(From the references added in the text and notes it will be clear that this modern rite is all inclusive i. e. it follows the Āśv. Śr. often taking passages verbatim from it, the smṛtis and purāṇas). The performer wears white garments (lower and upper) and sits on a seat of *kūśas* or of wool or deer skin and then sips water twice and wears a *pavitra* on the finger next to the small finger with Rg. IX. 83.1. He ties his top knot on the head and sacred thread with *kūśas*, and ties three *kūśa* blades with *tilas* on the left of the *dhota* worn by him. Then he performs *prāṇāyāma* and declares the resolve (*saṅkalpa*)¹⁰⁹⁴ to perform (the *Sāmvaṭsarika*) *śrāddha* after referring to the time and place and together with *agnaukarana*, *pindadāna* &c. The invited *brāhmanas* reply 'do so'. Then the performer puts into a copper vessel water with the mantra 'imam me Gange' (Rg. X. 75. 5), sandalwood paste with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām,' yava grains with the mantra 'thou art yava, king of cereals, Varuna is thy patron, thou art endowed with sweetness, thou art the remover of all sins and art known by all sages as holy', betelnut (with Rg. X. 97.15), gold (or some coin) with the mantra 'Hiranyarūpah' (Rg. II. 35.10), flowers and basil leaves. (Then he becomes *prācīnāvīti*)¹⁰⁹⁵ and puts *sesamum* grains in the water

1094 The सङ्कल्प will be श्रीमद्भगवतो महापुरुषस्य विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीये परार्धे...अतएव दक्षिणापथे दण्डकारण्ये देशे शालिवाहनशक्ति अमुकनाम संवत्सरे गोदावर्ष्य दक्षिणे तीरे (उत्तरे तीरे वा)...अमुकतिथौ अमुकवासरे .पुस्तक-वर्षसंज्ञकानां विश्वेवा देवानां अस्मत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानाममुकशर्मणा अमुकसगोत्राणां वसुधैवकुर्वीत्यस्वरूपाणां एतेषां श्रेयोर्थं नोक्षार्थं मम पितृणां प्रतिज्ञावत्सरिकश्राद्धं सदैव सपिण्डं साश्रोकरण पार्षणेन विधिना अक्षेण हविषा सद्यः करिष्ये. The performer becomes प्राचीनावीति when repeating the words अस्मत्पितृ...स्वरूपाणां and reverts to उपवीति form when saying एतेषां etc. Among the *Mādhvas* the सङ्कल्प contains the words 'पित्रन्तर्यामिणो विश्वेदेवान्तर्यामिणोऽनिरुद्ध-प्रद्युम्न-सङ्कर्षण वासुदेव-चतुर्भूत्यात्मक-आङ्गस्वामि-श्रीमध्वजनादैर्नस्य समाराधनं करिष्ये ।'.

1095. The terms प्राचीनावीतिन्, यज्ञोपवीतिन् or उपवीतिन्, सव्यं and अपसव्यं occur almost at every step in the आङ्गप्रयोग. They will be explained once for all here and instead of repeating lengthy translations the original Sanskrit words will be kept in the *pruyoga* set out hereafter. Gobhila gr. I. 2 2-3, Khādīragr I. 1. 4-6 and Manu II. 63 define *yajñopavītin* or *upavītin* as one who suspends the sacrificial chord round his neck and raises the right arm so as to wear the chord on his left shoulder and *prācīnāvītin* as one who raises the left arm and wears the chord on his right shoulder. *Savya* means left, Acc to *लघ्वश्वलायन* I 91 when the sacred chord hangs down from the left shoulder (and under the right arm) that is said to be 'savyam' and when the chord hangs down from the right shoulder (and under the left arm) that is *apasyam*.

(in another vessel) with the mantra 'Tilosi' (quoted in note 966), Bhrngarāja leaf with the mantra 'mā kākam' (Rg. VI. 48. 17), betelnut, gold (or coin). Then he repeats the Purusa-sūkta ¹⁰⁹⁶ (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X 128 1-9, IX 58 1-4, Rg. X. 126. 1-8, Rg. IV. 40 5, Rg. VII 89 5, the sacred Gāyatri with *om* and the three Vyāhrtis, Rg. VII 56. 12, Rg. VIII 44. 21, 17, Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9. Then after repeating the well-known verse 'apavitrah pavitro vā' ¹⁰⁹⁷ (whoever, whether pure or impure or being in any state whatever, remembers the name of Viṣṇu becomes pure externally as well as internally), he requests 'May everything such as the place and the materials be rendered pure'. The brāhmanas reply 'let it be so.' Then placing some coin on the ground, the performer having in his hand sesamum grains, water and kūśas goes round (pradaksinā) the brāhmanas thrice, and repeats three verses (in classical sanskrit) in praise of the dust of the feet of brāhmanas and a Vedic passage from Tai. Ā. II, 15 ¹⁰⁹⁸ 'All the devatās reside in a brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda; therefore every day one should perform obeisance to brāhmanas knowing the Veda. He should not utter anything derogatory or evil (either true or false) about them. (By doing so) he pleases all these devatās.' After making obeisance (to the brāhmanas) twice he should be prācīnāvīti, repeat the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ' (note 913 p. 407 above) and request the brāhmanas 'may you be pleased to say that I have complete *adhikāra* to perform the sāmvasarikaśrāddha of my pitrs this day.' The brāhmanas should reply 'let there be this *adhikāra* for the performance of śrāddha.' Then being *upavītan* the performer requests 'may you declare that this time is the proper time and that the food cooked is fit for being offered' The brāhmanas reply 'let it be so.' Then he asks the permission to give invitation to the brāhmanas. They give it. Then he touches the right knee of one brāhmaṇa and says 'you should find time to accept the invitation to act as representing the Viśve-devas named Purūrava and Ardrava in this pratisāmvasarika śrāddha of my pitrs'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'yes, be it so.' Then the performer addresses the second Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇa in the

1096. Hardly any sūtra or any single digest prescribes the recital of so many mantras as is done here.

1097. This occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa (Ācārālāṇḍa) chap. 216 1-2

1098. यावतीर्वै देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽप्यो वेदविद्वजो दिवे दिवे नमस्कुर्यात् । नाम्नील कीर्तयेद्देवा एष देवताः शिवाति । तै. अ. II. 15 (at end),

same way (if two brāhmanas have been invited for the purpose) and then wearing the sacred thread in the *prācīnāvita* way should touch the left knee of the brāhmana (*pitrya*) and say to him 'you should accept the invitation to represent my father, grandfather and great-grandfather in this *pratisānvatsarika śrāddha*.' The brāhmana should reply 'so be it.' He should request 'you should repair to my house.' The brāhmana replies 'I shall do so.' Then he should make mandalas¹⁰⁹⁹ for the *daiva* and *pitrya* brāhmanas. Then *savyam*. The performer should offer seat, sandalwood paste, flowers and say 'may all the items (*upacāras*) of showing honour be complete by means of *yava* grains.' Then *apasavyam*. He offers *āsana* (seat), sandalwood paste and flowers and declares 'may all the *upacāras* be completed by means of sesamum grains.' Then *savyam*. He offers welcome to the *dava* brāhmanas, to which they respond by saying 'susvāgatam' (it is a good welcome). Then he should say 'here is *pādya* for you, O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ādrava! Bhūr-bhuvah-svah to the (*daiva*) brāhmana'; the response is 'supādyam'. He should wash the feet of (the *dava*) brāhmana or brāhmanas with the mantra 'śan no devir' (Rg X. 9.4, vide n. 968). Then he wears the thread in the *apasavya* way and offers welcome to the *pitrya* brāhmana or brāhmanas representing the three male ancestors¹¹⁰⁰ and offers to give *pādya* to them and they respond with the words 'susvāgatam' and 'supādyam'. He also employs the verse 'śan no devir' as in the case of *dava* brāhmanas.

Then the performer casts away the *pantra* worn so far, washes his hands and feet, performs *ācamana* and wears two *pavītras*. Then *savyam*. He says 'welcome to all.' They respond with 'susvāgatam'. Then holding the right hand (except the thumb) of the *daiva* brāhmanas he says 'Ye gods, occupy seats'; they respond by saying 'susamāmahe' (we have well occupied them). Then *apasavyam*. He addresses similar words to *pitrya* brāhmanas who respond in a similar way. Then *savyam*. He seeks permission in the words 'I

1099. For mandalas vide above pp 456-457.

1100. The पाद्य would be offered in the words 'पितृ, असुक्कशर्मन् असुक्कगोत्र वसु रूप ब्रह्मणे सुसुव. स्व, इदं ते पाद्यम्'. In the case of the पितामह and प्रपितामह the words वसु रूप and आदित्य रूप would respectively be substituted for वसु रूप. We have to construe as ब्रह्मणे ते पाद्यम् (अस्तु) and सुसुव. स्व. as the mantra accompanying the पाद्य.

shall perform the Pratisāmhvatsarika śrāddha of my pitrs that has been begun'. The brāhmanas say 'do so'. Then the verse 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4) is repeated and also the words 'thou art yava, separate from us those who hate us and who are our enemies'. Then *apasavyam*. The following texts are repeated viz. Rg. X. 9.4, Rg. X. 15.1 and with the mantra 'The asuras, rāksasas, the piśācas, that dwell along the earth are struck down; may they go from this place elsewhere wherever their mind may be fixed', he scatters sesamum grains everywhere and repeats the mantra, Rg. X. 87.1. There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras and twelve Ādityas. Let there be protection given by Visṇu at the door where śrāddha is being performed and may this spot be Gayā. The brāhmanas reply 'Let it be a good spot.' Then *savyam*. He sprinkles drops of water with darbhas over the food that is cooked for the śrāddha dinner with the mantras viz. Rg. IX. 58, 1, IX. 67. 26-28 and with the three Vyāhrtis and the Gayātri. Then he requests 'May there be purity of the cooking' and 'may the sprinkling of the cooked food be according to the rules prescribed,' to which the response is 'so be it.' Then the verse 'āgacchantu mahābhāgaḥ' (vide note 984) is recited and the brāhmanas reply 'we are careful (or attentive).' Then *apasavyam*. He announces 'contemplating upon this spot where śrāddha is being performed as Gayā and concentrating the mind on Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) and the pitrs in the form of Vasus and the like, the śrāddha (rite) proceeds'. The brāhmanas say 'do proceed.' Then *savyam*. He gives water on the hand of the *daiva* brāhmanas, places on the right side of the seat occupied by them two darbhas together with yavas with his upturned right hand held by the left hand and says with the Vyāhrtis (Bhūr, bhuvah, svah) 'this is the seat for the brāhmana representing the Viśva devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava'. The brāhmana replies 'svāsanam'. This is done also for the second *daiva* brāhmana. He then says 'Please sit down here, though art Dharma' and seizing the brāhmana's hand (except the thumb) he says 'accept the invitation for being *daiva* brāhmana in the Pratisāmhvatsarika śrāddha.' The response is 'so be it.' Then reaching the *arghya* water, he sprinkles the ground in front of the (*daiva*) brāhmanas with water, spreads two darbhas (in front of each *daiva* brāhmana) with their tips towards the east, places down two vessels with their tops turned downwards, sprinkles water over them with the Gayātri mantra, raises the vessels up (i. e. turns their tops upwards), again sprinkles water over them and places over them (the two

vessels) two kūrcas ¹¹⁰¹ with the tips turned to the east, pours into them water and invokes the water once with the mantra, 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4). Then he puts yava grains into the two *arghya* vessels for daiva brāhmanas with the mantra 'Yavosi dhānyarājō vā' (note 985) and also sandalwood paste, flowers, basil leaf and performs obeisance. He says 'May all the upācāras be completed by means of yavas; the two *arghya* vessels for daiva brāhmanas are fully ready'. The response is 'susampanne'. He says 'svāhā, these are *arghya* waters'. The response is 'let there be *arghya* waters'. Placing his left hand in which he holds kuśas and yava grains on the right knee of the daiva brāhmana and holding in his (right) hand yava grains he says 'I shall invoke the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava to be present in you'. They respond 'do invoke'. He invokes the Viśve-devas with the mantra 'viśve devāsa' (Rg II. 47. 13) separately repeated as regards each daiva brāhmana. He says, 'I invoke the Viśve devas with the mantra 'viśve devāḥ śrutemam' (Rg. VI. 52. 13). Having invoked Viśve devas he casts the remaining yava grains on the ground near the feet of the daiva brāhmanas. Then he gives water to them (daiva brāhmanas) and he puts in their hands the darbhas placed over the *arghya* vessels; he says 'O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava! this is *arghya* water for you; svāhā, adoration'. They respond 'let there be *arghya*'. Repeating the mantra 'yā divyā apāḥ' (vide Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 13 above in n. 966) he says 'this *arghya* has been offered, it is no longer mine.' They respond 'let it be so offered'. The same process is followed as to the second daiva brāhmana. Then he offers fragrant ¹¹⁰² substances (sandalwood paste etc.), flowers, basil leaves, incense, lamp, and cash according to his ability as substitute for garment, *gopīcandana* for unguent, sacred chord and two kuśa blades for pavitra with the words 'O Viśve devāḥ, called Purūrava and Ārdrava! these are fragrant substances for you according

1101. कूर्च is a bundle of fifteen darbhas one cubit long having tops of four angulas in length and having a knot two angulas from the bottom part. पञ्चदशदर्भैर्मणितं चतुरङ्गुलार्धं द्वचङ्गुलयन्धि हस्तमात्रं योक्षणकूर्चम्। विनानसरमार्त-सूत्र 1. 8.

1102. Each of the things is offered with the same formula and as to each there is a response from the brāhmanas with 'su' prefixed to each article offered. It would be like this 'युरुवार्द्वसंज्ञका विश्वेदेवाः यथा भागशः अमी यो गन्था स्वाहा नमः। सुगन्थाः। युरु..विश्वेदेवा यथा भागश एव यो वीपः स्वाहा नमः सुवीपः।' and so on.

to your portions; svāhā, adoration'. When offering a garment or cash therefor he recites 'yuvā suvāsaḥ' (Rg. III. 8.4). Then he says 'these items viz. *gandha*, leaves, flowers, incense, lamp ending with covering (garment) be all of them complete. Let there be good worship in the rite of worship; May that which is wanting or is excessive be according to prescribed rules'. The brāhmanas respond 'astu vidhivat' and the performer recites the verse 'I do obeisance to Acyuta by remembering whom or by uttering whose name whatever is wanting in *tapas* (observances) or sacrifices becomes at once perfect'.

Then he says to the pitrya brāhmanas 'with your permission I shall offer worship to the pitrs'. They reply 'do offer.' Then *apasavyam*. After bending his right knee, the performer says 'Bhūr bhuvah svah to Brahman, this is the seat for my father, grandfather and great-grandfather, named N. N., whose gotra is so and so and who are identical with Vasu, Rudra and Āditya'. So saying he offers double-folded darbhas with sesamum grains to the pitrya brāhmanas who reply 'svāsanam'. Then follows the same procedure as regards pitrya brāhmanas which has been already set out as to daiva brāhmanas. The only difference is that instead of two darbhas three darbhas are spread on the ground with their tips towards the south, three vessels are placed towards south-east with faces downwards and three double-folded darbhas are placed on each of the three vessels, instead of 'yavosi' the mantra is 'tilosi somadevatyaḥ' (vide note 966) and instead of 'svāhā namah' the words 'svadhā namah' are employed, and instead of *tulasi* leaf *bhrngarāja* leaf is employed. In *āvāhana* the performer places his left hand holding kuśas and sesame on the left knee of the pitrya brāhmana and the verse repeated is 'usantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12) as to each pitrya brāhmana and he should honour the pitrs by repeating one mantra 'a yantu nah' (Vaj. S. 19. 58). He offers *arghya*¹¹⁰³ water with the right hand supported by the left to the father and the other two paternal ancestors. He brings together the *samsravas*¹¹⁰⁴ in the first pitrya vessel and anoints his face with that water, if he desires a son. The brāhmanas respond 'may you have a son'.

1103. The form will be: अयो दत्त्वा पात्रोपस्थित्यर्घ्यं विमृष्टे दत्त्वा अस्मत्पितरि वै ते अर्घ्यम् । अस्त्वर्घ्यम् । अपसस्यम् । या दिव्या आपः हृदियी० । विदे हृदमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम । अस्तु दत्तम् । सस्यम् । पितामहेदं तेऽर्घ्यम् । अस्त्वर्घ्यम् । अपसस्यम् । या दिव्या० । पितृनिदाये-
दमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम । and so on for मयितामह.

1104. For संस्रव, vide note 1001.

He places the vessel containing *samsravas* with the top upside down on darbhas to the north of the daiva vessel, with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitrs.' Then *gandha*, flowers with *tulasī* and *bhrngarāja* leaves, incense, lamp, garment or cash therefor, *gopīcandana*, sacred chord, betelnut, kuśas for pavitra are offered to the pitrs and he repeats the verse 'idam pitrbhyaḥ' (Rg. X. 15. 2). After repeating the verse 'yat smṛtyā' (vide above) there is 'savyam'. The performer says 'with your permission I shall prepare mandālas and place the plates'. The response is 'do so'. On the spot where the plates for daiva brāhmanas are to be placed a four-cornered mandāla beginning from the south-west to north-east and made with the right hand towards it and on the spot for the plates for pitrya brāhmanas the mandala is circular beginning from north-east to south-west made with the left hand towards it. Then the plates for the diners are to be placed inside those mandālas. Then taking holy ashes (*apasavyam*) he draws a line round the plates for pitrya brāhmanas with the mantra 'pīśāṅga-bhristīm' (Rg. I. 133. 5). Then *savyam*. Then round the plates of the daiva brāhmanas he draws lines with the mantras 'rakṣā no' (Rg. IV. 3. 14) and 'brahma ca' (Rg. X. 4. 7) and two more verses (probably Paurāṇic) which pray that the mark made with ashes may guard all, just as Viṣṇu protects the worlds. Just as Viṣṇu renders ineffective the eyes of all men of evil sight, so one should make a mandala with ashes and when this is done there is no blemish in sitting in the same row for dining. Then the purification of the hand (right) of the brāhmanas is done, beginning with the pitrya brāhmana first. Then the performer requests 'let me perform *agnaukarana* with your permission in the hand'¹¹⁰⁵ 'of the (pitrya) brāhmana.' The reply is 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Taking some cooked food and anointing it with clarified butter and dividing it into parts, having touched the two parts placed towards the south he says 'this for Soma accompanied by the Pitrs, this for Agnī, the carrier of kavya' and having spread the left hand underneath the right hand, having cut off portions from the middle and the part to the east according to the rules for *avadānas* ¹¹⁰⁶

¹¹⁰⁵ If there are three brāhmanas to represent the three paternal ancestors, then he should say 'in the hands of the brāhmanas'. The *Nṛmayasindhu* (III. Uttarārdha p. 440) says that a widower performs *agnaukarana* in the hand of the daiva brāhmana.

¹¹⁰⁶ As laid down in *Āśv. gr* I. 7. 10-12 the अवदानधर्मः are उपस्तरणं द्विलिख्यवदानं हविरवदानयोश्च मत्पमिधारणम्.

and having poured clarified butter on the food in the vessel and on the food cut off for oblations, he should offer the oblations with the words 'To Soma accompanied by pitrs, *svadhā* and adoration; this for Soma with the pitrs and it is not (now) mine' and 'to Agni the bearer of *Kavya*, *svadhā* and adoration; this is for Agni *Kavyavāhana* and not mine.' This is the mode everywhere. He touches water with the left hand and repeats the following (which is called 'samsthā-japa' and occurs in *Āśv. Śr. I 11.15*) 'Om ca me.. te namah'. Obeisance to Agni. *Suast.* Then he prays 'O *Kavyavāhana*! bestow on me faith, memory, glory, intelligence, learning, intellect, wealth, strength, long life, brilliance, health.' He says 'offering has been made on the hand'. The response is 'suhutam'. Then he pours ghee on the vessel containing the food and repeats 'mūrdhānam divah' (*Rg VI 7. 1*) Then the brāhmanas should cast the food on their hands in the vessel over which ghee has been poured and then mutter *Trisuparna*,¹¹⁰⁷ the hymns to *anna* (*Rg. I. 187, 1-11* and several others) and other hymns. Then certain paṛvanic verses should be repeated, viz 'Devatābhyah' (note 1020), the verse 'one should always recite at a śrāddha these holy places viz *Kuruksētra*, *Gayā*, *Gangā*, *Prabhāsa* and *Puskara*', the two verses¹¹⁰⁸ 'saptavyādha' (note 994a) and three more verses, one speaking of adoration to pitrs and the other two praying to *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* for favours. Then *savyam*. Then he sprinkles water (*proksana*) on the food with the *Gāyatrī* mantra. Then bending his right knee he silently spills water. Then holding the plate with the right hand above and the left hand below he utters the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel^{1108a}, the heaven is the lid I sacrifice thee in the brāhmana's mouth. I sacrifice thee in the *Prāṇa* (breath) and *Apāna* (breath) of learned brāhmanas. Thou art imperishable. Do not perish for these (Fathers) here and in the next world.' Then he repeats 'ato devā' (*Rg. I. 22. 16*) and 'O *Viṣṇu*, guard the sacrificial food'. With the hand

1107. For *Trisuparna*, vide p. 364 note 862a. The *śrāddhas* are *Rg. I. 187. 1-11, IV. 31. 1-3* and several others which the brāhmanas are in the habit of reciting in these days.

1108. The meaning of the two verses (in note 994a) viz. 'सहज्यायाम' has been stated above on p. 445.

1108 a. For 'Pṛthivī te pātram' vide note 992

turned downwards he thrusts in the food (served in the plate) the root of the thumb of the brāhmana turned downwards and should revolve it (in the food) from right to left. Then touching the plate with his left hand the performer should say 'The Viśve devās called Purūṭava and Ādrava are the deity, this food is the sacrificial offering, this brāhmana serves as *āhavanīya* fire, this place is Gayā, this brāhmana diner is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, the golden vessel is the shade of the Aksayyavata (at Gayā). This food together with the flavouring dishes which is already served (in the plate) and which may be served therein (later), is the sacrificial food offered to the Viśve devās called Purūṭava and Ādrava till this brāhmana is satisfied. Adoration. It is not mine. *Om Tat Sat*. May the food offered at the fourteen spots such as Visnupada at Gayā be inexhaustible!'. So saying he should cast on the ground towards the left side of the plate water mixed with darbhas and yavas. He says 'May Gadādhara (Visnu) of Gayā be pleased'. The brāhmaṇas respond 'May he be pleased'. Then he repeats 'Ye devāso' (Rg. I. 139.11). Then he says 'with the permission of the daiva brāhmanas I shall present food to the Father and others'. They reply 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Then silently sprinkling water round the plate, and touching the plate (of the pitrya brāhmana) with the left hand above and the right hand below it, he repeats the formula 'prthivi te pātram ..loke' (vide p 444 note 992) and the verse 'idam Visnur' (Rg. I. 22. 17) and say 'O Visnu! guard the *kavya* food,' he should thrust the root of the thumb of the (*pitrya*) brāhmana in the food (served in the plate) and revolve it from right to left. Then touching the plate (of the *pitrya* brāhmana) with the left hand he should say 'the father, grand-father and great-grand-father are *devatā*, this food is of the nature of *kavya*, the brāhmana is in place of the *āhavanīya* fire, this place is Gayā, this dining brāhmana is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, this silver plate is the shade of the Aksayyavata (at Gayā), svadhā to my father, grandfather and great-grandfather named so and so, of gotra so and so, that are Vasu, Rudra and Āditya respectively, this food with the side dishes that is already served in the plate and that may be served (later) is *kavya* up till this brāhmana is satiated. Adoration! It is not mine. *Tat sat*. May the food given at the 14 spots such as Rudrapada at Gayā be inexhaustible. May Gadādhara of Gayā be pleased.' The brāhmana replies 'May he be pleased.' He then repeats the verse 'ye ceha pitaro' (Rg. X. 15. 13) and says 'May the food

intended for the *pitrs* please them'. Then *sayyam*.¹¹⁰⁹ Then *naiṛedyā* is offered with the verse 'brahmārpanam' (Gītā 4. 24) and with three more verses in which *Hari* is said to be giver and the enjoyer and the food as having both natures viz. those of *pitrs* and *devas* and ultimately he winds up by saying 'tat sat brahmārpanamastu'. Then *apasavyam*. Then two verses are repeated in which adoration is offered to the feet of *Śiva*, *Viṣṇu*, *Brahmā* and other gods, in which even remembrance of *Gayā-ksetra* is highly eulogised. Adoration to *Kaśī Viśveśvara*! adoration to *Viṣṇu* and *Gadādhara* at *Gayā*! Then *sayyam*. Then he says 'I shall repeat in your hearing the *madhumatī* verses beginning with 'madhu vāta' (Rg. I. 90. 6-8). Then he repeats the word 'madhu' thrice. The *brāhmanas* respond 'aumadhu, all food is sweet.' Then *apasavyam*. Then a verse in praise of *Viṣṇu* (*eko Viṣṇur* &c.) 'there is one great Being viz. *Viṣṇu* &c.' is recited and the performer says 'May *Janārdana Viṣṇu* who has assumed the form of my father, grandfather and great-grandfather be pleased by this feeding of *brāhmanas* at the *pratisāmvaśarika śrāddha* of my *pitrs*'. The response is 'may he be so pleased'. *Tat sat brahmārpanam-astu*. Then having given water to the *brāhmanas* for *apośana*^{1109a} (then *sayyam*) he says 'partake of (the food) at your pleasure' and 'though art the first layer of nectar'. Then he repeats the mantra¹¹¹⁰ 'fixing myself in faith and in *Prāṇa* I offer nectar; being beneficent enter me without burning me. *Svāhā* to *Prāṇa*'. This is repeated as to *Apāna*, *Vyāna*, *Udāna*, *Samāna* with the substitution of each of these four remaining life-breaths. Then he winds up 'my soul is in *Brahma* for the sake of immortality' and then '*svāhā* to *Brahma*'. Then the hands are purified (by washing them with water). After muttering the *Gāyatrī* verse ten times or three times, he repeats the hymn to *Śrāddha* (Rg.

1109. The printed text is *पितृभ्यः सङ्कल्पितः शीपसाय*. This makes hardly any sense. I take that what is intended is *पितृन् सङ्कल्पितमन्नं शीपयतु* or *पितरः सङ्कल्पितेन (अन्नेन) शीपयन्ताम्*.

1109a. 'Apośana' literally means 'taking or drinking water'. It is a technical term applied to the sipping of water before beginning a meal with the words 'amṛtopastaranamas' and after the eating is finished with the words 'amṛtāpidhānamasi'. Vide Tai. Ā. X. 32, Āp. M. P. II. 10.3-4, Āśv. gr. I. 24.12, Yāj. I. 31 and 106.

1110. The mantras are अद्वाप्यं प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि शिवो माविशामदाहाय। प्राणाय स्वाहा। अद्वाप्यमपाने निविष्टोऽं and so on प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि ब्रह्मणि म आत्मामृतत्वाय—is आप म पा II. 20.26. The whole passage from प्राणे निविष्टो to अमृतत्वाय occurs in तै. आ. X. 34.

X. 151. 1-5). Then the performer requests 'you should ask for what is wanted; seating yourself you should with minds at ease eat at your pleasure. You should take from the foods and vegetables that are cooked and are ready whatever pleases you and should discard what you do not like. You should eat at ease'. They respond 'we partake (of the food)'. He says 'I shall recite the hymns called Rāksoghna ¹¹¹¹ as far as I can.' They respond 'repeat'. Then towards the end of the dinner a little boiled rice with curds (should be served) and nectar-like Ganges water. He says 'everything is perfect. Ask for whatever you like out of the sacrificial food that is cooked'. They respond 'we have had enough'. He says 'I shall recite the Madhumatī verses (Rg. I 90 6-8) in your hearing'. They respond 'recite them'. Then *apasavyam*. He recites Rg. I. 82.2 ¹¹¹² and should say 'The śrāddha called so and so is completed'. They should respond '*susampannam*'. Then *savyam*. He asks 'Ye Viśvedevāḥ! are you satisfied?' They reply 'we are satisfied'. Then *apasavyam*. He asks 'Ye (brāhmanas) representing my father, grandfather and great-grandfather! are you satisfied?'. They reply 'We are satisfied'. He asks 'what is to be done with the food that remains?'. They reply 'it may be eaten in the company of your friends (and relatives)'. Then *savyam*.

Then the performer declares that he would perform in the Prati-sāmvatsarika-śrāddha *pinḍapradāna* (the offering of lumps of rice) together with water and sesamum grains. They reply 'do so'. 'Let food be given to those who take as their share what remains outside the plates of the brāhmana diners'. The performer says ¹¹¹² 'May all the (deceased) men and women slaves that were born in the performer's household obtain satisfaction by the food given by me on the ground'. (Then he offers water to the brāhmanas with the words) 'thou art the nectarial lid' (or covering). He says 'May the water given to those who hanker for it, who dwell in Padma and Arbuda and

1111. The hymn beginning with कृष्णव पाजः (Rg. IV. 4. 1-15) is called राक्षोघ्न. The first five verses of it are पाज सं. 13. 9-13. All fifteen verses occur in ते सं. I. 2. 14. 1-5. So also are Rg. X 87 (beginning with राक्षोघर्ष पाजिनमजिघर्षि), Rg. VII. 104 (beginning with इन्द्रासोमा तपतं रक्ष उज्जतं), Rg. X 118, Rg. X. 162.

1111 a अक्षयमीमंश्च द्यवमिया अधूपत...हरी॥ This is ऋ. I 82.2, वाज. सं. III 51, ते. सं. I. 8. 5. 2.

1112 Compare मनु III. 246, which is the same as विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.23, मत्स्य 17.57, पराशराय (सृष्टिसंह 9 186).

and having held his breath according to his ability he should return to the original position and utter the words 'the Fathers regaled themselves and came like bulls, each to his share' and having smelt the remains of the boiled rice from which pindas are made from the left side (to the right) he should cast the pindas (on the darbhas) and should partake of the boiled rice by taking in as much steam and flavour out of it as he can by smelling it. He should say 'my father! N. N. by name, so and so by gotra, apply unctuous substance'; with these words he should anoint the pindas by means of darbhas with ghee or sesamum oil. And he should apply collyrium to the pindas with the words 'O father! N. N. by name and so and so by gotra apply collyrium'. He should put on the pindas unctuous substance, collyrium and garment,¹¹¹⁸ the last being the fringe of a garment or a tuft of wool with the words 'O fathers! this is the garment for you, do not take up any other (garment) than this'. Then *savyam*. He then says 'I shall offer worship to the pindas for the prosperity of my family'. He then offers to the pitrs present in the pindas *pādya*, *arghya*, water for *ācamana*, bath, *gandha*, flowers, *bhrngarāja* leaf, incense, lamp and *navedya* of *apūpa* (cakes) and *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), *tāmbūla* and *dakṣiṇā*, using the word 'svadhā' after each of them. Then he should worship¹¹¹⁹ them with the mantra 'Fathers! obeisance to you for the sake of food, for strength, for *śusma*, for the non-terrible (*aghora*), for *jīva*, for *rasa*; svadhā to you, O pitrs, obeisance to you; these are yours, O pitrs! these are ours; we are your living (descendants), may we be alive here!' He then recites the verses¹¹²⁰ Rg. X. 57. 3-5. Having thus worshipped them he then (*apasavyam*) with the palm of the hand turned upwards moves the pindas with the mantra¹¹²¹ 'paretana' which means 'O fathers who love soma

1118 Vide आश्व औ सू II 7 6 'वासो दद्याद् दशमूर्णास्तुकां वा पञ्चाशद्वर्षताया ऊर्ध्वं स्वं लोम एतद्गः पितरो वासो ना नोतोन्यत् पितरो सुखमिति' The text translated is based on this, when the performer is over 50 years of age he may place on the pinda the hair from his chest.

1119. नमो वः पितर इये नमो वः पितर ऊर्जे ... सन्त. स्वाम—This passage is taken *verbatim* from आश्व औ सू II. 7. 7.

1120 मनो न्वा हुवामह इति तिसृभिः । आश्व औ सू II 7. 8. आप औ सू I. 10. 5 calls them मनस्वती verses, as the word मन. occurs in each of the three.

1121. परेतन—compare ते सं. I. 8. 5. 2 'परेत पितर सोम्या गम्भीरेः पथिभिः पूर्वे ।' The 2nd half is different. The आश्व औ सू II. 7 8 says that he should pour a stream of water with this mantra on the pindas which represent the Fathers for the time being.

drink! Go away by the sombre ancient paths, after bestowing on us wealth and endow us here with auspicious prosperity and all valiant sons'. He should repeat thrice the prayer 'O fathers! bestow on us a valiant son' ¹¹²².

Then *savyam*. On the ground near the plates of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas he scatters food together with yavas and water with the verse 'I shall offer food scattered (*vikīra*) near the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas to those gods to whom no soma drink is offered and who are bereft of a share in sacrifices; this scattered food is offered to Viśvedevas who do not partake of the soma drink; it is not (now) mine'. Then *apasavyam*. He says 'I shall offer food scattered near *pitṛya* brāhmanas on the ground covered with darbhas to those who died without the *samskāras* being performed for them and to those women of my family who left the family (for bad deeds); this scattered food is presented to those boys and girls that came out of the womb; it is not mine'. So saying he strews food with water and sesamum seeds and then says after reciting Rg. X. 15.14 'this pinda made from the remainder of the food and occupying the position that a pinda given at Gayā occupies, has been offered to those persons who were born in my family and died and who were cremated or were not cremated; this is not mine'. So saying he offers near the *pitṛya* brāhmanas a ball of rice and water mixed with sesamum grains.

Then he washes his hands and feet, sips water twice and puts on his finger a *pavitra* with the mantra 'pavitravantah' (Rg IX. 73. 3). He then requests that the water in the hands of the *daiṇya* brāhmanas be auspicious (or beneficial). The brāhmanas reply 'may the waters be auspicious.' In the same way there are requests for goodwill, for protection due to yavas, for long life, welfare, peace, prosperity, contentment and responses by the *daiṇya* brāhmanas giving blessings as to these. Then *apasavyam*. Then the same request for auspiciousness of waters, goodwill, protection by sesamum grains &c. and blessings about them by *pitṛya* brāhmanas. Then the performer requests 'may my family increase (or prosper) and may the procedure of worshipping the pindas be good,' to which the *pitṛya* brāhmanas respond 'may

1122. वीरे मे दत्त पितर. — If the wife desires a son then with this mantra the middle pinda is given over to her and she eats it with the mantra आधत्त पितरो गर्भम्. Vide note 780 for that mantra. The अथर्व औ च. II 7. 12-13 says 'वीरे मे दत्त पितर इति पिण्डानां मध्यमम् । पत्नी प्राक्षयेदापच . . सदिति ।'

it be so.' Then raising the *pranīṭā* ^{1122a} vessel the performer requests 'May you say that the water and food and the like offered in the Pratisāmvatsarikaśrāddha to pitṛ, pitāmaha and pra-pitāmaha, so and so by name and gotra, be inexhaustible.' The *pitṛya* brāhmanas reply 'so be it.' Then *saṃyam*. The same request is made to the *daiva* brāhmanas and the reply is the same. Then gold is given to the *daiva* brāhmanas and silver to *pitṛya* brāhmanas and the performer says 'may the *dakṣiṇās* (fees) given to the brāhmanas that ate the śrāddha dinner protect (me).' They reply 'may they do so.' Then he says 'I shall request you to utter the word *svadhā*!' They reply 'do so.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he says 'May (the brāhmanas representing) father, grandfather and great-grandfather utter the word *svadhā*.' They reply 'let there be *svadhā*.' Then he should place over the *pindas* sesamum grains and water. Then he says 'May you declare that *svadhā* be accomplished.' They reply 'may *svadhā* be accomplished.' Then *saṃyam*. Then he says 'may you say that the gods led by Agni be pleased.' They reply 'may the *Viśvedevāḥ* be pleased.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he requests 'May you declare that the pitṛs led by the Vasus be pleased'. They reply 'may the pitṛs be pleased.' *Saṃyam*. He says 'May you declare that there is accomplishment of the *sankalpa*' (made at the beginning of the rite). They reply 'May there be accomplishment of the *sankalpa*'. He asks 'were the vegetables and cooked food liked by the pitṛs'. They reply 'they were most excellent'. Then the performer decks himself by applying sandal paste to his forehead. After doing obeisance to the *pindas* he requests for blessings for his family (which are the same as those set out above from the Padma-purāṇa on p 452 above) and one more blessing 'May persons beg of us but may we not beg of any one' (vide n. 998). The brāhmanas reply in the same words only employing the words 'you' or 'your' for 'us' or 'our'.

He says 'I shall remove the *pindas*'. They reply 'do remove'. Then he repeats the verses 'Tad Viśnoḥ' (Rg. I. 22.20), 'Tad viprāso' (Rg. I. 22.21) and two more verses and then a Paurāṇic verse enumerating the seven holy cities of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāūci, Avantikā and Dvārakā. He says 'May there be peace, prosperity and contentment on the spot where the *pindas* are'. They reply 'these (peace &c) dwell in their own places'. He says 'I shall

1122a. For मणीतपात्र vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 208, 1022-23.

remove the plates in which the brāhmanas had their dinner.' Then he lays aside the *kūrca*. He then recites the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII 38.8). Then *śavyam*. Then he says 'O pitrs, get up together with the devas' and repeats the verses 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), 'svādusamsadah' (Rg. VI 75.9), 'brāhmaṇāsah. pitarah' (Rg. VI 75.10), 'ihaiva stam' (Rg. X. 85. 42). Then he recites 'may the grand-fathers being pleased grant to men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa*, happiness and kingdom' (Yāj. I. 270, but reads 'prayacchantu' for 'prayacchanti'). Then he prays 'May these blessings turn out to be true, may my family prosper, may this Pratisāmvatsarika-śrāddha have the same fruits as that of a śrāddha performed at Gayā! May the pitrs secure inexhaustible gratification.' Then he proceeds 'Today my birth has had its reward by bowing to your feet &c.' (vide n. 999 for the two verses repeated here). The brāhmanas reply 'we forget the trouble and excuse you.' Then he says 'Today this *tithi* is like a day sacred to the sun, the brāhmanas invited are like Vyāsa, Vasistha and Vamadeva; may you declare that whatever is lacking as regards seats, dinner, mantras, procedure, materials and fees in this pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitrs performed by me today become all perfect at the words of brāhmanas'. They reply 'May all be perfect'. Then he recites the two verses 'Vasisthāsah pitravad' and 'devān vasistho' (Rg. X. 66. 14-15) and then at the end he repeats the verse containing a salutation (the word 'namah') viz 'īdam pitr̥bhyo namo astvadya' (Rg. X. 15. 2). Therefore at the end (of a śrāddha rite) one does obeisance to the pitrs (in the words 'namo vah pitaro &c'). Therefore they say "should one repeat the pitryā verses with āhava mantra specially recited with each verse or without repeating the āhava mantra separately with each verse, for it is better not to finish Pitryajña quickly. He who separately recites the āhava with each verse makes the *pitryajña* that is imperfect, complete and therefore one must recite specially employing the āhava with each verse." 1123 The conclusion is

1123. The words in the *śrōṭya* (p 108a) are 'इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्तव्यमिति नमस्कारं वसीमन्तत इति तस्मादन्तत. पितृभ्यो नमस्तिथते। तदाहुर्ग्याहावं पित्र्या. इति ३ इति। व्याहावमेव इति संसृतिरिति वै पितृयज्ञस्य सात्त्विकस्थितं वा एव पितृयज्ञ सत्त्वा-पयति यो व्याहावं इति तस्माद् व्याहावमेव इति अस्तव्यम्।' The passage इदं पितृभ्यो नमो... up to इति अस्तव्यम् is taken verbatim from the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण 13th chapter 13th khanda (end). The khanda (13) starts with the question whether the
(Continued on the next page)

one should repeat each verse with āhava separately uttered. The performer should follow the brāhmanas up to the boundary (of the village). He says 'whatever blemish there may be in *japa*, *tapas* or *śrāddha* rite—may all that become free from blemish by the favour of brāhmanas. I do adoration to that Acyuta (Visnu) by remembering whom &c. O best of brāhmanas! may this *śrāddha*, even if devoid of mantras, or of some rite or of faith, become perfect by your favour'. Then he concludes 'May Janārdana Vāsudeva who assumes the forms of father, grand-father and great-grand-father be pleased by this sacrifice, viz. the pratisāmvatsarika-*śrāddha* of the pitrs. This is a sacrifice to the manes. *Tat sat*. May it be dedicated to Brahma.' Then he repeats the verse 'Vasat te' (Rg. VII. 99 7) and then says 'adoration to Visnu (Visnave namaḥ) thrice and sips water twice. The fruit of offering pindas is stated by Brhaspati and Vṛddha-Parāśara as follows: If the pitrs are in the world of gods they are gratified by the food offered in fire, if they are in the world of pitrs they are gratified by the dinner to brāhmanas and if in hell they are gratified by the balls offered on the ground.^{1123a}

Comparing the above rather elaborate and exhaustive procedure with the procedure of pratisāmvatsarika-*śrāddha* as

(Continued from the last page)

verse 'devānām patnīr' (Rg V. 46 6) or the rk verse referring to Rākā should be recited first in the आग्निमासतश्च in वृत्तीयसवन. The conclusion reached is that the verse referring to देवपत्नीस should be recited first by the हवि. In the same context a question is raised whether the Yāmī verse (Rg X. 14 4 'Imam yama prastaram') or the Pitryā verses (Rg. X. 15 1-3) should be recited first. The conclusion is that the यामी verse should be first recited, then the Kāvya verse (Rg X. 14. 3 'Mātali kavyair') and then the pitryā verses, out of which Rg X. 15. 2 (इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्तुवद्) is recited last in which the word नम. occurs, आहव्य means the mantra शोभसावोभू. The figure 3 is a sign of the हुत accent. The sign of हुत shows deliberation आहु —we have to understand ब्रह्मवादिन as the subject. Then comes the question whether the आहव्य should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses or not. The conclusion is that the आहव्य should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses. Apparently it is rather difficult to say why this passage of the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण should occur in this प्रयोग. The only reason appears to be that the ऐ नम. passage has something to say about पितृ and hence as this is a प्रयोग for पितृ it is introduced here.

1123 a. पिण्डदानफलमाह बृहस्पति । अग्नौ हुतेन देवस्था. पितृस्था द्विजतर्पणे. । नरक-
स्थाश्च वृष्यन्ति पिण्डैर्देवैस्त्रिभिर्भुवि ॥ वृद्धपराशरोपि । ये देवलोकं पितृलोकमाथु मासास्तथैवं
नरकं नरा ये । अग्नौ हुतेन द्विजभोजनेन वृष्यन्तु पिण्डैर्भुवि ते मर्त्यैः ॥ q in पृथ्वीचन्द्र
folio 110 b.

practised in Madras in these days only a few points of differences in detail emerge. In the Madras procedure the numerous mantras as set out above (p. 448) do not occur nor does the Tai. Ā. passage occur therein, but the verses in praise of the dust of brāhmana's feet do occur. Most of the mantras both Vedic and Paurāṇic are the same. The blessings (āśr-vādas) in the Madras manual are more elaborate and include even the performer's cattle in the blessing of health and long life. In the Madras manual several mantras are set out as 'annasūkta' mantras in the procedure itself. The Madras paddhati adds at the end the well known verse 'kāyena vācā manasendriyaiṣvā'.

The procedure for Yajurvedins of the Mādhyandina Śākha in Bengal as set out by Raghunandana in his Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva is entirely based on the 2nd and 3rd kandikās of the Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana. The Pārvanaśrāddha-prayoga in Halāyudha's Brāhmanasārvasva closely follows Kātyāyana and I am assured by a careful student of Dharmaśāstra that the procedure of pārvanaśrāddha followed by Mādhyandinas at Bhatpara in Western Bengal is in strict conformity with the procedure laid down by Raghunandana. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana is translated here with some explanations and additions made by Halāyudha and Raghunandana and the whole text, being not very extensive, is given in the note below ¹¹²⁴.

1124. देवपूर्वं आहुं पिण्डपितृयज्ञवदुपचार. पित्र्ये। द्विष्टास्तु दर्भाः पवित्रपतिर्देवा-
दासीनः सर्वत्र। मध्येषु पट्टिपूर्वम् प्रच्छति सर्वाभ्या। आसनेषु दर्भानास्तीर्य विश्वाय देशाना-
बाह्येषु इति प्रच्छत्याबाह्येत्यहंज्ञातो विश्वे देवास आगतेत्यनयाबाह्यावकीर्य विश्वेदेवा-
क्षुण्तेमिति जपित्वा पितृनाबाह्येषु इति प्रच्छत्याबाह्येत्यनुज्ञात उशन्तस्तेत्यनयाबाह्याव-
कीर्य आयन्तु न इति जपित्वा यज्ञियवृक्षचमसेषु पवित्रान्तादित्येकैकस्मिन् अपि आसित्यि हो नो
देवीरिति। एकैकस्मिन्नेव तिलानावपति तिलोसि सोमदेवत्यो योसवे देवनिमित्तः। मलमन्त्रिः
पुक्त. स्वधया पिहृल्लोकाश्च ग्रीणाहि न. स्वाहिति। सौवर्णराजतौडुम्बरसङ्गमणिसपाना पात्राणाम-
न्यतमेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते पत्रयुक्तेषु वैकैकर्यैकैकेन दद्याति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु वा दिव्या आप
पयसा सम्बध्नुयुर्था अन्तरिक्षा उत पार्थिवीयाः। हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञियास्ता न आप शिवा.
हो ह्योनाः सुहवा भवन्त्विति। असावेष्ट तेऽर्थ इति। प्रथमे पात्रे संवत्समवनीय पितृणां
स्थानमसीति न्युत्थनं पात्रं निदधति। अत्र गन्धयुष्पदीपवाससां च प्रदानम्। उद्धृत्य पूताक-
मर्चं प्रच्छत्यग्नौ करिष्य इति। कुण्डलेत्यहंज्ञातः पिण्डपितृयज्ञवदुत्वा हुतशेष दत्त्वा पात्रनालम्प
जपति पृथिवी ते पात्रं धौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे असुते अमृतं ज्ञातोमि स्वाहेति। वैष्णव्या
यज्ञेषा धातुष्टमश्लेषग्राह्यापहता इति तिलान्मकीर्य उष्णं स्निग्धमर्चं दद्याच्छवस्पा वा। अहन्त
जपेद् व्याहृतिपूर्वा गायत्रीं समणवां सकृत्त्रिंशं राक्षोघ्नी. पित्र्यमन्त्रान् पुरुषसूक्तमथतिरधमन्यानि
च पवित्राणि। वृषाञ्ज्वात्वाऽर्चं मकीर्य सकृत्सकृदपो दत्त्वा पूर्ववद्वायवीं जपित्वा मधुमतीन्पु
मध्विति च। वृषाः स्थेति प्रच्छति। वृषा. स्तेत्यनुज्ञात शेषनक्षत्रमुज्ञाप्य सर्वतन्मकतोद्धृत्यो-

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"The pārvana-śrāddha is preceded by the rite for Viśvedevas. The procedure follows that of Pindapitryajña^{1124a}. In the rites for the pitrs double-folded darbhas are to be used (while in Vaiśvadevika rite straight darbhas are used). Whenever any thing is to be gifted, the performer (in all daiva as well as pitrya rites) wears a *pavitra* and makes the gift sitting. (When questions are to be asked) the performer puts the question to the most eminent in the row of diners (to the best daiva brāhmana in daiva rites and to the best pitrya brāhmana in pitrya rites) or he may put the question to all (and the reply is given by one or by all) Spreading darbhas on the seats (he makes the brāhmanas occupy them), he puts the question 'shall I invoke the Viśvedevas (to the daiva brāhmana)'. Being permitted (by the daiva brāhmanas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes the Viśvedevas with the mantra¹¹²⁵ 'Viśve devāsa āgata' (Vāj. S. 7. 34 'Ye All Gods, come, listen to this my call and sit down on this darbha grass'). Then he scatters yavas (in front of the brāhmanas), mutters a mantra 'Viśvedevāḥ srūnute mam' (Vāj. S. 33. 53, 'Ye All Gods, hear this call of mine'). After this *yapa* he asks (the pitrya brāhmanas) 'I shall invoke the pitrs'. When permitted (by the pitrya brāhmanas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes them with the mantra 'usantas tvā' (Vāj. S. 19. 70, 'O Agni! we longing for our fathers place you down' &c.). Then he scatters (sesamum

(Continued from the last page)

विष्टसमीपे वर्धेयुः श्रीक्षीर्णपिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यादाचान्तेष्वित्येके । आचान्तेष्वृक्षं पुण्याण्यक्षता-
क्षययोर्दक्षं च दद्यात् । अथोरा पितरः सन्धु सन्धुस्त्वुक्ते गोर्धं नो वर्धता वर्धतामित्युक्ते-दातारो
नोभिवर्धता वेदाः सन्ततिरेव च । अङ्गा च नो सा वयमङ्गु देयं च नोस्तिवत्पाशिषः । प्रतियुक्त
स्वधावाचनीयास्तपवित्रं कुशानास्तीर्य स्वधा वाचयिष्ये इति पुच्छति । वाच्यतामित्यनुज्ञातः
पितृभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः प्रपितामहेभ्यो मातामहेभ्यः प्रमातामहेभ्यो वृद्धप्रमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोक्त्यता-
मिति । अस्तु स्वधोक्त्यमाने स्वधावाचनीयेष्वपि निदिश्रुत्यर्जमिति । उत्तानं पात्रं कृत्वा यथाः
शक्तिं दक्षिणां दद्याद् भाग्योणेभ्यो विश्वे देवाः । प्रोयन्तेमिति दैवे वाचयित्वा वाजे वाजेऽवतेति
विष्टुज्या सा वाजस्येत्यनुव्रज्य मक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् ।

1124 a. पिण्डवि ... चार —so the result is: अपराहः कालः, आङ्गकर्तुः प्राचीना-
धीनिता, दक्षिणाभिमुखता, वामजालनिपातः, पितृतीर्थं, अप्रादक्षिण्यं, दक्षिणापवर्गता, वर्धनां
दक्षिणाग्रता चेत्यादयः पैतृकाः धर्माः । From this it follows that in वैश्वदेविकनाम्नो-
पचार there are यज्ञोपवीतिता, कर्तृरद्विमुखता, दक्षिणजालनिपातः, देवतीर्थं, प्रादक्षिण्यं,
उदगपवर्गता, प्रागग्रता चेत्यादयो दैविकधर्माः । There are of course a few exceptions
to the first part, such as दक्षिणादानं, स्तोत्रजय and विप्रविसर्जनं.

1125. It may be noted that almost all mantras quoted by Kātyāyana are very apt and appropriate for the purposes for which they are to be repeated. For reasons of space the full texts and translation of the mantras could not be given here.

grains in front of the pitrya brāhmanas) and mutters the mantra 'ā yantu naḥ pitarah' (Vāj. S. 19. 58, 'May the soma-loving pitrs come to us' &c.). Then he pours water in each of the cups made of a sacrificial tree (such as palāśa, udumbara &c.), in which a pavitra is dipped with the mantra 'śan no devir' (Vāj. S. 36. 12, 'May the divine waters be for our happiness' &c.). (He puts yavas in the vessel for daiva rite). He puts in each of the cups sesamum grains with the mantra 'Thou art Tila ¹¹²⁶ &c.'. He offers on the hands of each of the brāhmanas (first daiva and then pitrya) that wear a pavitra water in a vessel made of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or precious stone or in whatever vessels may be available or in vessels made of bunches of leaves with the mantra 'yā divyā ¹¹²⁷ āpah &c.'. The water is offered in the words 'O father' N. N. by name, this is *arghya* for you' (and then to other ancestors). Having mixed together in the first vessel (meant for the father) the drops of water remaining in the other vessels ¹¹²⁸ for other ancestors, he puts down on the ground the first vessel face downwards with the words 'thou art a place for the pitrs'. Then (at this stage) *gandha* ¹¹²⁹ (sandalwood paste), flowers, incense, lamp and garment are offered (to the brāhmanas representing the ancestors).

Having taken out in another vessel some food from out of the food already cooked for śrāddha and having anointed it with ghee he (the performer) asks 'I shall perform *agnau-karana*'. Being permitted by the brāhmanas in the words 'do so', he offers into (grhya) fire oblations ¹¹³⁰ as in Pinda-

1126. तिलोति This mantra occurs in आश्व य. सू. quoted in note 966 above. हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that यव are to be scattered with the mantra 'यवोऽसि यवयास्मद् द्वेषो यवयारातीः' (वाज. सू. 5.26) and sesamum grains are to be scattered with the mantra अपहता अक्षरा रक्षसि वेदियदः (वाज. सू. 2.29). Vide य. I. 230.

1127. For the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या etc.' vide note 966 above.

1128. There are six ancestors, three paternal and three maternal and therefore six vessels, drops of water from five vessels are poured into the first vessel रघुनन्दन adds that the first vessel is covered with the vessel for great-grandfather and is then put down with top downwards. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व explains 'तत्र च पितरस्तिष्ठन्तीति बृहस्पतिः । आहुतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः आहूयेयताः'.

1129. रघुनन्दन adds 'गन्धादीनां द्वन्द्वनिर्वेशान्मलितानामेव तन्त्रेण पित्रादिक-सुहृद्व्य उत्सर्गः'.

1130. Both हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that the two मन्त्रसः in अग्नीकरण are 'ओं अग्नये कव्यवाहताय स्वाहा, ओं सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा'.

pitrayajña, having served (into all the plates for all the brāhmanas invited) the food that remains after being offered in fire, he touches with his hands (above and below each plate) and repeats the mantra 'The earth is thy vessel &c.' (notes 992, 1108a). (He keeps some food aside for making pindas later on). Then (having served the food in the plates) he plunges the thumb of the brāhmanas in the food with a rk (Rg. I. 22. 17, 'idam Viṣṇur vicakrame') addressed to Viṣṇu or with a Yajus so addressed ('Viṣṇo kavyamidam raksasva'). Then he scatters about (yavas before dāiva brāhmanas silently and) sesamum grains with the mantra 'apahatā asurā raksāṃsi vedisadah' (Vāj. S. 2. 29). Then he should serve hot food very much liked (by diners or by the departed) or he may serve such food as he can afford. While the brāhmanas are engaged in eating (the dinner) he should perform *japa* of the following¹¹³¹, viz. the sacred Gāyatrī once or thrice preceded by *om* and the vyāhrtis, the verses called Raksoghñī (note 1111), mantras addressed to the pitrs (Rg. X. 15. 1-13 beginning with 'udiratām-avara ut parāṣah'), Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1-16), Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1-13) beginning with 'āśuḥ śiśānah' and other holy texts. Then finding that the brāhmanas are satiated with food, he should scatter some food in front of the dining brāhmanas, he should give to each brāhmana water once (for *apoṣana* at the end of dinner). Then he should mutter as before the Gāyatrī, the (three) Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90 6-8) and the word 'madhu' (thrice). Then he asks 'are you satiated'. Being permitted by them in the words 'we are satiated', he makes them give their consent as to the rest of the food, collects together all food in one vessel (in order to make pindas from it); he offers (two sets of three pindas, three for paternal ancestors and three for maternal ancestors) on darbhas near the spot where¹¹³² the brāhmanas dined and left uneaten food in plates and pours water over the pindas for ablution¹¹³³. Some authors say that pindas are to

1131. It may be noted that in Bengal the numerous verses that are prescribed here for *japa* are apparently not muttered in modern times.

1132. उच्छिष्टसमीपे-गदाधर notes 'ब्राह्मणानामग्रतोऽङ्गं प्रकिरेदिति कर्त्ताचार्याः। पण्डितैर्न्यस्योत्तरदिग्भागे अरत्निमात्रे विकिरं दद्यादिति हेमाद्रिः'.

1133. एकतोद्धृत्य is grammatically irregular; it should be एकत उद्धृत्य. The पिण्डs are offered to paternal ancestors with their wives (सपरत्निक) and to maternal ancestors with their wives. The formula would be, अहुकगोत्र

be offered after the brāhmanas perform *ācamana* at the end of the dinner. After they perform *ācamana* he gives to the brāhmanas water, flowers, *aksatas* and *aksayyodaka* ¹¹³⁴. Then he prays for the following blessings. He prays 'may the pitrs be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us'. The brāhmanas reply 'may they be so'. He prays 'May our family prosper'. They reply 'may it be so'. He prays 'May donors increase in our family'. They reply 'let it be so'. He prays 'May Vedas and our progeny prosper'. The reply is 'May they do so'. He says 'May faith not depart from me'; they say 'May it not depart'. He says 'May we possess many things that we can donate'. They reply 'so be it'. After receiving these blessings he spreads *kuśas* called *svadhāvācaniya* ^{1134a} together with *pavitrās* (on the ground near the *pindās* or, on the *pindās* themselves according to *Devayājñika* and others); he asks (all the brāhmanas or the most eminent one) 'shall I request you to utter the word *svadhā*'. Being permitted by them in the words 'May *svadhā* be recited' he prays 'May there be *svadhā* to the pitrs, to the grandfathers, to the great-grand-fathers, to the maternal grandfather, maternal great-grandfather and maternal great-great-grandfather'. When the brāhmanas reply 'May there be *svadhā*' he sprinkles water over the *svadhāvācaniya darbhās* with the mantra 'ūrjam vahanātīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34). Then he turns the vessel top upwards (which had been placed with top downwards) and he should give to the brāhmanas *dakṣiṇā* according to his ability. He should make the *daiya* brāhmanas repeat 'May all the gods be pleased'. He should then dismiss the brāhmanas with the mantra 'Vaje vaje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18), he should follow the brāhmanas (up to the village boundary) with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), circumambulate them and then enter his own house.

(Continued from the last page)

असम्यक्तरक्षकशर्मन् सपत्नीक वसुरुप एतत्सेऽर्कं स्वधा । इदमक्षुक्करोत्रावाप्तमन्त्रिषेऽक्षुक्कशर्मणे
सपत्नीकाय वसुरुपाय न मम The same formula with appropriate changes is to be
employed for पितामह, अपितामह, मातामह etc. Some writers proposed that nine
pindās may be offered, three to *पितृवर्ग*, three to *मातृवर्ग* and three to *मातामह-
वर्ग* हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1445 and 1447) provides that a line for *मातृवर्ग* should be
drawn to the west of the one for *पितृवर्ग* and another line to the west of the
one for *मातृवर्ग* for *मातामहवर्ग* and पिण्डः should be offered in that order.

1134. On अक्षय्योदक, गदाधर explains 'अक्षय्योदकशब्देन दत्ताक्षयानादेतन्नम्य-
प्रार्थनसम्बन्धि जलमभिधीयते।' तच्च पितृनाह्नयेभ्य एवेति कर्कः। सर्वेभ्यो दद्यादिति
स्मृत्यर्थसरे ।

1134-a. सपत्नित्वात् कुशानास्तीर्य-कर्क and गदाधर explains 'सपत्नित्वात्सामानि-
त्यर्थः'.

It is to be noted that in the Bengal Manual of Pārvanaśrāddha based on the Brāhmanasarvasva of Halāyudha and also on Raghunandana's Yajurvediśrāddhatattva the following details are added after the pindas are placed on the darbhas and before the dismissal of the brāhmanas. He turns towards the north and says 'O pitrs, regale yourselves here and come like bulls each to his portion.' Then he turns round to his former position and says 'the pitrs regaled themselves and came like bulls each to his own share.' Then he loosens ¹¹³⁵ the side of his *dhota* which has been tucked up and then folds up his hands (i.e. offers six namaskāras) with the mantra ¹¹³⁶ 'Namo vah pitaro rasāya' (Vāj. S. II, 32). He smells ¹¹³⁷ the pindas and gives the middle one to his wife, if she desires a son, with the mantra 'ādhatta' (Vāj. S. II 33).

From considerations of space the procedure of pārvanaśrāddha among Hiranyakeśins in modern times is passed over here. Moreover, it closely resembles the procedure in Āśv. Gr. set out above, the principal difference being that some of the mantras are different. The Samskāraratnamālā of Gopinātha deals with this from p. 985 onwards. But one noticeable feature of this last work is that of making hair-splitting distinctions. On p. 985 it refers to two śrāddhas (other than pīṇḍa-pitr-yajña) to be performed on amāvāsyā, viz. *māsi-śrāddha* and *māsika-śrāddha*, the first being described by the Dharmasūtra of Hiranyakeśin and the second by the Grhyasūtra. Gopinātha further says that *māsikaśrāddha* is the model of the other śrāddhas described in the Grhyasūtra and *māsiśrāddha* is the model of śrāddhas described in the Dharmasāstras, such as Mahālayaśrāddha or Sāmvatsarika-śrāddha, that Darśaśrāddha itself is *māsi-śrāddha* (p. 988) and that *māsika-śrāddha* may be performed on each *darśa* or on any one *darśa* day in a year and that *māsi-śrāddha* follows immediately after Pīṇḍapitr-yajña as

1135. About नीवीविज्ञसन, vide शतपथ ५ in २, 960a. बृहस्पतिवल्क्य says 'इक्षिणे कविदो ह तिलैः सह कुशत्रयम्.'

1136 नमो वः पितरो रसाय-vide note 963 above. रघुनन्दन (यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व) remarks that in नमो वः पितरो रसाय...मन्यवे he offers obeisance to the pitrs identifying them with the six seasons, that in 'namo vah pitarah' (Vāj. S. 2 32) he offers namaskāra to the pitrs as identified with Agni Kavyavāhana and then prays to the pitrs to bestow on them a house in the words 'namo vo grhān nah pitaro datta' Vāj. S. 2. 32).

1137. Vide Manu III. 218 अवजिघ्रेच्च तत् पिण्डान् and note 960 towards the end

laid down by Manu (III. 122) and *māsikaśrāddha* may be performed after *māsiśrāddha*. In modern times no one performs *māsiśrāddha* or *māsikaśrāddha* strictly in accordance with the ancient rules. *Śrāddha* is supposed to be performed by feeding a *brāhmana* and giving him a *dakṣiṇā* of a few *annas*. The *Śrāddhatattva* (Jiv., part 1 p. 254) provides, after quoting Matsya and Bhavisiya, that, if a person is unable to perform a *pārvaṇaśrāddha* every month, he should perform one at least thrice a year when the sun is in the zodiacal signs of Kanyā, Kumbha and Vrsabha and that if he is unable to perform even thrice then he should perform at least once when the sun is in the sign of Kanyā.

The two meanings of *sapinda* given by the Mit. and the *Dayabhāga* have already been explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 452-458 and pp. 472-477. The *Dayabhāga* propounded the theory that whoever conferred greater spiritual benefit on the deceased by the performance of *śrāddhas* and the offering of *pindas* was entitled to be preferred as an heir to the deceased's wealth. The Mit. said that heirship depended on blood relationship and the nearest in blood to the deceased was the preferential heir. But even under the Mit. whoever took the wealth of the deceased was bound to pay his debts (Yā. II. 51) and to offer *śrāddha* and *pinda* to him. This subject and the several propositions deduced from the texts have been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 734-745.

One thing to be remembered is that in determining the preferential right regard is to be had to the capacity of a person and the efficacy of the *pindas* when offered. After a person takes the wealth of the deceased, there is no legal machinery to enforce his duty to offer *pindas*¹¹³⁸. It was argued in *Nalinaksha v. Rajani Kanto* 35 O. W. N. 726 that, if an heir does not offer *pindas* or refuses to offer them to his ancestor, he was not entitled under Hindu Law to succeed to him. This argument was repelled by the judges with the remark that there was no authority for such a proposition and that the right to inheritance is based under the *Dayabhāga* not on offering *pinda* but on the capacity to offer it (p. 729). Vide *Gooroo Gobinda Saha v. Anand Lal* 5 Beng. L. R. 15 (F. B.) and *Digamber v. Motilal* 9 Cal. 563 (F. B.) for the statement that the principle of spiritual benefit is the sole foundation of the theory of in-

1138. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 740 and note 1431.

heritance propounded in the *Dāyabhāga*. But in certain later cases such as *Akshayachandra v. Hari Das* 35 Cal. 721 it was rightly pointed out that spiritual benefit is not always the guiding principle under the Bengal school of law, that the principle of spiritual efficacy as the guiding principle fails in all classes of female relations such as the wife, the daughter and the mother whose rights are really based on special texts and that the reason for inheritance by a re-united coparcener was not spiritual benefit but was based on a *quasi* contract and affection.

The question about how śrāddha was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive engaged the thoughts of writers from very ancient times. The Āśv.¹¹³⁹ Śr. B (II. 6, 16-23) first sets out the views of Gāṇagāri, Taulvali and Gautama and then refutes them. Gāṇagāri held that out of the three paternal ancestors pindas should be offered to those that were dead and those that were alive should be honoured in person, since the śrāddha rite is meant for pleasing the ancestors; Taulvali opined that pindas should be offered to all the three ancestors, whether living or dead, since in the rite of śrāddha they are only a secondary matter (a detail). Gautama thought that pindas should be offered to dead ancestors, upto three from the father if the latter was living, from the grandfather if he was alive and from the great-grandfather if all the three be living. Āśv. replies; one cannot offer pindas to three ancestors¹¹⁴⁰ beyond the father, grand-father or great-grandfather, since one has no *adhikāra* to do so; one cannot offer pindas to an ancestor after whom there is an ancestor (within three degrees) living. One may offer *homa* into fire to those that are alive. (If all three ancestors are alive) all the three pindas must be cast into fire or he may not begin the rite at all. The *Katyaiana śr.*¹¹⁴¹ sūtra provides

1139. तस्मै तस्मै च एषां मेता. स्मरति गाणगारि. प्रत्यक्षपितृानर्चयेत् तदर्थत्वात्। सर्वेभ्य एव निष्पृणीयादिति सौत्वलिः क्रियासुप्तत्वात्। अपि जीवान्त एव आ विभ्यः मेतेभ्य एव निष्पृणीयादिति गौतमः क्रिया ह्यर्थकारिता। उपायविशेषो जीववृत्तानाम्। न परेभ्योऽनधिकारात्। न प्रत्यक्षम्। न जीवेभ्यो निष्पृणीयात्। न जीवान्तहितेभ्यः। छुहुयाज्जीवेभ्यः। सर्वदुर्तं सर्वजीविन ॥ आन्व. औ. II. 6, 16-23.

1140. One can offer pindas only to three ancestors beginning with the father according to Vedic passages quoted in notes 958, 960a above and Manu IX 186. So there is no ancient authority to offer pinda to 4th or 5th or 6th ascendant.

1141. मेतेभ्यो ददाति। जीवस्मृतकोपि। जीवान्तहितेति। जीवपितृकस्य होमान्तमनारम्भो वा। न व्यवेति जातृकण्यो न जीवन्तमतिददातीति। कार्या औ. सू. IV. 1, 23-27. Vide also शाङ्खायन औ. सू. IV. 4, 12-15 for similar rules.

that pindas are offered only to deceased ancestors; therefore if a person's father be alive or if there is a deceased ancestor between whom and the performer there is an ancestor that is alive, then one whose father is alive can only perform *homa* (into fire, but no pindādāna) or he should not undertake at all (the rite of pinda-pitryajña or pārvanaśrāddha); that Jātukarṇya prescribes that no pindādāna is possible when a living ancestor (father) intervenes between the performer and a deceased ancestor, since a śruti text says 'one does not offer pindas to ancestors that are beyond a living ancestor.' Manu (III, 220-222) deals with this question as follows: If the performer's father be alive he should offer pindas to three ancestors beginning from the paternal grand-father or he may request the father to dinner as he would do to a stranger brāhmaṇa and offer pindas to the deceased grand-father and great-grand-father. If the father be dead and the grandfather be alive, he may offer a pinda only to the father and the great-grandfather (i. e. only two pindas) or the grand-father who is alive may be invited to dinner as if he were the stranger brāhmaṇa invited to represent a deceased grand-father or if permitted by the grandfather who is alive he may offer pindas to father, great-grandfather and great-grand-father. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (chap. 75) has several rules of a similar character. Some of the Purāṇas such as Skanda VI 225, 24-25, Agni 117, 58-59 deal with this matter. Gobhilasūrti (II 93 ff) has a long passage on this question, one verse of which is quoted below.¹¹⁴² Many of the commentaries and digests hold divergent views on this subject, viz. the Mit. on Yaj. I 254, Kalpataru (śr. pp. 240 ff), Śr. K. K. pp. 552-556 and Nirpayasindhu (III, pp. 499-503). It is impossible to reconcile all the views. The Kalpataru (on śr. p. 240) states that there are three alternative courses for him whose father is alive, (1) he should pass over the father that is alive and offer pindas to those three ancestors to whom his father offers pindas; (Manu. III, 220, Viṣṇu Dh. B 75, 1); (2) he should simply offer *homa* into fire as stated in Āśv. Śr. S. quoted above, (3) he should not engage in the rite of pindapitryajña or pārvanaśrāddha at all (Gobhila-sūrti II 93). The Nirpayasindhu says that there are numerous alternatives mentioned by different writers, that they are forbidden in the Kali age and

1142. सपितृ-पितृकृत्येषु अधिकारो न विद्यते । न जीवन्ममतिकर्म्य किंचिद् दद्यादिति कृतिः ॥ गोभिलसूति II, 93, q. by आ. कि. को p 552. Compare काला औ ए q. in note 1141.

that one view is that a man whose father is alive cannot engage in a pārvanaśrāddha and that the real conclusion is that śrāddha may be offered to those to whom the father (of the performer) who is living offers pindas. It is clear that one whose father is living should have nothing to do with pindādāna for deceased ancestors. Manu (in latter half of III. 220) allowed an alternative viz. one should feed one's father at a dinner (and honour him with the details of worship such as *gandha*, *dhūpa*, *dipa*) and offer pindas to the deceased grandfather and great-grandfather. When any one or two out of the three paternal ancestors are alive and śrāddha is permitted to a descendant several alternatives become possible by permutation and combination, which are passed over here from considerations of space and utility. But the various views held by different writers as described above show clearly what a firm grip the theory of the supreme benefits to be derived from śrāddhas had on the minds not only of common people but of learned men, who, in spite of the fact that the father was alive and was there to offer pindas to his three ancestors, allowed even the son (whose father was living) to offer pindas to the same three ancestors. The Visnu Dh. 8. extends the procedure about 'jīvātpitrka' to one's mother's paternal ancestors (changing the mantra where necessary).¹¹⁴² Similar rules apply where the performer's mother is alive (Agnipurāṇa 117.60 'evam mātṛādikasyāpi tathā mātāmahādike').

It is provided by Gobhīlasmṛiti (III. 157) that a śruti injunction should be made effective by means of *anukalpa* (of some substituted procedure) if the primary procedure cannot be carried out.¹¹⁴³ If a person cannot secure several brāhmanas but can secure only one, he should perform Pārvanaśrāddha in which six pindas are to be offered with a single brāhmaṇa, provided he is *pankti-pāvana*¹¹⁴⁴ (sanotifier of a row of diners) and in such a case, *nanadya* should be offered in place of the dinner

1142 a मातामहानामप्येवं आहुः कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । मन्त्रोद्देशेन यथाव्यायं क्षेपाणा मन्त्रवर्जितम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 75.6. मन्त्रोद्देशेन—This is to be understood as follows: "सुन्धन्ता पितरः" इत्यादौ सुन्धन्तां मातामहा इत्यादिपदक्षेपेण । क्षेपाणां पितृव्यमातुलादीनां मन्त्रवर्जित आवाहनादिमन्त्रवर्जित कुर्यादित्यर्थः ।" पृथ्वीच folio 222 a.

1143. चरितार्थां स्तुतिः कार्या परमाद्वयव्यक्तकल्पतः । अन्ते देवं यथाशक्ति आहुकाले समागते ॥ कार्यायन 9 by हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1522). The first half occurs in गोभिल-स्मृति III. 157, but the 2nd half is different

1144. भोजयेद्यवाद्येक माह्वण पक्षिपावनम् । देवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्य पश्चाद्ब्रह्मो ह तक्षिपेत् ॥ ऋक् 14 10; हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1524) reads पश्चात्तत्प तु निर्वपेत्.

to the *daiva* brāhmanas and the food should be thrown into fire; so says Śaṅkha 14.10. If even a single brāhmana cannot be had for a pārvanaśrāddha, then one should prepare with kuśas the effigy of brāhmana students (*batu*) and the performer should himself ask the questions and give the answers required in pārvanaśrāddha.¹¹⁴⁵

When one cannot secure a brāhmana nor materials, or when one is on a journey, or on the birth of a son, or when one's wife is in her monthly illness, one may perform āmaśrāddha (śrāddha with uncooked grains).¹¹⁴⁶ This is stated by the Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 206. 52. Kātyāyana and Saurapurāṇa 19.32 have similar verses 'a twice-born person should perform āmaśrāddha when he is on a journey or is in distress, or if he has no fire for cooking and those who are weak may always perform it.' The Madanapārijata (p. 483) states that one who has the *adhikāra* for pārvanaśrāddha can alone offer āmaśrāddha. Harita says that when there is an obstacle in performing a śrāddha, āmaśrāddha is prescribed except in the case of māsika and sāmvaśarika śrāddhas.¹¹⁴⁷ Āmaśrāddha is always prescribed for sūdras. It was further provided that the grains offered in śrāddha should be utilized by the brāhmanas for eating the cooked food for themselves and were to be applied for no other purpose (Hemādri, Śr. p. 1527). Vyāsa provides¹¹⁴⁸ that the quantity of grains should be at least two or three or four times as much as the grains required for offering cooked food. Some words employed in the various items such as *āvāhana*¹¹⁴⁹

1145. निषाय वा दुर्भक्ष्यनासनेषु समाहितः । प्रैषाद्युपैषसंयुक्तं विधानं प्रतिपादयेत् ॥ देवलं च by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1526), आ. कि. कौ. p. 82 (ascribes to सत्यव्रत and reads निषायाय दुर्भक्ष्ययम्)

1146. द्रव्याभावे द्विजाभावे प्रवासे पुत्रजन्मनि । आमश्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत वरप भार्या रज-स्वला ॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 206 52, quoted as व्यास's in स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 492), आपद्य-नशो तीर्थे च प्रवासे पुत्रजन्मनि । आमश्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत भाषोरजसि सक्रमे ॥ कात्या. q. by निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 462, मद पा p. 480, कल्पतरु p. 234 explains 'अनग्निश्चात्र पाक-समर्थाग्निरहितः । न पुनरनग्निरनाहितः ॥'

1147. आहुतिविधेः द्विजालीनाममश्राद्धं प्रकीर्तितम् । अमावास्यादि नियतं मास-सवत्सराहते ॥ हारीत q. by अपरार्क p. 468, स्मृतिच (आ. p. 492), आ. कि. कौ. p. 26 (लघुहारीत)

1148. आमं ददद्भिः कौन्तेय तद्दानं द्विगुणं भवेत् । त्रिगुणं चतुर्गुणं वापि न त्वेकगुणम-पेयेत् ॥ व्यास q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1528).

1149. अवाहने स्वधकारे मन्त्रा जप्या विसर्जने । अन्यकर्मण्यनूय्याः स्वरामश्राद्धे विधिः स्मृतः ॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1529), स्मृतिच (आ. p. 492) ascribes to मरीचि and explains "स्वधकारे 'नमो धः पितर द्वे' इत्यादिमन्त्रे ह्य इतिपदस्थाने आम-द्रव्यायेत्युक्तः ॥"

svadbākara and dismissal of the brāhmanas had to be changed e. g. in *avāhana* the verse employed is 'uśantastvā' (Vāj. S. 1970) which ends with the words 'havise attave' (which means 'in order to eat the *havis*') the words 'havise svikartave' would have to be substituted.

Āmaśrāddha is to be performed in the first part of the day, *ekoddista* in the noon, the *pārvanaśrāddha* in the afternoon and *vrddhiśrāddha* in the first part of the day (divided into five).^{1149a}

If even uncooked food grains cannot be offered the performer should perform *hemaśrāddha* (*śrāddha* with money) When the sun passes from one sign of the zodiac into another, in default of food and brāhmanas, on a journey, on the birth of a son, in an eclipse, in the case of women and *sūdras* *hemaśrāddha* is allowed or when one's wife is in her monthly illness. In *āmaśrāddha* twice the quantity of grains required in offering cooked food and in *hemaśrāddha* four times (the price of the grains required for cooked food) has to be offered. If no money can be had the digests prescribe several modes which have already been set out above (vide p. 425, n. 955).

1149 a आमश्राद्धं तु पूर्वाह्ने एकोद्विष्टं तु मध्यतः । पार्वणं चापरह्ने तु प्रातर्विष्ट-
निमित्तकम् ॥ हारीत and शातातप q. in अपराकं p. 468, पृथ्वीच. folio 124a.

CHAPTER X

EKODDIṢṬA AND OTHER ŚRADDHAS

Having dealt at great length with Pārvaṇaśrāddha which is the model of all śrāddhas it is now time to speak of Ekoddista śrāddha that is a modification of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.¹¹⁵⁰ The word Ekoddista means 'that in which only one deceased person¹¹⁵¹ is intended (to be invoked or benefited)'. The Pārvaṇaśrāddha is intended for three paternal ancestors and is thus distinguished from Ekoddista. In Śān gr. IV. 2, Baud. gr. III. 12.6, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kāṇḍika 4), and Yāj. I. 251-252, the points of difference between the two are clearly set out.¹¹⁵² In this śrāddha only one *arghya* is offered, there is only one *pauṭra* and only one *pinda* is offered, there is no *āvāhana* (as there is in Pārvaṇa), no *agnau-kṛvana*, there are no brāhmanas invited to represent the Viśve-devas; the question about being satiated by the dinner is to be asked in the word 'svaditam' (did it taste well) and the brāhmanas reply with 'susvaditam' (it had excellent taste); instead of saying 'may it be inexhaustible,' the formula here used is 'May it approach' (or wait upon the deceased person), when the brāhmanas are sent away at the end of the dinner the word used is 'be satisfied (or delighted)' and they reply 'we are delighted.' The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (III 13. 23-26) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28 8-11) closely follow the Śrāddhasūtra and Yāj. According to Śān gr. (IV. 2, 7),¹¹⁵³

1150. अथेत्यनेनैकोद्विदस्य पार्वणानन्तर्यामिधनं तयोः प्रकृतिविकृतिर्न ह्यचयति ।
आहृतस्य p. 244.

1151. एक उद्विदो यस्मिन् आह्वे तदेकोद्विदमिति कर्मनामधेयम् । मित्ता on या I 251, elsewhere it says 'तत्र त्रिपुरुषोद्विदो न यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणम्, एकपुरुषोद्विदो न क्रियमाणनेकोद्विदम्' । मित्ता. on या I. 217. हलायुध (folio 32 b) on आहृतस्य says 'एकोन संमदान्तेनोद्विद इति ।'.

1152. अथैकोद्विदेषु नाग्नौकरणं नाभिआवाणं न पूर्व निमग्नं न देवं न भूपं न दीपं न स्वधा न नमस्कारो नाज्ञाप्रपणम् । बौ. दृ. सू. III. 12. 6.†

1153. अथैकोद्विदम् । एकोऽर्थ एका पवित्रमेक. पिण्डो नावाहनं नाग्नौकरणं नात्र विश्वे-देवाः स्वदितमिति तृमिषश्च । सुस्वदितमिति तरे न्युपतिष्ठतमित्यक्षरपर्यायेऽभिरुच्यतामिति निसर्गोऽभिरुचताः स्म इतीतरे । आहृतस्य 4 (कात्यायनीय) Almost the same words occur in कौषीतकिगृह्य 4. 2 (Benares S. Series). The यजुर्वेदोद्भाषितस्य (Jiv. II. p. 495) explains 'एक एकदलरूप पवित्रम्'.

Manu III. 257, Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 11), Yāj. I. 256 and others, for one year after the death of a twice-born person till the sapindikarāṇa śrāddha is performed this is the way in which śrāddha is to be performed for the *preta* every month. The Visnudharmasūtra 21. 2 provides that suitable changes (*ūha*) should be made in the mantras employed (e. g. instead of 'atra pitaro mādayadhvam' the mantra should be 'atra pitarmādayasva' (O father! ¹¹⁵⁴ regale thyself here). In Ekoddista such a formula as 'ye ca tvām-anu' (those that come after thee) cannot be employed and the word 'pitr' is not to be employed (till sapindikarāṇa is performed), but the word 'preta' (Aparārka p. 525 quoting Śaunaka-grhyaparīṣita).¹¹⁵⁵

As seen above (p 262, note 591a) Ekoddista śrāddhas are of three kinds, nava, navamīśra and purāṇa. Navaśrāddhas are those that are performed till the 10th or 11th day after death, navamīśras (or mīśras) are those that are performed after the 11th day till one year (or six months, according to some) after death. Aparārka quotes a verse from Vyāghra ¹¹⁵⁶ that Ekoddista-śrāddha is performed on the 11th day, on the 4th day, at the end of each month for a year after death and every year on the day of death and a verse of Kātyāyana that (ekoddista) śrāddha should be performed for one who had kept sacred fires on the 11th day after the day of cremation and that the Dhruva śrāddhas should always be performed on the day of death. Aparārka explains 'Dhruvāni' as meaning those that are performed after three fortnights from death. About the navaśrāddha there is again a divergence of views. One meaning has already been given above on p 262 note 593. The Skandapurāṇa VI (Nāgarakhanda) 205. 1-4 and Garudapurāṇa (pretakhanda 5. 67-69) state that navaśrāddhas are nine viz. the three performed where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way and where the burnt bones were collected and six more performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th days after death.

1154. एकवन्मन्त्राद्देतेकोद्दिष्टे । विष्णुषू २१. २ On this the दीपकलिका explains "अत्र पितरो मादयध्वमिति बहुवचनान्तेषु अत्र पितर्मादयस्व इति एकवचनेनोद्दिष्टं कार्यं".

1155. ये च त्वामनु इत्यादि मन्त्रो न युज्यते । पितृशब्द न कुर्वीत नमो वः पितर इत्यादि मन्त्रं न पठेत् । कल्पतरु (आ) p 246.

1156. तत्र व्याघ्रः । एकादशे चतुर्थे च मासि मासि च वत्सरम् । प्रतिसंवत्सरं चैव नेकोद्दिष्टं मृताहनि ॥ कात्यायनः । आह्नमशिमत् । कार्यं दाहादेकादशेऽहनि । ध्रुवाणि तु प्रकुर्वीत मृतीताहनि सर्वदा ॥ अपरार्क p. 521 This last is गोभिलस्मृति III. 66 which reads मृत्यादिकं प्रकुर्वीत.

Numerous works lay down that there are sixteen śrāddhas which must be performed for a deceased person and that if these are not performed then his spirit is not freed from the condition of being a *preta* and a *piśāca*.¹¹⁵⁷ There is a great deal of divergence of views about what these sixteen śrāddhas are, some works including sapindikarāṇa among the 16, others excluding it therefrom. Gobhilasmṛti III, 67 enumerates¹¹⁵⁸ the 16 as follows: The twelve monthly śrāddhas (performed every month on the *tithi* of death), the first (i. e. the śrāddha on the 11th day), two śrāddhas on (a day prior to the expiry of) every six months from the *tithi* of death and sapindikarāṇa are the sixteen śrāddhas. The Garudapurāṇa¹¹⁵⁹ refers to three groups of sixteen, one of which enumerates the 16 śrāddhas as those performed on the 12th day (after death), after three fortnights, after six months, after every month and at the end of the year, while the Padmapurāṇa¹¹⁶⁰ enumerates them as follows: the sixteen śrāddhas are those performed on the 4th day after death, at the end of three fortnights, after six months, after a year and twelve śrāddhas performed each month (on the *tithi* of death). The Kalpataru p. 25 and Brahmapurāṇa q. by Aparārka (p. 523) state that the 16 śrāddhas are those performed on 4th, 5th, 9th and 11th days after death and the twelve monthly śrāddhas (on the *tithi* of death¹¹⁶¹). Laugākṣi and

1157. यस्यैतानि न क्षीयन्ते येनमाह्वानि षोडशः। पिनां च त्वं भूवं तस्य दत्तैः आहु-
शतैरपि॥ यम q by आ. क्रि. कौ. p 362 The same verse occurs in गरुडपुराण
(येतखण्ड 5. 50-51), लिखितस्मृति 16 (reads यस्यैतानि न कुर्वति एकोद्विष्टानि), शुद्धश्रु
13 (with variations), पद्म (चुष्टिखण्ड 47. 272 reads न सन्तीह यथाशक्त्या च अह्वया)
The verse is quoted by the मिता on पार्. I, 254 (reading न दत्तानि and येतत्वं
सुस्थिरं तस्य) येतल्लोके तु वसतिर्नूना वर्यं प्रकीर्तयता। शुच्युपे प्रत्यहं तत्र भवेता भूयुनन्दन॥
नार्कण्डेयः q by मिता. on पा. I. 253

1158. द्वादश प्रतिमास्यानि आद्यपाण्मासिके तथा। सपिण्डीकरणं चैव एतद् आहु-
षोडशम्॥ गोभिलस्मृति III 67. The word आहु has been explained by पा. I 256
as श्रुतेद्वानि प्रकर्तव्यं प्रतिमासं तु वत्तरम्। प्रतिवत्तरं चैवमाद्यमेकादशोऽहनि॥ on which
the मिता says 'आद्यं सर्वकोद्विष्टप्रकृतिसुतमेकाद्विष्टमेकादशोऽहनि'। गरुड (पितृ 5 51) says;
एकादशे द्वादशे वा दिने आद्यं प्रकीर्तयत्। But अपरार्क p. 543 explains आहु differently
'आद्यशब्देन नवमाह्वान्युच्यन्ते'। पाण्मासिके is explained by गोभिलस्मृति III 68 as
'एकाहिनं तु पाण्मासा वद्वा स्युरपि वा त्रिणि'। न्यूनाः संवत्सराच्चैव द्वातां पाण्मासिके तथा १ q
by अपरार्क p 522, आ. क्रि. कौ. p 338 and explained as 'एकमाह्वा त्रिभिर्मासो अहोभिर्यथा
पाण्मासा न्यूनाः स्युः संवत्सरश्च तावत्संख्यया न्यूनास्ति तदा पाण्मासिके आहुदे कार्यं इत्यर्थः'।

1159. द्वादशाहे त्रिपक्षे च पाण्मासे मासिकेऽह्निके। वृत्तीनां षोडशीमेता वदन्ति मतमेवमेव
गरुड (पितृखण्ड 5. 49-50); the other two groups are at chap 35, 33-36 and in 37,

1160 चतुर्थाहे त्रिपक्षे च पाण्मासे चाह्निके तथा। द्वादश प्रतिमास्यानि आह्वान्ये
वानि षोडश। पद्म, चुष्टिखण्ड 5. 271.

1161. ब्रह्मपुराणे। नूना तु त्यक्तदेशानां आहुताः षोडश सर्वदा। चतुर्थे पक्षमे चैव नवमे-
कादशे तथा। ततो द्वादशभिर्नोते आहुता द्वादशसंख्यया। q. by अपरार्क p. 523.

others say that after performing the 16 śrāddhas according to the procedure for Ekoddista śrāddhas sapindana should be performed.¹¹⁶² The Madanapārijāta (p. 615), the Nirṇaya-sindhu (III. p. 599) and others say that in this conflict of views one should follow the usage of one's country, Vedic Śākha or family. There were two views about the śrāddha on the 11th day. It should be remembered that Yāj. III. 22 laid down impurity on death for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varnas. One view espoused by Śāṅkha and Pāṭhīnāsi was that in spite of the days of impurity not being over śrāddha must be performed on the 11th day (and for the moment the performer becomes pure for that purpose). The other view was that of the Matsyapurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 21.1 that the first śrāddha (ekoddista) was to be performed on the expiry of āśauca.

In the case of ascetics dying it is provided by Uśanas¹¹⁶³ that by the fact of their taking to the order of *sannyāsa* (of the ekadandi kind in the Kaliyuga) they have not to undergo the condition of being *preta*, no Ekoddista nor Sapindikarana should be performed for them by their son or other relative but only pārvanaśrāddha on the 11th day and every year thereafter. Śatātapa provides¹¹⁶⁴ that no Ekoddista, no water, no pinda and no cremation rites should be offered to an ascetic nor mourning should be observed, but pārvana-śrāddha should be performed. Pracetā quoted by Mit. on Yāj. I. 256 states that no ekoddista is to be performed for an ascetic nor sapindikarana, but only pārvana on the day of death every year in Bhādrapada dark half. The Śivapurāṇa (Kailāsa-saṃhitā) chapters 32 and 23 deal with the rites to be performed on an ascetic's death on the 11th and 12th days.

In the Navaśrāddhas no incense, no lamps are employed. All mantras having the words 'pitr' and 'svadhā namah' are

1162. आह्वायिष्ये षोडशापात्रं विदधीत सपिण्डनम् । लौगाक्षि q by मिता on या. I 255, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 599, भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंशतिमतसंयह p. 168, ascribed to वायुपुराण by अपराकं p. 532, सपिण्डीकरणादर्वाक् कुर्याद्वाह्वादि षोडश । एकोद्विद्विधानेन कुर्यात्सर्वाणि तानि तु q. by अपराकं p. 522.

1163. एकोद्विद्विद्वं कुर्यात् यतीनां चैव सर्वदा । अहन्येकादशे मासे पार्वणे तु विधीयते ॥ सपिण्डीकरणं तेषां न कर्तव्यं सुतादिभिः । त्रिदण्डग्रहणादेव भूतत्वं नैव जायते ॥ उशनस् q by मिता on या. I. 255, परा मा I 2 p. 458, आ क्रि को pp. 444-445.

1164. एकोद्विद्वं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं भूतसत्क्रियाम् । न कुर्याद्वाह्वादिदण्डं ब्रह्मभूता हि ते स्मृताः ॥ शातार्णव q. by मद पा p. 627, आ क्रि को. p. 445, अपराकं p. 538 (reads पार्वणादन्यद् ब्रह्मभूताय भिक्षवे).

omitted and so is the word 'anu' omitted and there is no *ṛjya* and no recital of mantras in the hearing of the brāhmanas. As stated in the Brahmapurāṇa, the śrāddhas performed in the house at the end of impurity on the 12th day, at the end of a month etc. are called ekoddista. It follows that the rites called navaśrāddhas offered during the days of impurity are performed at the place of death or in the cemetery or at a place where water and pinda are offered (and not in the house), vido Sm. C. (āsauca p. 176). In the *navamiśra śrāddha* mantras are employed according to some. In former times and now also all the 16 śrāddhas are performed on the 11th day. Hardly any one waits for one year to perform Sapindikarāna. In former times it was laid down (e. g. by the Mit) that in times of difficulty, Sapindikarāna should be performed even before a year elapses after performing the sixteen śrāddhas. But now this exception has become the rule.

Sapindikarāna or Sapindana is the reception of a deceased person into the community of pitrs to whom pindas are offered. Several times were prescribed by ancient works for this. Acc to the Kausitaki gr. IV. 2 this śrāddha could be performed after the death of the deceased at the end of a year or at the end of three fortnights or on the happening of a lucky event (like the birth of a son or a marriage). The Bhāradvāja¹¹⁶⁵ gr (III 17) allowed it at the end of a year (after death) or in the 11th or 6th or 4th month or on the 12th day. The Baud. Pitrmedhasūtra II. 12.1 mentions five times for sapindikarāna viz one year, 11th, 6th or 4th month or 12th day. The Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhanda 6 53-54) states the time of Sapindikarāna to be one year, six months, three fortnights, the 12th day or on a lucky occasion. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 13. 26ff) makes similar provisions about sapindikarāna (which is an ekoddista śrāddha). Aparārka (p. 540) after a long discussion holds that there are three times for a performer who is an *āhūtāgni* viz 12th day, some day between the end of āsauca and the first amāvāsyā (after death) or the first amāvāsyā after āsauca ends and prescribes four times for one who has not kept sacred fires, viz a year, six months, three fortnights or when a lucky event occurs. The Madanapārijāta quotes a verse of Vyāsa that the 12th day is

1165. संवत्सरे सपिण्डीकरणमेकादशे मासि षष्ठे चतुर्थे द्वादशे हस्ति । भारद्वाजसूत्र III 17.1; आनन्त्याकुलधर्माणां पुंसां चैवाशुप क्षयात् । अस्थिरत्वाच्छरीरस्य द्वादशाहो यशस्यते ॥ अपारक q. by मद् पा p. 631, आ कि. को p. 350 (ascribes to व्यास), पुरुषोत्तम folio 237 a (ascribes to व्यास), भट्टोजि p. 176 of चतुर्विंशति, आद्वयस्य p. 301.

commended (for the sapindana śrāddha) because family usages are innumerable, because man's life is short and because the body is evanescent. The Visnu Dh. S. (21.20) provides that for śūdras 12th day after death is the only day for Sapindikarāṇa (but without Vedic mantras). Gobhila laid down that after Sapindikarāṇa was performed, there was to be no performance of śrāddhas every month, but Gautama (or Śaunaka, according to Aparārka p. 543) held the view that they may be performed according to the procedure of ekoddista śrāddhas. Bhattoji says ¹¹⁶⁶ that when sapindikarāṇa is performed before the end of the year, then all the sixteen śrāddhas must be performed before Sapindikarāṇa, yet the monthly śrāddhas should again be performed at their proper times for one year. Yāj. I. 255 and Visnu Dh. S. 21. 23 prescribe that even if Sapindikarāṇa is performed for a deceased person within less than a year from death still for one year food and a jar of water should be given to a brāhmana for the whole year (for the benefit of the deceased). Uśanas provides that even if the heirs of a deceased person are divided in wealth, still the *navasrāddhas*, the sixteen śrāddhas, and sapindikarāṇa must be performed by one alone ¹¹⁶⁷ (e. g. the eldest son), but Pracetas provides that when a year has (elapsed) śrāddha may be performed separately by each heir ¹¹⁶⁸.

The procedure of Sapindana or Sapindikarāṇa is described in numerous works such as the Śan. gr. V. 9, Kausitaki gr. IV. 2, Baud Pitrmedhasūtra III. 12.12, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana (kandikā 5), Yāj. I. 253-254, Visnupurāṇa III. 13.27 ff, Visnu Dh. S. 21. 12-33, Padma (Śrītikhaṇḍa 10. 22-33), Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 28. 12-18, Garuda-purāṇa I. 220, Visnu-dharmottara II. 77, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 57-58, Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 614). It is briefly set out here. ¹¹⁶⁹ As said by Baud.

1166. यदा संवत्सरपूर्ते प्रागेव सपिण्डीकरणं कियते तदा यद्यपि षोडश आहुतानि सतः प्रागेव कृतानि-आहुतानि षोडशादन्वा न कुर्यात् सपिण्ढनम्-इति ब्रह्मसिद्धान्ते, तथापि स्व-स्वकाले पुनरपि मासिकादीन्यावर्तनीयानि। भट्टोजि om चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 171

1167. नवआहुतं सपिण्ढत्वं आहुतान्यपि च षोडश। एकेनैव हि कार्याणि संविभक्त-धनेष्वपि॥ उशनस् p. 4 by अपरार्क p. 524, निता. on या. I. 255 (without name). This verse is गण्डधुराण, प्रेत. 34. 128-129.

1168. अर्वाक् सवत्सरात्सर्वे कुर्युः आहुतं मेत्य नै। संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु कुर्युः आहुतं दृष्टक् दृष्टक्॥ प्रवेत्सु p. 4 by अपरार्क p. 524.

1169 The सङ्कल्प in सपिण्ढनं will be somewhat as follows. अमुकगोत्रस्या-मुकशर्मणः प्रेतस्य प्रेतत्वं निवृत्त्या पितृलोकमाप्स्यधर्ममुकगोत्रे. अमुकशर्मणोऽभिर्बहुवद्वादिष्य-स्वरूपे. प्रेतपितृपितामहमपितामहे. सह सपिण्डीकरणं श्रुतायाद्वावशोऽङ्गि पापेभ्योऽङ्गि विमुक्ति-विधिना कारयेत्॥

Pitrmedhasūtra III. 12.12, in this śrāddha there is invitation to the brāhmanas the previous day, there is agnaukarana, there is the recital of Vedic texts when the brāhmanas are engaged in eating, Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas are honoured, the Viśvedevas are Kāma and Kāla (vide n. 1018), there is the presentation of incense and lamp, there is *śradhā* and also *namaskāra*. Four vessels for *arghya* should be got ready and filled with sandal-wood paste, water and sesamum grains, one being for the deceased (the *preta*) and three for his paternal ancestors, two *daiva* brāhmanas should be invited, one to represent the *preta* and three to represent the three paternal ancestors of the *preta*; if a man is unable to invite so many brāhmanas, he should invite three, one for Viśvedevas, one for the *preta* and one for the three paternal ancestors. He should request 'I shall unite the vessel for the *preta* with the vessels for his three paternal ancestors'. When permitted in the words 'do unite', he should cast the kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* into the vessels for his three paternal ancestors, should keep a little water mixed with kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* and distribute the rest of the water from the *preta* vessel into the three vessels for his ancestors with the two mantras^{1169a} 'ye samānā' (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46). Arghya is offered to the brāhmana representing the *preta* with the water that remains in the *preta* vessel, arghya is offered to the three *pitrya* brāhmanas from the three *pitrya* vessels. Four *pindas* should be prepared, one for the *preta* and three for his ancestors and then the performer requests 'I shall unite the *pretapinda* with the *pindas* for the three ancestors of his'; when permitted in the words 'do unite', the performer divides the *pretapinda* into three parts and puts each third into each of the three *pindas* with the same two mantras (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46). The Garudapurāṇa (I. 220.6) strikes a discordant note in that it states that the *pretapinda* is to be divided in two parts, each of which is to be placed inside the *pindas* for *pitāmaha* and *prapitāmaha* only.

1169 a. The two mantras are . ये समाना समनसं पितरो यमराज्ये । तेषां लोकं स्वधा नमो यज्ञो देवेषु कल्पताम् ॥ ये समानाः समनसो जीवा जीरेषु मामका । तेषां श्रीर्मणि कल्पतामस्मिँल्लोके शतं समा ॥ वाज. स. 19. 45-46, काठकसंहिता 38 23-24 भारद्वाज-शुक्ल III 17 sets out the following formula for लिट्प्रदान 'ये समाना ये सज्जता इति द्वापयामसौ पितृभिः पितृमहेभिः प्रपितामहेभिः सहैतच्चे तिलोदकं तस्मै ते स्वधा नम इति तिलो ब्रुकमदानम् ।' In place of असौ one has to use the vocative 'अस्मत्पितरद्वयकर्मोत्रा-शुक्रशर्मन् देव' पितृमहेभिः and प्रपितामहेभिः are Vedic Instrumentals (plural).

Sapindikarāna partakes of the character of both ekoddista and pārvana, the first applying to the *preta* and the 2nd to the three ancestors of the *preta*, so that in it two kinds of śrāddhas are combined. When the sapindikarāna rite is completed by the giving of daksinā to the brāhmanas, then the *preta* ceases to be so and himself becomes a *pitr*. The status of being a *preta* involves the experiencing of great torments due to hunger and thirst and becoming a *pitr* means being brought in contact with the śrāddha *devatās* called Vasu, Rudra and Āditya.¹¹⁷⁰ The word *preta* has two meanings, (1) a person who is dead and (2) one who being dead has not the sapindikarāna performed for him. The result of sapindana is that the ¹¹⁷¹ great-grandfather of the deceased whose sapindana is performed drops out from the list of *pitrs* entitled to pinda and becomes one called 'lepabhāk' (entitled to only wipings of the hand) and the former *preta* becomes one of the *pitrs* and entitled to participate in the pindas offered at a pārvanaśrāddha thereafter. As stated in the Garudapurāṇa I. 220. 2 the sapindikarāna-śrāddha is to be performed like the pārvana in the afternoon.

It may be noted that in some works the mantras recited at the time of pouring the water from the *preta* vessel into the *pitr* vessels are different. For example, the Visṇu Dh. S. 21. 14 says¹¹⁷² the mantras are 'Samsrjatu tvā prthivi' (May the earth unite thee) and 'samāni va ākūṭiḥ' (Rg. X. 191. 4), while the

1170. म्रेतृत्वं च क्षुत्तृष्णोपजनितात्यन्तदुःखाद्भगवत्स्था । यथाह मार्कण्डेय । म्रेतलोकं तु वसतिर्दृष्ट्वा वर्षं प्रकीर्तिता । क्षुत्तृष्णे मर्यादं तत्र भवेत्तु मृत्युनन्दनम् ॥ इति । पितृस्वमातिथिश्च वत्सादिआहुदेवतासम्बन्धः । मितः on या I. 254. या I. 255-256 presuppose this idea

1171. सपिण्डीकरणार्हं पितृभिः प्रपितामह । सुतलेपसुजो याति मृतपितृपिण्डकः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 1 ; ततः मृच्छति वै म्रेत. पितृसामान्यमाध्यात् । विन्दते पितृलोकं च ततः आहुं प्रवर्तते ॥ हारीत q. by कल्पतरु (आ) p. 256, हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1640), आ कि कौ p. 262 which last explains 'पितृसामान्यं पितृभिः सह पार्ष्णआहुभोक्तृत्वमित्यर्थः । तेन पञ्चदश-आहुना म्रेतत्वपरीहारः । फलं सपिण्डनस्य तु म्रेतत्वपरीहारः पितृलोकप्राप्तिः पितृभिः सह पार्ष्णभोक्तृत्वं च फलत्रयमिति ।' Vide also स्मृतिच on असौच (Mysore University ed.) p. 158 quoting प्रचेतस् and विष्णु.

1172. सूक्तसरान्ते म्रेतार तत्पित्रे तत्पितामहाय तत्प्रपितामहाय च ब्राह्मणाय देवपूर्वाय भोजयेत् । अत्राग्नीकरणमावाहनं पापं च क्षुर्यात् । संजुहत्वा पृथिवीं समानी व इति म्रेतपाद्यपात्रं पितृपाद्यपात्रत्रये योजयेत् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 21. 12-14. q. by हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1640). The mantra is संजुहत्वा पृथिवीं वायुरग्निं प्रजापतिः । संजुहध्वं पूर्वैर्मि. पितृभिः सह ॥ The काठकयजु 66. 7 prescribes that when parts of pretapiṇḍa are mixed up with पितृपिण्डः, this mantra and two more viz. 'samānā va ākūṭiṇi' and 'sam vo manāmsi' (काठकसंहिता 10. 38-39) are recited,

Grhya-pariśista ¹¹⁷³ of Āśv. employs the three Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90.6-8) and the three fine verses at the end of the R̥gveda beginning with 'sangacchadhvam' (Rg. X. 191. 2-4, 'May you unite' &c.).

Yāj. (I. 254) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 17-18) provide that Ekoddista and Sapindikarana śrāddhas are performed for women also (but, not pārvana nor abhyudayika). About the Sapindikarana of the mother there are somewhat conflicting dicta. If a woman dies sonless and her husband is alive, her sapindana is effected with her mother-in-law (Gobhilaśmṛti II. 102). If a woman dies leaving no son and the husband also is dead, then no sapindana can be performed for her. If she died either on the funeral pyre of her husband ¹¹⁷⁴ or afterwards (as a *Sati*) then her son should perform her sapindana with her husband (i. e. the son's father) and there is no separate sapindana for her. If she was married in the *Āsura* form or she was made a *putrikā*, then the son should perform his mother's sapindana with his maternal grandfather; while a son born of a woman married in the *Brūhma* and three other proper forms may perform her sapindana with her husband or the paternal grandmother or the maternal grandfather. In the case of these three alternatives if there is a certain family usage that should be followed; otherwise there is an option. If a woman has a step-son, the latter should perform her sapindana with his father, as Manu IX. 183 (= Vas. 17. 11) indicates. Vide the Mit on Yāj I. 253-254 and Sm. C. (on śāuca p 169) for discussion of these points and for various alternatives ¹¹⁷⁵

The Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 388) says that there is no sapindana for one whose upanayana was not performed when

1173. त्रेतापिण्डं त्रिधा विभज्य पितृपिण्डेषु श्रेष्ठादधाति मनु वाता इति तिष्ठन्तिः सङ्गच्छन्मिति ह्याग्यामनुमन्य शेषं पार्षणवत्कुर्यात् । आश्व. य. परि 3.11.

1174. सपिण्डीकरणं तासां पुत्राभावः न विद्यते । प्रतिसंवत्सरं कार्यमेकाद्विद नैः स्त्रियाः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28.18 on which सङ्गधर (आश्वविवेक p 113) says: अत्र पुत्राभाव इत्युपलक्षणं पतिपुत्राभाव इति दृष्टव्यम् ।

1175. स्वेन भर्ता समं आर्द्धं माता पुत्रे सुधामयम् । पितामही च स्वेनैव स्वेनैव प्रपितामही ॥ बृहस्पतिः q by स्मृतिच. (आ.) p. 449, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 259 (reads स्वधामय and तथैव प्रपितामही) and आ. कि. कौ. p. 428, मातुः सपिण्डीकरणं पितामह्या सहोदितम् । गोभिलस्मृति II. 102 आ. कि. कौ. p. 428, पितुः पितामहे यद्वत् पूर्णं संवत्सरे सुते । मातुर्नतामहे तद्वदेवा कार्यं सपिण्डता ॥ उद्दानस्य q by मिता. on या. I. 253-254 The गङ्ग (श्रेत 34.121) says 'पितामह्या समं मातुः पितुः सह पितामहेः । सपिण्डीकरणं कार्यमिति तदर्थं मतं मतम् ॥' Therefore the मिता. says 'मातुः सपिण्डीकरणेपि विरुद्धानि वाक्यानि दृष्टवन्ते ।'

he died, but if he was more than five years old then the 16 śrāddhas are performed for him (though not sapindana) and pinda is offered on bare ground. It may be noted that no auspicious rite like marriage in which ābhyudayika śrāddha is necessary can be performed until the sapindana of a deceased person of the family has been effected (except in the case of such absolutely necessary ceremonies as simantonnayana).

Manu (V. 89-90) prescribes that no water and other rites like sapindikarāṇa are offered and performed for those who had left off their faith, who were born of condemned mixed marriages, who entered ascetic orders, who had committed suicide (by hanging, poison &c.), who had embraced heretical doctrines, for women that wilfully seek illicit connection with men, that did harm to their foetus or husband (were guilty of abortion and murder of husband) and that were addicted to drinking *surā*. Yāj. III. 6 contains similar provisions. It has to be noted that every kind of suicide is not condemned by the ancient smrtis. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 939, 958-9 for cases where suicide was not condemned. Except in those cases Yama (q by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) provides that in the case of the persons mentioned in Manu and Yāj. there is to be no āsauca observed, no water offered, no tears shed, no cremation and no last rites. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 6) quotes Vṛddha Yājñavalkya and Chāgaleya that in the case of those who are guilty of condemned suicide the procedure of Nārāyanabali should be resorted to after a year and then śrāddha may be offered to them. Then the Mit. describes at length the procedure of Nārāyanabali. Vide note 838 b p. 370 above for the Skandapurāṇa, Nāgarakhanda 219. 19-21 on the view that śrāddha may be performed on the 14th of the dark half for persons who committed suicide or who met a violent death.

The *Ābhyudayika-śrāddha* is to be now described. Āśv. gr. IV. 7 mentions in one place only four śrāddhas viz. Pārvana, Kāmya, Ābhyudayika and Ekoddista (note 966 above). Many of the sūtras such as Āśv. gr. II. 5. 13-15, Śaṅ. gr. IV. 4, Gobhila gr. IV. 3. 35-37, Kausitaki gr. IV. 4, Baud. gr. III. 12. 2-5, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kandikā 6) briefly describe this śrāddha. According to most of these sūtras this śrāddha is performed when there is a lucky event such as the birth of a son, or his *caula*, *upanayana* or marriage or there is the commencement of a charitable (*pūrta*) act (such as the dedication of a well or a tank or a park to the public). Āśv.

gr. and Gobhila gr. are very brief. They say that in this śrāddha performed on auspicious occasions or on the undertaking of meritorious acts an even number of brāhmanas is to be fed, that the rite is to be performed from left to right and that yavas (barley) are to be used instead of sesamum grains. As this śrāddha is only a modification (vikṛti) of pūrvana (as said by Aparārka p. 514) all rules of the latter will be applicable to the former except where special directions are given. The Āśv. gr. parīśista II. 19, Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 56), Pitrdayita pp. 62-71 give a compact but tolerably full description of this śrāddha.

In this śrāddha which is to be performed in the morning (except on the birth of a son when it is to be done at once) the Viśve-devas are called Satya and Vasu, it is performed in the forenoon, the brāhmanas to be invited must be even in number, the darbhas are to be straight (and not doublefolded) and are not to be with their roots; the performer wears his sacred thread in the usual form (and not in the pṛācīnāvīta form), all actions are to be done from left to right (pradaksinam and not prasavyam); the word svadhā is not to be used; yava grains are to be employed instead of sesamum grains, he invites them with the words 'find time to attend Nandīśrāddha'. The brāhmanas say 'be it so'. He says 'May you two come (to my house)'; they reply 'we two shall come'. The performer faces the east or north (but never the south); the mantra about yavas is 'yavosi' (vide note 966)¹¹⁷⁶ he requests 'I shall invoke the pitrs called Nandīmukha'.¹¹⁷⁷ When permitted by the brāhmanas in the words 'do invoke' he says 'may the Nandīmukha pitrs be pleased'; he offers arghya only once with the words 'O Nandīmukha pitrs! this is the arghya for you'. Sandalwood paste, incense, lamp are to be given twice; the homa is made on the hand of the brāhmana, the two mantras being 'to Agni, the bearer of kavya! svāhā' and 'to Soma accompanied by the pitrs! svāhā'. While the

1176. The मन्त्र here repeated is 'यवोति . यवाः शुक्ला (in place of स्वधा)
नान्दीमुखान् पितॄन् .. नः स्वाहा नमः (instead of स्वधा नमः)'

1177 The सङ्कल्प will be somewhat as follows. ओम्, अयासुको-
त्राणां मातृपितामहीमपितामहीनामसुकासुकासुकवेदीनां नान्दीमुखीनां तथासुकोत्राणां पितृ-
पितामहपितामहानामसुकासुकासुकशर्मणां नान्दीमुखानां तथासुकोत्राणां मातामहमाता-
महपुत्रमातामहानामसुकासुकासुकशर्मणां नान्दीमुखानामसुकोत्रस्य कर्तव्यासुकर्मानिनि-
काममुदायिकश्राद्धमहं करिष्ये। आहविवेक of रुद्रधर P. 149 For वेदीनां it is usual
to put वानां.

brāhmanas are eating the dinner, the Rāksoghna mantras and mantras addressed to Indra and propitiatory mantras may be recited but not the mantras addressed to pitrs (viz. Rg. X. 15. 1-13); when he sees that the brāhmanas are satiated, he recites the five verses (Rg. IX. 11. 1-5) beginning with 'upāsmāi gāyātā naraḥ' (O men! sing for this soma) instead of the Madhumatī verses (viz. Rg. I. 90. 6-8) and at the end he makes the brāhmanas hear the mantra 'the pitrs have partaken (of the food), they have regaled themselves'. The performer should ask 'I shall request the nāndimukha pitrs to utter benedictions' at the stage where (in Pārvana) 'aksayyodaka' is asked for, to which the brāhmanas respond with the words 'do request.' The performer employs the word 'sampannam' (was it perfect) in asking about the gratification of the brāhmanas, who reply with the word 'susampannam' (it was quite perfect). On the brāhmanas sipping water after their dinner, he coudungs the places where the dinner was taken, strews darbha grass thereon with their tips turned towards the east and offers thereon two pindas for (each of the ancestors) made with the food that remains after the brāhmanas have eaten mixed with curds, jujube fruit and *prasadājya*¹¹⁷⁸ (mixture of curds and clarified butter). The pindas are offered to the mātṛs, to the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors (viz. mother's father, mother's paternal grandfather and her paternal great-grandfather). Some do not offer pindas in this śrāddha (as stated by Āśv. gr. parisista II. 19). The Pitrdayitā and Śrāddha-tattva (Jiv. p. 297) say that no mātṛśrāddha is to be performed in Abhyudayikaśrāddha by the followers of the Samaveda. It is possible that the śrāddha for the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother was inspired by the Anvastakya śrāddha, as the sūtras from Āśv. gr. quoted below will indicate.^{1178a}

The words Nāndīśrāddha and Vṛddhīśrāddha are synonymous. When Yaj I. 250 says¹¹⁷⁹ that the Nāndimukha pitrs should be worshipped with pindas when there is *vṛddhi* (a lucky or auspicious event), he indicates that Nāndīśrāddha and Vṛddhi-

1178 घृपदाज्य is defined in आश्व. गृ. IV. 1. 17 as 'दधन्यन्न सर्पिरानयन्येत-
त्पिण्य घृपदाज्यम्'.

1178 a अपरेसुरन्वदक्यम्...पिण्डपितृयज्ञे कल्पेन। हुत्वा मधुमन्धवर्जं पिष्टम्यो
वचात्। क्षीग्यश्च सुरा चान्नामनित्यधिकम्। आश्व. गृ. II. 5 1, 3-5.

1179. एवं प्रदक्षिणावृत्तो वृद्धौ नान्दीमुखान् पितॄन्। यजेत दधिकर्कन्धूमिभ्यान्
पिण्डान्पदैः क्रिया.॥ या. I. 250.

śrāddha mean the same thing. As noted by the Mit. on Yaj. I. 250 quoting Śatātapa this śrāddha is made of three parts, viz. mātṛ-śrāddha, pitrśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha.¹¹⁸⁰ On the other hand the Bhavisiya-purāṇa I. 185. 15 states that there are two śrāddhas in this viz Mātṛ-śrāddha and Nāndimukha-pitr-śrāddha. Ābhyudayika-śrāddha and Vṛddhiśrāddha are treated as synonyms in some works such as the Padmapurāṇa,¹¹⁸¹ though it may be said that Ābhyudayika śrāddha is wider in import than Vṛddhiśrāddha, since it is also applicable to śrāddha performed on the commencement of a *pūrta* act.

The Visnupurāṇa III. 13. 2-7, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 4-7, Padmapurāṇa (sr̥ṣṭi 9. 194-199), Bhavisiyapurāṇa I. 185. 5-13, the Visnudharmottāra I. 142. 13-18 describe briefly the procedure of Nāndiśrāddha and also the occasions on which it is to be performed. The occasions specified are¹¹⁸²: on the marriages of sons and daughters, on entering a new house, on naming a child, at the time of Cūḍākarma, at Simantonnayana, on the birth of a son, a householder should honour the group of pitrs called Nāndimukha. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 28. 6 notes that some desire that this śrāddha should not have Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas, but the Padmapurāṇa (sr̥ṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.195) says that in this Vṛddhiśrāddha the mothers are to be first honoured, then the fathers, then the mātāmahas and then the Viśve-devas Hemādri (śr. p. 107) quotes two verses from the Brahmapurāṇa to the effect that the father, paternal grandfather and paternal great-grandfather are called *ātṛmukha* pitrs, while the three paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather are called Nāndimukha pitrs.¹¹⁸³ The Kalpataru (on śrāddha p. 270) explains these verses as meaning no more than this that in case the three paternal ancestors of a man are living and there is a lucky event, then the devatās for Nāndiśrāddha in his case would be the three

1180. यद्यपि पितृव्यजेतेति सामान्येनोक्तं तथापि आह्वयं क्रमश्च स्मृत्यन्तरादय-
न्तत्त्वः । यथाह शातातपः । मातु आह्वं तु पूर्वं स्वात्पितृणां तद्वचनम् । ततो मातामहाना
च वृद्धौ आह्वयं स्मृतम् ॥ मिता on पा. I. 250, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 271

1181. तृतीयमाशुदायिकं वृद्धिआह्वं तदुच्यते । पञ्च (सुष्टिखण्ड 9. 194).

1182. कन्यापुत्रविवाहेषु प्रवेशे नववेश्मनि । नामकर्माणे बालानां चूडाकर्मादिके तथा ।
सीमन्तोन्नयने चैव पुत्रादिमुखवर्जिते । नान्दीमुखं पितृगणं पूजयेत् मयतो यदी । पितृपूजा-
विधिः श्रौतौ वृद्धविष समासतः । विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 5-7, quoted by अपराक p. 515
(except the last half)

1183. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः । त्रयो वाशुमुखा ह्येते पितर समकीर्तितौ ॥
तेषां पूर्वं त्रयो ये तु ते तु नान्दीमुखौ इति ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (आ p. 107),
कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 270, मद पा p. 633. नान्दी means सगृह्णि acc. to ब्रह्मपुराण q. by
कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 268.

paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather. The Bhavisya-purāṇa notes that according to family usage some did not offer pindas in Vṛddhīśrāddha ^{1183a}.

The word 'mātarah' has two meanings. Gobhilasmṛti ¹¹⁸⁴ prescribes that at the beginning of all rites the Mātrs together with Gaṇeśa have to be worshipped and it names fourteen mātṛs such as Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī (I 11-12). ¹¹⁸⁵ In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (88, 11-20 and 38) they are said to be seven viz Brahmānī and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 217-218 for the Mātrs and their worship. ¹¹⁸⁶ Aparārka (p. 517) quotes verses to the effect that in Vṛddhīśrāddha one must offer worship to the seven mātṛs (Brahmānī and others), then to one's mother, paternal grandmother, and paternal great-grandmother, then to the Nādimukha pitṛs and then to the mātāmāhās together with their wives. The Śrāddhaprakāśa (of Viramitrodaya) quotes Vṛddha-Vasistha to the effect that in the Mātrśrāddha (as part of Vṛddhīśrāddha) if a sufficient number of brāhmaṇas be not available then for the groups of mātṛs and of mātāmāhās four women (for each group) whose husbands are living and who have a son or sons should be invited to dinner ^{1186a} and honoured.

The *Pratisāmnatsarika* or *Pratyābdika* śrāddha has already been described above at great length. It is to be performed every year on the day of death (Gobhilasmṛti III, 66). It is

1183a पिण्डनिर्घर्षणं कुर्यान्न वा कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । इद्धिआद्धे महाबाहो कुलधर्मा-
नवेश्य ह ॥ भविष्यपुराणः ; on this the पृथ्वीच० folio 167a remarks 'अतश्चाशौ-
करणादीनामपि निषेधः । तथा । अशौकरणमर्थं चावाहनं चावनेजनम् । पिण्डआद्धे प्रकुर्वीत
पिण्डहोमे निवर्तते ॥'.

1184. कर्मादिषु ह सर्वेषु मातरः सगणाधिपाः । पूजनीयाः प्रयत्नेन पूजिताः पूजयन्ति
ता ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I, 13, ५ by कल्पतरु (आ. p 272).

1185. ब्रह्मण्याद्यास्तथा सप्त दुर्गाक्षेत्रगणाधिपान् । इद्ध्यादीं पूजयित्वा तु पश्चात्तान्दी-
श्वरान् पितॄन् ॥ मातृपूर्वाद् पितॄन्पूज्य ततो मातामहानपि । मातामहीस्ततः केचिद्युग्मा भोज्या
द्विजातयः ॥ ५ ॥ अपरार्क p 517.

1186 The worship of the mother Goddess or of mother Goddesses is one of the oldest and most widespread forms of religion. The mother Goddess appears in the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Syria, in prehistoric Europe and west Africa. Rude female figures, which represent idols of the mother Goddesses; have been discovered in the earliest deposits of pre-historic cultures. Vide 'Mother Goddesses' by Mr. S K Dikshit (Poona).

1186a. मातृवर्गे मातामहीवर्गे वा ब्राह्मणालामे पतिपुत्रान्विताश्चतस्रश्चतस्र सुवासिन्यो
भोजनीया इत्युक्तं इद्धवसिष्ठेन । मातृआद्धे ह विमाणालामे पूजयेदपि । पतिपुत्रान्विता
भग्या वापितोऽपि सुदान्विताः ॥ आद्धप्रकाश p. 298.

laid down that in the case of one's parents this śrāddha partakes of the character of *pūrvāna*.¹¹⁸⁶ The Bhavisya-purāṇa and Skanda state that the Sāmvatsarika śrāddha is the most eminent among śrāddhas and that if a son does not perform the yearly śrāddha of his parents on the day of death he goes to the horrible Hall called Tamisra and then is born as a pig in a town.¹¹⁸⁷ In connection with this, if the tithi or month of death or both are not known then Brhaspati, the Skandapurāṇa, Padma and Bhavisyapurāṇa lay down certain rules, viz.¹¹⁸⁸ (1) if the tithi is known but the month is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on that tithi in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa or Māgha; (2) if the month is known but the tithi is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on the amāvāsya of the month; (3) if both the tithi and the month are not known, then one should take the tithi and the month when the deceased started from home; (4) if even the day and month of starting be not known, then the tithi and month in which a person hears of the death of a relative should be taken. It is to be noted that the month in pitṛya rites is lunar and the words 'dina, aḥa, vāra' in connection with pitṛya rites mean 'tithi' (Aparārka p. 545). There is no *pratyaśāḍika* śrāddha in an intercalary month (Skanda VII. 1. 206, 59).

A few words may now be said about some other śrāddhas.

A well-known śrāddha is the Mahalayaśrāddha. Some of the Purāṇas deal with this. The Padmapurāṇa (Śrī-khaṇḍa) says 'In the fifth fortnight (*pañca*) beginning from the Full Moon day of Āśāḍha, one should perform a śrāddha, whether the Sun is by that time in the zodiacal sign of Kanyā (Virgo) or not. The sixteen days when the Sun is in Kanyā are equal to the solemn sacrifices which are completed with the gift of the

1186 b. एतच्च मृताहपार्ष्णं मातापित्रोरेव । दद्याच्च हेमाद्रिभूतकात्पापनवचन
'सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पित्रोरेव हि पार्ष्णम् । पितृव्यम्रातृमातृणामेकोदिष्टं सदेव तु ॥ मातृपदं
सपत्नीमातृपदम् ।' आङ्गत्त्व p. 304.

1187. सर्वेषामेव आङ्गानां श्रेष्ठं सावत्सरं स्मृतम् । कियते यत्तद्विश्रेष्ठं भुतेऽहनि दुःषेः
सह ॥ स यदि नरकं घोरं ताविस्रं नाम नामत । ततो भवति दुष्टात्मा नगरे चकार खप ॥ भविष्य.
I. 183. 20 and 25. The first occurs also in स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205, 43.

1188. मृताहस्य यदा मासो न ज्ञायेत कर्मचन । मार्गशीर्षिधवा मासे आङ्गं तद्विज्ञे
स्मृतम् ॥ यदा तु वासराज्ञानं भासज्ञानमथैव च । अमायामेव तन्मासं आङ्गं सावत्सरं भवेत् ॥
एव (पातालखण्ड 101. 73-74). Vide भविष्यपुराण I. 183, 28-29, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205
52 for similar rules बृहस्पति q. by अपराकी p. 545 has similar verses and adds
'विनमासौ न विज्ञातौ मरणस्य यदा शुनः । मर्यादादिनमासौ तु यादौ पूर्वोक्तया विज्ञा'.

best of daksinās. If it is not possible to perform the śrāddha in the dark half (when the Sun is in Kanyā), one may perform it when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance). When the Sun enters the sign of Scorpion (without a śrāddha being performed), the Fathers go away losing all hope and after pronouncing a terrible curse (on their descendants) they return to their abode.¹¹⁸⁹ The fifth fortnight from the Full Moon day of Āśāḍha is the dark half of Bhādrapada. The dark half is the preserve of pitrs. In Bhādrapada the Sun is in the middle of its apparent motion in daksināyana. Therefore the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially chosen as the best period for śrāddha to the pitrs i. e. for the Mahālaya. The śrāddha performed in Bhādrapada dark half is called Mahālaya-śrāddha, since that fortnight is the abode (ālaya) as it were of the maha (i. e. festival day) for pitrs. The real idea is that the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially to be welcomed for a śrāddha when the Sun is in Kanyā during that fortnight and that even if the Sun is not in Kanyā the dark half of Bhādrapada is still a good time for a śrāddha to the pitrs. The Skandapurāṇa¹¹⁹⁰ also says 'In the fifth fortnight from the Full Moon of Āśāḍha, when the Sun occupies the sign of Kanyā, the pitrs of him who offers a śrāddha on the tithi of the death (of one's father) certainly derive gratification for one year thereafter.' The Kalpataru quotes the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa to the effect that if a man has not performed śrāddha in

1189. आपाहीनवर्धि कृत्वा यस्तु पक्षस्तु पञ्चमः । तत्र आर्द्धं प्रकुर्वीत कन्यां गच्छतु वा न वा ॥ कन्यागते सवितरि पान्यहानि तु पोदश । कस्तुभिस्तानि तुल्यानि समाप्तवरदाक्षिणे ॥ ...अमावात् कृष्णपक्षाद्दी तुलायां कर्तुमर्हति ॥ अतो वृश्चिकमासाते निराज्ञाः पितरो गताः । पुनः स्वभवनं पान्ति शार्पं दत्त्वा सुदारुणम् ॥ पक्ष (सुदक्षिण 47. 225-228). The first verse आपाही० occurs in अग्निपुराण 175.33 and is ascribed to जातुकर्ण by आ. क्रि कौ p. 283 and अपराक p. 423, which reads the third पाद as आर्द्धकालः स विज्ञेयः The verse कन्यागते० is ascribed to the ब्रह्मपुराण by आ. क्रि कौ p. 285 (which reads तुल्यानि देवो नारायणोऽनवीत्) and to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण by अपराक p. 424 (which reads last पाद as तत्र दत्तं महाफलम्) and to श्लोकगोम by आ. क. ल. p. 99. पान्यहानि तु पोदश—These words are explained in two ways. 'कदाचित् पक्ष-विद्वद्दी पोदशदिनात्मकोऽपि नभस्पस्यापर पक्ष आर्द्धकर्मणि कालो न तु पञ्चदशदिनात्मको वेति दर्शयितुमुक्तम् । यद्वा अमावास्याया अनन्तरभूताया प्रतिपत्तिरथा अपि संग्रहणार्थं तिथि-पोदशकः' इत्युक्तम् । प्रतिपदिपि क्षीणचन्द्रत्वे सापरपक्षतुल्यत्वात् । स्मृतिश्च (आ. p. 365). There is also a third way viz including the preceding full moon day along with the 15 days of the dark half. मजापत्तिस्मृति verse 161 is very similar to the verse कन्यागते० and कल्पतरु (आ. p. 16) quotes it from ब्रह्माण्ड

1190 आपात्वा पञ्चमे पक्षे कन्यासंस्थे दिवाकरे । मृताहनि पुनर्यो वै आर्द्धं दास्यति मानवः ॥ तस्य संवत्सर यावच्छताः स्युः पितरो भुवम् । स्कन्द. VI. 216. 96-97, q. by आर्द्ध-कल्पलता p. 98.

Mahālaya (i. e. in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā) he should offer it on the 15th day (of the dark half of Āśvina) on which, it is well-known, lamps are lighted.¹¹⁹¹ The Śrāddha-sāra (p. 113) and the Smṛtimuktāphala (on śrāddha p. 745) quote Vṛddha-manu to the effect that the latter half of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in Kanyā is called Mahālaya and also Gajacchāyā. Various views are held on the question of the exact day on which the Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, viz. it may be performed on any day from the first *tithi* of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the amāvāsya or from the fifth of the dark half to the amāvāsya of Bhādrapada or from the 8th or 10th of the dark half to amāvāsya or from the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the 5th of the next fortnight or on any day on which the Sun is in Kanyā or on any day till the Sun enters Scorpion.¹¹⁹² Prajāpati states that there are numerous śrāddhas described by the Purāṇas, all of them yield rewards but the Mahālaya (śrāddha) is the most eminent among them.¹¹⁹³

The Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, as stated by the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in accordance with the procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.¹¹⁹⁴ The Smṛtyarthasāra states that if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except sapindikarāṇa) according to the detailed procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha they should be performed by the procedure called 'Sankalpavidhi', which consists in performing the details laid down for Pārvaṇa as far as possible except the details of *āvāhana*, *arghya*, *homa* and *pindadāna*.¹¹⁹⁵ The Madanapārijāta (pp 609-610) also states that when a man has to perform a 'sankalpa-śrāddha' he need not go through the details of *arghyadāna*, *vikāra* and there is no *āvāhana*, no *agnaukarāṇa* and no pindadāna even, but he has simply to feed a brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas

1191. येयं दीपान्विता राजन् कथात पञ्चदशी शुवि। तस्या दद्यात् चैवत्तं विष्णुना ह महालये ॥ भविष्यपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (on आ p 17) and आ किं कौ p 291, स्मृतिह (आ p 747 ascribes to सुमन्तु)

1192. तदेवं कृत्स्नः पञ्चमः पक्षः पञ्चम्यादिदर्शान्तमष्टम्यादिदर्शान्त-दशम्यादिदर्शान्त-पञ्चमीदर्शयोः मध्ये अनिपिद्धमेकं वा दिनं महालयश्चाह्मकालः । स्मृतिह (आ p 747)

1193. आह्वान्यनेकशः सन्ति पुराणोक्तानि वै रुचिः । फलप्रदानं सर्वणि तेषामग्नौ महालयः ॥ प्रजापति verse 37.

1194. कन्यागते सवितरि दिमानि दश पञ्च च । पार्वण्येनैव विधिना तत्र आह्मं विधीयते ॥ मार्कण्डेयपु. q. by स्मृतिह (आ p. 745).

1195. संपिण्डीकरणवर्ज्यं सर्वआह्वेषु विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनासम्भवे सङ्कल्पविधिनैव कार्पण्यं । सङ्कल्पविधानं नामावाहनार्च्यहोमपिण्डवर्जं पार्वण्योक्तं यथासम्भवं भवति । स्मृत्युत्तरा p 60.

In the Mahālayaśrāddha the Viśvedevas are Dhuri and Locana. This śrāddha is performed for the benefit not only of the paternal and maternal ancestors with their wives, but also for other relatives and persons that are dead (together with their wives, sons and husbands if these be dead) viz one's step-mother, one's wife, son, daughter, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, brother, paternal aunt and maternal aunt, sister, paternal uncle's son, son-in-law, sister's son, father-in-law, mother-in-law, ācārya, upādhyāya, *guru*, friend, pupil and any other relative.¹¹⁹⁶ Some perform only for the paternal ancestors with their wives and the maternal ancestors with their wives. The day on which the moon is in Bharani nakṣatra in the dark half of Bhādrapada is called Mahābharani and śrāddha performed on that day is said to be equal to Gayāśrāddha (Matsyapurāṇa q. by Śr. K. L p 99) The Mahālaya-śrāddha is to be performed on the 12th tithi of Bhādrapada dark half in the case of a saṁnyāsī and on no other tithi and his yearly śrāddha is to be performed by his son according to pārvaya method as in the case of householders. The dvādaśī is sacred to Viṣṇu and *yatis* always repeat the words 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' and therefore the 12th is the special tithi for the mahālaya-śrāddha of yatis. The Mahālayaśrāddha is not to be performed in an intercalary month (*malamāsa*).

Two more śrāddhas that are performed even to this day may be mentioned here. One is called 'Mātāmahaśrāddha' or 'Dauhitra-pratipad-śrāddha'. A daughter's son whose parents are alive can alone perform a śrāddha for his maternal grand-father (together with the maternal grand-mother if she also be dead) on the first tithi of the bright half of Āsvina¹¹⁹⁷. A daughter's son can perform it even if his maternal grand-father has a son or sons living. It may be performed with or without pindaḍāna (generally without it) and it may be performed even if the daughter's son has not been invested with the sacred thread. The Śrāddhasāra notes that the mātāmahaśrāddha is based only on the usage of śiṣtas (p. 24).

Another is the 'Avidhavānavamīśrāddha', which is performed for one's mother or other women of the family who died while the husbands were alive. It is performed on the 9th of

1196. Vide धर्मसिन्धु II, p. 79 for the सङ्कल्प in महालयश्राद्ध

1197 गर्भस्थोऽपि च दौहित्रो अश्वदुक्षतिपदिने । कुर्यान्मातामहश्राद्धं पितरौ यदि जीवतः ॥ प्रजापतिस्मृति verse 170.

the dark half of Bhādrapada. It ceases to be performed when the husband dies after the woman's death. The Nirṇayasindhu notices several views about this and says that one should follow the usage of one's country ¹¹⁹⁸. According to the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa in this śrāddha not only a brāhmana but also a woman whose husband is alive is to be fed and presents of a girdle, a garland and bangles are to be made to her.

It will have been seen from the translation of Āśv. gr., Yaj and the Padmapurāṇa that daksina, according to one's ability, has to be given in each śrāddha towards the end of the rite. The Skandapurāṇa (VI 218. 12-14) provides that whatever is wanting in mantras or the proper time or in procedure becomes perfect by daksina. Śrāddha without daksina is like rain on an arid place or like dancing in the dark or like singing before a deaf person, that he who desires the permanent gratification of himself and his Manes should not offer a śrāddha without daksina. The Rāmāyana shows how on the 12th day after the death of king Daśaratha gifts of jewels, of hundreds of cows, wealth, food in abundance and vehicles, of male and female slaves, of spacious houses were made to the brāhmanas. ¹¹⁹⁹ The Āśramavāsikaparva (14 3-4) recounts the valuable gifts to brāhmanas in honour of Bhisma, Drona, Duryodhana and other fallen warriors, adding that persons of all varnas were treated to profuse food and drink. The Vāyupurāṇa (chapter 80) propounds in great detail the rewards of various kinds of gifts made in śrāddhas. From considerations of space those descriptions are passed over here and only a brief eulogy of the gift of cooked food is given in the note below. ¹²⁰⁰ The Śāntiparva (chap 42. 7)

1198. अत्र भर्तृमरणोत्तरं पूर्वमुक्तं आह्वं न कार्यमिति केचिद्वाहं पठन्ति च आह्वं नवम्या कुर्याच्चक्षते भर्तरे छुप्यते इति तदेतन्निर्मूलत्वात्पूर्वमतारणमात्रम् । आह्वदीपकलिकाया आह्वे-
पितुमातृकुलोत्पन्ना याः काश्चिन्मुक्ताः स्त्रियः । आह्वार्शं मातरौ ज्ञेया आह्वं तत्र प्रदीयते ॥
इति । अत्र देशाच्चाह्वं व्यवस्था । निर्गणसिन्धु II p 154

1199. ताते दशाहेऽतिगते कृतशौचो ह्यपरमजः । ह्यदशेऽहनि सपति आह्वकर्माय
कारयत् ॥ ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददौ रत्नं धनमर्घं च शुष्कलम् । वासिकं बहुशुक्रं च आश्रापि शतशतदा ।
वासिदासं च यानं च वेदमानि ह्यमहानि च । ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददौ पुत्रो राजस्वरीध्वदेहिकम् ।
रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड 77. 1-3 (M. L. J edition, 1933). ततोऽनन्तरमेवात्र सर्वगणा-
न्महामते । अक्षपानरसौषेण ह्यवपासास पार्थिव ॥ आश्रमवासिकपर्व 14. 12

1200. अह्वदी लभते तिस्रः कन्याकोटीस्तथैव च । अह्वदानात्परं दानं विद्यते नेह किंचन ।
अह्वद् भूतानि जायन्ते जीवन्ति च न संशयः ॥ जीवदानात्परं दानं न किञ्चिदिव विद्यते ।
अह्वैजीवति त्रैलोक्यमजरयैव हि तत्फलम् । अह्वे लोकाः प्रतिष्ठन्ति लोकदानस्य तत्फलम् । अह्वं
प्रजापतिः साक्षात्तेन सर्वमिदं ततम् ॥ वायुपुराण 80. 54-57.

states that while Yudhisthira performed the after-death ceremonies of the fallen heroes he erected *sabhās*, *prapās*, water reservoirs and the like intending them for each separately. Devala states. 'when the brāhmanas have sipped water after dinner, daksinā is to be given' and Brhaspati prescribes 'Daksinā should be given to all the brāhmanas according to the learning of them by means of (gifts of) cows, land, gold, clothes. He should do this in such a way that they feel satisfied, one who is well-off should do this specially.'¹²⁰¹ The Āśvamedhika-parva (62. 2-5) states that Vāsudeva offered śrāddha to his sister's son Abhimanyu and donated to sixty thousand brāhmanas, gold, cows, bed-steeds, clothes and fed them. A special rule was provided by Brhaspati that the clothes, ornaments, bed-stead and the like, the horse and the like that were used by the father during his lifetime should be presented to the brāhmana invited for śrāddha after honouring him with sandalwood paste and flowers.^{1201a} The Amśāsana-parva (chapt. 96) states the origin of the practice of giving an umbrella and sandals on the completion of a śrāddha.

Something must be said about the gift of the bed-stead (*śayyā*) used by the deceased on the 11th or 12th day after death. The Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhanda 34. 69-89), Padma (sr̥ṣṭikhaṇḍa 10. 12), the Matsyapurāṇa highly eulogise the gift of śayyā to a brāhmana and his wife. The Matsyapurāṇa states that on the 2nd day after the end of impurity on death the performer (of śrāddha) should donate a bed-stead possessing special characteristics; on it the golden image of the deceased should be placed and also fruits and clothes. After honouring a brāhmana couple with many ornaments this should be done; then a bull should be let loose (for the benefit of the deceased) and the gift of a dark brown cow should also be made.¹²⁰² The Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhanda 34. 73-82) gives a more elaborate description which appears to be almost identical with the

1201. बृहस्पतिरपि । मद्याह्निकिणां तेषां सर्वेषामनुकूलतः । शोभद्विरप्यवसोमि-
स्तुष्टिर्लोकवतां यथा । तथा भवति कर्तव्यं समर्थेन विशेषतः ।' q. by पुटवीच folio 112b; यद्य-
द्विदमं लोके यच्चास्य दयितं गृहे । तत्तद्गुणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥ मार्कण्डेय 32.91,
घामनपुराण 14 106.

1201 a बालकूलारशय्यादि पितृहृद्वाहनादिकम् । गन्धमाल्यैः समभ्यर्च्य आञ्जभोक्त्रे
तदपयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by च म p 129, आ. क. ल. p 213.

1202. स्तकान्वाद् द्वितीयेद्विंशत्यां दद्याद्द्विलक्षणां । काञ्चनं पुरुषं तद्वत्फलवत्-
समन्विताम् । सम्पूज्य द्विजदाम्पत्यं नानाभरणभूषणैः । द्वाप्त्यर्थं च कुर्वीत देयां च कपिला
शुभा ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 18. 12-14 q. by आ. क. ल. p 213, आञ्जलिन p. 199.

verses of the Bhavisya quoted by Hemādri. The Bhavisya-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri (and from Hemādri by the Nirṇaya-sindhu p. 596) states the mantra to be recited viz 'just as the bed-stead of Kṛṣṇa is never devoid of Lakṣmī, the daughter of the ocean, similarly my bed may not be empty in each birth that I may have to undergo.'¹²⁰³ Acceptance of the gift of a śayyā was looked down upon in former times and even now it is only the poor brāhmanas (that are not generally learned) that accept this gift. The Padmapurāṇa condemns the acceptance of the gift of śayyā in no measured terms. It says 'when a brāhmana accepts the gift of a bed-stead, he should have to undergo the ceremony of upanayana again. In the Veda as well as in the Purāṇa (the gift of) a bed-stead is everywhere condemned and all those who accept the gift go to hell.'¹²⁰⁴

Certain other matters connected with śrāddhas may be briefly touched upon. In very ancient times twelve kinds of sons were recognized out of whom the kṣetrāja,¹²⁰⁵ the putrikāputra and dattaka were most important. All these were the sons of two fathers. The question mooted was : to whom were they to offer pindas ? The Madanaparīkṣā (pp 607-608) quotes a passage from the Hārīta-dharmaśūtra¹²⁰⁶ and explains it. Hārīta says, 'seed does not grow without a field. Since it is seen that both are necessary the child born is the child of both. Out of the two (fathers) the procreator is to be first invoked

1203 मन्त्रस्तु—यथा न कुण्डलायनं क्षुण्णं सागरजातया । शय्या ममाप्यशुण्यास्तु तथा जन्मनि जन्मनि ॥ यस्मादक्षुण्णं हायनं केसवस्य शिवस्य च । शय्या जन्मनि ॥ नि ति III p. 597. The गरुडपुराण (प्रतिसूत्र 34 81) has the verse यथा न etc

1204. गृहीताया ह शय्यायां पुनः संस्कारमर्हति । वेदे चैव पुराणे च शय्या सर्वत्र वर्णिता ॥ गृहीतारस्तु जायन्ते सर्वे नरकगामिनः ॥ पद्म (बृहिसूत्र 10 17-18)

1205. The kṣetrāja son was procreated on the wife or widow of a sonless man by a *sagotra* (a brother or other agnate) or even an *asagotra* according to the rules of *nyoga*, the procreator being called *bhūṣ* and the husband on whose wife or widow the son was begotten was called *kṣetrim*. The putrikāputra is of two kinds, (1) a sonless man gives his daughter in marriage to another with the stipulation that the son born of the marriage will be the son of the girl's father (Vas. 17. 17, Manu IX 127), (2) A daughter herself may be made a son (Vas 17. 16). A dattaka is a son whom his father or mother gives to another as a son confirming the gift with water (Manu IX. 168). Vide H. of Dh vol. III. pp. 647-650 for detailed explanations about these and other secondary sons.

1206. तत्र हारीतः । नाक्षेत्रं बीजं रोहति । उभयदर्शनाद्भयोरपरयमिति । तेषामुत्पत्तिः पितुः प्रथमः पत्न्यो भवति । द्वौ द्वौ पिण्डौ निर्वपेत् । अथैकपिण्डे द्वावप्युकीर्तयेत् । द्वितीये पुत्रः स्तुतये पौत्रौ लेपिनश्च जीनन्वाचक्षणा आ सप्तमादित्येकैः । मद् पा pp 607-608 न कल्पतरु (on आ pp. 241-242).

(and then the ksetrin). He (the son) may offer two pindas to each grade of the ancestors or he may offer a single pinda (to the father and) may repeat the names of both (fathers) as to that single pinda. The son (of the son of two fathers) may repeat two names as to the 2nd pinda (i. e. the pinda for paternal grand-father); the grand-son (of the son of two fathers) may do the same as to the third pinda (viz. the pinda for paternal great-grandfather).’ Manu IV. 140 and Gobhila-smṛti II. 105 say about the putrikāputra¹²⁰⁷ that he presents the first pinda to his mother (as she was appointed as a son), the 2nd to her father and the third to his father’s father. This appears to be one order in which pindas are to be offered by the putrikāputra, while Manu IX. 132 sets out another method since it says that a putrikāputra inherits the entire wealth of his own father if he is sonless and he gives two pindas (i. e. performs two śrāddhas) for his own father and for his maternal grandfather. The Śān. Śr. S. provides¹²⁰⁸ that if there be two fathers, the son should recite the names of both (*bījin* and *ksetrin*) with reference to the same pinda. Even Yāj. says ‘The son procreated according to the rules of *nyūga* by a sonless man on the wife of another inherits the wealth of both and offers pinda to both.’¹²⁰⁹ The Mīt. adds that if a person appointed to procreate a son on another’s wife has a son, then the son so begotten becomes the son of the ksetrin alone and not of the bījin. As the ksetraja and putrikāputra have become obsolete for several centuries the subject has only an academic interest now. But the *dattaka* is still in vogue and a few words must be said here about the persons to whom the *dattaka* offers pindas. The Kalpataru quotes from the Pravarādhya a passage on this point which is as

1207. मातुः प्रथमतः पिण्डं निर्वपेत् पुत्रिकापुत्रः। द्वितीयं तु पित्रस्तस्यास्तृतीयं तु पितुः पितुः ॥ गोभिलस्मृतिः II 105. कुल्लूक appears to be wrong in explaining पितुः, पितुः in मनु IX. 140 as ‘तृतीयं मातुः पितामहाय दद्यात्’; मनु IX. 132 is ‘दौहित्रो ह्यखिलं रिम्यमपुत्रस्य पितुर्ददेत्। स एव दद्याद् द्वौ पिण्डौ पित्रे मातामहाय च ॥’. Here दौहित्र means पुत्रिकापुत्र.

1208 असावेतते ये च त्वामन्त्रान्विति पिण्डान् यथावनेजितं निधायोभावेकस्मिन् पिण्डे पितृभेदे । शाङ्खायनश्रौत सू IV. 3 10-11 q by कल्पतरु p 241 (on आ.). The आप. श्रौ I 9. 7 says ‘यदि द्विपिता स्यादेकैकस्मिन् पिण्डे द्वौ द्वावुपलस्येत्’.

1209. अपुत्रेण परस्त्रे नियोगोत्पादितः सुतः। उभयोरप्यसौ रिक्थी पिण्डदाता च धर्मतः ॥ या II. 127; यदा तु नियुक्तः पुत्रवान् केवलं क्षेत्रिणः पुत्रार्थं प्रयतते तदा तदुत्पन्नः क्षेत्रिण एव पुत्रो भवतीति न बीजिनः। स च न नियमेन बीजिनो रिक्थ्यहारी पिण्डदो वेति। मिता.

follows: 120 'If these (i. e. those who are *bijin*) have no issue born of their own wives, (the sons begotten by *nyoga* or given in adoption) should inherit their wealth and offer *pindas* to them up to three ancestors; if both (the *bijin* and *ksetrin* or the giver and taker in adoption) have no other son, then they (sons begotten or adopted) should offer *pinda* to both, in one and the same *śrāddha* they should repeat (the names of) the two ancestors respectively (of the acceptor and that of the begetter) after having separately intended the same *pinda* for both up to the third ancestor.' The Baud. Dh. S. 121 quotes a verse as follows 'The son of two fathers shall give the *pinda* (to his two fathers and pronounce) two names with each *pinda*; three *pindas* will thus serve for six persons (ancestors).' It would be seen from the passage quoted above from *Hārīta* that some authorities allowed two separate *pindas* for each degree of ancestors when there were two in the same degree. *Manu* IX. 142 lays down 'the son given should not take the *gotra* and wealth of his natural father, the *pinda* follows the *gotra* and wealth; the *śrāddha* (obsequies) of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease or fail (so far as that son is concerned).' This verse has been so interpreted by some decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council as to mean that the son adopted becomes totally severed from the family of his birth. This subject has been discussed at great length in *H. of Dh.* vol III pp 690-697 and it is established there that the severance of the son given in adoption is only partial, that the *gotra* of the natural family persists even after adoption into another family for purposes of marriage and *āśauca* and that the *Nirṇayasindhu*, 1212 the *Dharma-sindhu* and the *Dattaka-candrika* declare that the son given away in adoption into another family can perform the *śrāddha* of his natural father,

1210. अथ यद्येषा स्वभार्यात्पत्यं न स्याद्विक्रयं हरेत्, पिण्डं चैत्यस्त्रिपुरं दयुरथ यद्यभयोरं स्यादुभयोर्द्वयैकस्मिन्पिण्डे पुष्यद्विरेकपिण्डे द्वावहोतीति यत् मतिग्रहीतार स्रोत्यादयितारं चा वृत्तीयात्पुत्रात् । पृ. by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 241) with variations. The same passage is cited as from कात्यायन by the स्व. म. p. 115 (my edition), and from कात्यायन and लौगाक्षि (quoted in प्रवरमञ्जरी) by नि. सि. III p. 389.

1211. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । द्विपितुः पिण्डदानं स्यात् पिण्डे पिण्डे च नामनी । त्रयश्च पिण्डाः षण्णां स्मृतेषु कुर्वन् युज्यति ॥ इति । श्री घ सू II 2. 22-23.

1212. दत्तकस्तु जनकस्य पुत्राद्यभावे दद्यात् तत्सत्त्वे । गोत्ररिक्त्ये जनयितुं भजेद् दत्तमः सुतः । गोत्ररिक्त्याद्यं पिण्डो व्यपैति दत्तः स्वधः ॥ इति मनुके । इदं जनकस्य पुत्र-सम्पत्तिवियम् । नि. सि. III p. 389, दत्तकस्तु जनकपितुः पुत्राद्यभावे जनयितु आहं कुर्वेद् धनं च श्रद्धीयात् । धर्मसिन्धु III. (उत्तरार्ध) p 371.

if the latter has no son at the time of his death and can also take his wealth.

Vrsotsarga (the letting loose of a bull). This topic has been dealt with by several sūtra works such as the Śān. gr. III. 11, the Kausitaki gr. III 11 (in Benaras S. S. and III 6 in Madras University Series), Kāthaka gr. 59, 1 ff., Pāraskara gr. III. 9, Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, chap. 86. 1-20. In numerous works some verses called *gāthās* sung by the pitrs are set out one of which expresses the yearning of the pitrs as follows: ¹²¹³ 'one should desire to have many sons; since if even one (of the sons) goes to Gayā (and offers śrāddha after his father's death) or if he performs a solemn horse sacrifice or lets loose a dark-coloured bull (the man having such a son will secure final release)'. The description in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra being tolerably full is set out here; ¹²¹⁴ "(This ceremony) takes place on the full moon day in Kārtika or Āśvina. In this rite he must first examine the bull. The bull must be the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living, he must have all auspicious

1213. पृथग्व्या बहवः पुत्रा पथेकोपि गयां व्रजेत् । यजेत वास्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषस-
सृजेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 67, बृहस्पतिसूत्र verse 21, लघुश्रुत 10, मैत्रयपुराण 22 6,
ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 32-33, वायुपुराण 83 11-12, पञ्च (सुखिलखण्ड 11.68), ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धात-
पाद् 19 11), विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.58 and I. 144 3. The meaning is 'बहूनां पुत्राणां
मध्ये एकनापि गयाश्राद्धकरणे पितृसुक्तिर्भवति,' as stated in स्कन्दपुराण, नामखण्ड,
chap. 216 114-117. The first half occurs in अष्टाशतनर्ष 88 14 and the whole
verse in मत्स्य 207. 40 (which says it is an ancient gāthā and reads the third
pāda as 'गौरीं वायुह्वहेकन्याः'), Compare कूर्म II. 20. 30-31.

1214 अथ वृषोत्सर्गः । कार्तिकमासां च पुष्या वा । तत्रादावेव वृषमं परीक्षित । जीवद्वत्साया-
पयस्विन्या वृषम् । सर्वलक्षणोपेतम् । नीलम् । लोहितं वा । सुखच्छपादधृक्कुक्षम् । पूषस्या-
च्छादकम् । ततो गवा मध्ये सुसनिद्धमग्निं परिस्तीर्य पीर्णं चर्चं पयसा अपयित्वा पूषा गा
अन्वेत न इह रतिरिति च हुत्वा वृषमयस्कारस्य हव्यं । एकास्मिन् पार्श्वे च केनापरास्मिन् पार्श्वे
शूलं । अङ्कितं च हिरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिः । शं नो देवीरिति च स्नापयेत् । स्नातमलङ्घ्यं
पुनातालङ्घ्यं ताभिश्चतसृभिर्वत्सतरीभिः । सार्धमानीय वृषम् वृषस्य कूर्ममाण्डवीश्वरं जयेत् । पिता
वत्सनामिति वृषमभ्य दक्षिणे कर्णे पठेत् । इमं च । वृषो हि भगवान्धर्मश्चतुष्पादः प्रकीर्तितः ।
पृणोमि तमहं भक्त्या स मे रक्षतु सर्वतः ॥ एतं युवानं पतिं वो वदामि तेन क्रीडन्वीश्वरतः प्रियेण ।
मा दास्यहि प्रजया मा तनुमिर्मां रयाम हिपते सोम राजन् । वृषं वत्सतरीयुक्तमैनास्यां कारये-
हिनि । होतृर्वज्रयुगं दद्यात्सुवर्णं काश्यमेव च ॥ अपस्कारस्य दातव्यं वेतनं मनसोऽस्मितम् ।
भोजनं बहुसर्पिकं ब्राह्मणांश्चात्र भोजयेत् ॥ उत्सृष्टो वृषमो यस्मिन् पिबत्यथ जलाशये । जला-
शयं तत्सकलं पितृसुखोपपत्तिदति ॥ शृङ्गेणोल्लिखेत धूमि यत्र कञ्चन दर्पितः । पितृणामक्षयानं
तत्प्रभूतसुपतिदति ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 86. 1-20. The काठकश्रुत (59.3) reads 'इह रहिरिति
हुत्वा'. The commentator gives ten mantras here of which इह रतिरिति is the
2nd. The first half of एतं युवानं occurs in ते स III. 3.9.1 (reads एति वो वदामि).
The whole verse occurs in a corrupt form in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147 12 and the
verse वृषो हि is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147. 10.

marks (i. e. must not be deficient in any limb), must be dark-coloured¹²¹⁵ or red but having a white mouth, white tail, white feet and white horns, he must be one that can protect the herd (or that throws into the background by his height all the herd). Then after having kindled a blazing fire among the cows (in the cowpen) and having strewn kuśa grass around it let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pūsan and offer (two oblations) with the mantra 'May Pūsan follow our cows' (Rg. VI 54.5) and the mantra 'here is pleasure' (Vāj. S. 8.51); a blacksmith should then mark the bull, on one flank with a discus and on the other flank¹²¹⁶ with a trident. Let him wash the bull after he is marked with four mantras beginning with 'the golden-coloured' (Tai. S. V. 6.1. 1-2) and with the (five) mantras beginning with 'May the divine (waters) bring us happiness' (Rg. X. 9. 4-8). Having washed and decked the bull he should bring him together with four young cows which also should have been washed and decked and mutter the Rudras (Tai. S. IV 5. 1-11), the Purusasūkta (Rg. 10. 90. 1-16) and the Kūsmāṇḍī (Vāj. S. XX. 14-16, Tai. A. X. 3-5). Then let him recite in the right ear of the bull the mantra¹²¹⁷ 'father of calves' and the following mantras 'The holy dharma¹²¹⁸ is a bull and is declared to have four feet; I choose him with devotion (as the object of worship); may he protect me on all sides. This young bull I give you as husband (O young cows!), roam

1215. A नीलवृष is variously defined. The मत्स्ययु 207 38 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I, 146 56 define 'चरणानि सुखं पुच्छं यस्य श्वेतानि गोपतेः। लासारससवर्णश्च वं नीलमिति निर्दिशेत्॥'. In विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146 42-55 and मत्स्य 207 the characteristics of auspicious and inauspicious bulls are given. The आ. क. त. p. 214 quotes कौनक as 'लोहितो यस्तु वर्णेन सुखे पुच्छे च पाण्डुरः। श्वेतः सुखविद्यायां स नीलो वृष उच्यते॥'. This is ascribed to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (रिवाचण्ड) by आ. न. and ह्य. म. p. 226.

1216. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर says शूलेन वक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे चक्रेण निर्वहेत्। I. 147.6; while the भविष्योत्तर p. by ह्य. म. p. 227 says 'ततो वामे विशूलं च वक्षिणे चक्रमालिखेत्'.

1217. The आश्वविदेक of बद्धधर (p. 75) sets out the whole verse as 'पिता वत्सानां पतिरन्धानामथो पिता महता गयराणां। वत्सो जरायु मयिधुक् पीयूष आमिक्षा पृथ वद्धदस्य रेतः॥'. It is a corrupt reading of तै. स. III. 3. 9. 2 (which reads पतिरसिः पानां and आमिक्षा मस्तु पृतमस्य रेतः).

1218. The holy dharma ... four feet—This refers to the idea that Dharma, when in pristine glory in the कृतयुग, has four feet, but in each succeeding युग one foot is lost; vide मनु I 81 (= शान्तिपर्व 232 37). Dr. Jolly is not right when he refers (in SBE vol. 7 p. 262) the words to मारुद् I. 11 (SBE vol. 30 p. 7) where स्यवहार is said to have four feet of which धर्म is one. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 259-262 for explanation.

about sportingly with him as your lover. May we not lack progeny, O king Soma, nor physical fitness and may we not succumb to our enemy'. He must drive away the bull together with the young cows in the north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold and a vessel of bell metal to the hotr (officiating priest). The blacksmith should be given wages as desired by him and food seasoned with a good deal of clarified butter should be served to (three) brāhmanas (at least). That ¹²¹⁹ pool at which a bull let loose (in honour of a deceased person by his son or the like) drinks water serves (reaches) the manes. Wherever a bull (let loose) exulting in his strength scratches (or digs up) the earth, that earth becoming abundant food and water waits upon the manes." ¹²²⁰ In the Anuśāsanaparva the pitrs are represented as saying that by letting loose a dark-coloured bull, by offering water mixed with sesame and by lighting lamps in the rains a man becomes free from the debt he owes to the pitrs (chap. 125. 73-74).

In the Garudapurāṇa it is stated that the deceased person for whom a bull is not let loose on the 11th day after death permanently remains a *preta*, even if hundreds of śrāddhas are offered for him. The same Purāṇa further provides that if a bull be not available on the 11th day, then the effigy of a bull made of darbhas and flour or clay should be symbolically let loose. ¹²²¹ In the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa the 12th day after death is prescribed for the letting loose of a bull (N. S. III. p. 505). The Nirṇayasindhu says that the making of an effigy of a bull with clay, darbhas and flour is without authority. Even at present people let loose a bull but owing to the rise in the prices of bulls this is becoming less frequent. Several medieval digestas such as the Pitrdayitā (pp. 84, 94), Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 69-77), Nirṇayasindhu (III pp. 595-596), Śuddhiprakāśa

1219. 'That pool' etc The वायुपुराण (83. 45-48) contains verses of similar import, only two of which are quoted here 'वृषोत्सृष्टा पुनात्येव दृशाती-
ताम्वदशावरात् ... शुद्धे' 'सुरैर्वा पद् भूमिस्तुल्लिखत्यनिशं वृषः । मधुकुल्याः पितृन्तरप्य अक्षयारता
भवन्ति वै' ॥ 45, 48.

1220. The वृषोत्सर्गविधि in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I 147. 1-19) closely follows the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र

1221. एकादशाहं प्रेतस्य यस्यात्सर्वं जेत नो वृषः । प्रेतस्यं सुस्थिरं तस्य वृषैः आह्वयितैरपि ॥
... एकादशे हि संमते वृषालाभो भवेद्यदि । दूर्ध्वैः पितृस्तु संवाय त वृषं मोचयेद्बुध ॥ गरुडपुराण
II. 5.40, 44-45. वृषस्पति q. by आ. क. ल. p. 214 and वृषविज्ञानमत q. by शु. म.
p. 225 have a verse very similar to the first and the 2nd is ascribed to संग्रह
by the आ. क. ल.

pp. 225-230, Antyestipādhati of Nārāyanabhatta present a far more elaborate description, but from considerations of space they are passed over here. It is provided in these and other digests that such a bull should not be seized by anyone nor made to draw a vehicle and the cow or cows let loose along with him should not be milked nor confined in a cow-pen. A bull is not let loose for a deceased woman, but a cow may be donated together with its calf without being branded and after being decked with sandal-wood paste.^{1221a}

What is the idea underlying the letting loose of a bull after the death of a person? If a conjecture may be hazarded, it appears to have been thought that if a bull were freed from toil (that is the lot of most bulls) and placed in the midst of pleasant surroundings, that act of the relatives of the deceased may in a vicarious manner conduce to the happiness of the departed spirit in the other world.

One remarkable matter about śrāddhas is yet to be mentioned. The Baud. grhyaśāstrasūtra III, 19, the Lingapurāṇa (II 45. 8-90, some of which are quoted by Śr. Pr. pp 363-364), the Kalpataru (on śrāddha pp. 277-279), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1704-1717), the Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp. 361-371) and a few other digests describe the procedure of *Jīva-śrāddha* or *Jīva-śrāddha*, which a man was allowed to perform for the benefit of his own soul, while he was himself alive. Baudhāyana's being probably the most ancient extant description it is briefly set out here "A man who desires his own highest happiness should fast on the 13th tithi of the dark half and bring together materials on the same day, which are required in the funeral rites of deceased persons, viz six garments, a golden needle, a goad, a noose made of (cotton) threads, a ragged garment, a stalk of palāśa leaves, a chair of udumbara wood, jars and other materials also. On the next day he bathes; after standing in the midst of water he comes out and makes (the brāhmanas) pronounce 'this is an auspicious day, may there be happiness and prosperity (for you)'; he makes a gift of garments, a ring and dakṣiṇā and facing the south eats rice boiled in milk and mixed with ghee.

1221 a. वाचस्पतिमिश्र wrote a work called चन्दनधेनुदान in which he quotes two verses of देवल from the रत्नाकर as follows जीवद्भस्मी तु या नारी श्रियते श्रियती यदि । सर्वस्वामङ्गिता धेनुमाचार्याय प्रदायेत् ॥ पतिव्रतवती नारी श्रियते चाग्रतस्तपो । इषं नैवोत्प्लेत्सुन पितृ वावजु जीवति ॥. Vide Descriptive Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, vol. III (smṛiti Mss) pp 405-406 No 2310.

He kindles the fire according to the general¹²²² procedure laid down for *homa*, spreads round it *darbhās*, cooks food on the fire and offers from the cooked food four oblations of food into the fire; the first is made after first reciting the Puroṇuvākya^{1222a} (invitatory prayer) 'catvāriśrngā' ('Agni has four horns,' Rg. IV. 58. 3, Tai. Ā. X. 10. 2) and offers the oblation with the Yājya (offering prayer) 'tridhā hitam' (placed in three plates, Rg. IV. 58. 4) The Puroṇuvākya and Yājya of the 2nd oblation of rice are 'tatsavitur varenyam' (Rg. III. 62. 10, Tai. S. I. 5 6 4) and 'yojayitri sūrtānām'. Of the third oblation the Puroṇuvākya and Yājya are respectively 'ye catvārah' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 3) and 'Dve sruti' (Rg. X. 88. 15, Tai. Br. I. 4. 2. 3); the Puroṇuvākya and Yājya of the 4th oblation are respectively 'agne naya' (Rg. I. 189. 1, Tai. S. I. 114. 3) and 'yā tiraści' (Br. Up. VI. 3. 1).¹²²³ Then he offers oblations of clarified butter with the Puruṣasūkta of 18 verses (Vaj. S. 31. 1-18, Tai. Ā. III. 12) and 1008, 108 or 28 oblations of clarified butter with the *Gāyatrī* verse. Then he goes to a spot where four roads meet, makes a gift of the needle, goad, ragged garment, the rope to a short-statured brāhmana who has a dark skin and having made him repeat the words 'May the servants of Yama be gratified' he places the jars on grains of rice. Having wound round the jars that are full of water threads he prepares an effigy of a human being, three threads for the head, three for the mouth, 21 for the neck, 4 for the body, two on each arm, one for the male organ, five for each of the feet with the words 'May the revered Yama be pleased.' Then making ready the chair, washing it with *pañcagavya*, he makes the effigy of a human being on black antelope skin with palāśa stalks, he establishes the prāṇas in the effigy made on the jar and placing his body on the body made with stalks he should sleep. When he rises,

1222. For the general procedure of *homa*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 207-211.

1222 a The पुरोनुवाक्य (or simply अनुवाक्य) is so called because it is recited to make the deity favourable before the sacrifice is offered (पुरं पूर्वं यागाद्देवतामनुकुलयितुं वा ऋच्यते इति व्युत्पत्त्या). Yājya is the offering prayer. It is preceded by ये यजामहे and followed by vasat (pronounced as वासद्). Both these are uttered by the hotṛ in a high tone. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1058-1060. The yājya is recited while standing, but the Puroṇuvākya is recited sitting. The verse योजयित्वा सूताना appears to be an adaptation of चोदयित्वा सूताना (Rg. I. 3. 11).

1223. The verse is. या तिरश्ची निपद्यते (से?) अहं विधरणी इति । ता त्वा घृतस्य धारया यजे संराधनीमहम् ॥ बृह. उ. VI. 3. 1,

he should himself bathe his body with (the water in) the jars with verses of Purusasūkta and with pañcagavya and pure water and eat in the evening food mixed with sesamum grains together with clarified butter. He should give dinner to brāhmanas for the gratification of the servants of Yama. On the 4th day he burns (the effigy) with mantras. He should offer water, and pinda with the words 'pinda to me of such and such a gotra for benefit in the next world, *svadhā namah.*' With these words he should bring to a close the rite. He should observe impurity for ten days for himself, but his agnates have not to observe impurity for him. On the 11th day he performs ekoddīsta. They also cite the following verse 'one who is in distress, a woman and a śūdra having burnt one's body (i. e. effigy) with mantras should perform all rites on that very day. This is the revelation.' In the case of women the rite is performed silently or with (?) Vedic mantras. In this way he should perform his own śrāddha every month for a year and at the end of each year up to twelve years. And then he should stop. When he is not able to do all these (himself) his son and the like may perform them. They also recite the following verse; 'Although heirs may be alive one may perform one's śrāddha while alive, having quickly set about doing everything according to the rules, except Sapindana. One should not make delay as to the time specified above, since life is evanescent'."

It may be noted that the Baud. grhyasūtra III, 22 contains a very brief procedure of the same rite, but therein two verses of Kanva and one of Visnu are quoted. It appears that this is a later addition. The text of Baud. grhyasūtra III, 19 is quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 361-363. But the Śrāddha-prakāśa also quotes a long passage from the Lingapurāṇa and explains it (pp. 363-368). The procedure in the Lingapurāṇa, however, materially differs from that of Baudhāyana. It is passed over here from considerations of space. The Śrāddhamayūkha also gives an elaborate description. Some of its provisions are stated here. In Jivat-śrāddha the word *preta* should nowhere be used. An effigy of the person is made with fifty kuśas and is to be burnt by another with the mantra 'kravyādam-agnim' (Rg. X. 16, 9). The person has to kindle fire on the banks of a river with his face to the south with his grhya fire or ordinary fire and has to dig up a pit and make a prayer to the earth as in the case of an actual death.

In the Bombay University Library there is a Ms. of Jivat-śrāddha ascribed to Śaunaka in the Bhadkamkar Collection.

It contains a far more elaborate procedure than that of Baudhāyana and is in prose. It contains many of the provisions of Baudhāyana. Further details are passed over here.

The provision of a śrāddha for a living person offered by himself is a perversion of the ancient idea of śrāddha. The basic and fundamental conception of a śrāddha was to gratify the spirits of deceased ancestors. People had gone crazy with the idea of śrāddhas and invented this new mode to satisfy that craze. I have known persons that performed Jivat-śrāddha, though they had sons, younger brothers and nephews who would have certainly performed śrāddhas for them on their death.

It is customary to make a gift of a cow with a calf to a brāhmana, preferably a kapila cow, on the 2nd day after the period of āśauca. Often times this is the only cow given, and the cow called Vaitarani referred to above (p. 183, note 427) is rarely donated in the midst of the sorrow and turmoil immediately on the death of a dear and near relative. A declaration is first made that a gift of a cow will be made and then water is poured on the hand of a brāhmana. Then holding kuśas in his hand the donor makes a gift of the cow with a formula noted below¹²²⁴. The donee replies with the words 'om svasti' (Yes, may it be well!). Then daksina (in gold or silver coins) is given and the brāhmana says 'om svasti', holds the tail of the cow and repeats a Kāmastuti (eulogy of Kāma)¹²²⁵ according to the recension of the Veda he has studied. The Anuśāsana-parva (57. 28-29) eulogises the gift of a kapila cow with the calf, given with a milking pail of bell-metal, whose horn tips are decked with gold, by stating that such a gift not only saves the donor in the other world but also his sons, grandsons and family for seven generations. The Anuśāsana-parva (77.10 ff) sets out a legend why the kapila cow is the best of all cows.

The Purānas and digests devote a good deal of space to śrāddhas at tīrthas and at Gayā. Vide Atri 55-58, Vāyupurāna 83. 16-42, Hemādri (on Śr.) pp. 1568 ff and 1575 ff. This subject will be briefly dealt with in the section on tīrthas.

1224. ओम् अयाकौचान्ते हिंसीयेद्वि अमुकगोत्रस्य पितुरमुकमेतस्य स्वर्गप्राप्तिकामः इमं कपिलां गं हेमवर्णीं रौप्यसुरां वज्रसुगच्छकां कार्श्योपदोहां सुक्तालाङ्गुलधृतिर्वा सवक्तां रुद्रदेवस्य (अमुकगोत्रापासकज्ञाने) ब्राह्मणाय हुन्यमहं संमदये। आहूयिवेकं ॐ रुद्रधर p. 77.

1225. For कामस्तुति, vide p. 184, n. 430 above.

Much is said on the question whether śrāddhas should be performed in the intercalary month. The intercalary month is called by various names, viz. Malimlūca (Kāthaka Sam. 38. 14),¹²²⁶ Samsarpa or Amhasaspati (Vaj S. 7.30 and 22.31), Mala-māsa, Adhimāsa. An intercalary month is known even to the Rg-veda (Rg. I. 25.8). The vendor of soma and the thirteenth month are condemned as *pāpa* (sinful) in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹²²⁷. The Pīrānas tried to bolster up the intercalary month by calling it Puruṣottama-māsa (i. e. the month of Visnu) but the original stigma attaching to the 13th month seems to have persisted. The general rule about an intercalary month is stated by the Grhyaparīśiṣṭa.¹²²⁸ 'the month called Malimlūca is polluted and springs from sin; it is condemned for all acts; it should be discarded in all rites in honour of gods and pītra.' But exceptions to this sweeping prohibition have been recognized. Hārīta provides¹²²⁹ that all śrāddhas that come after Sapindana are not to be performed in an intercalary month. Vyāsa laid down¹²³⁰ that such ceremonies as jatakarma, annaprāśana, the navaśrāddhas, śrāddha on Magha and the thirteenth *tithi*, the sixteen śrāddhas, bath, gifts, japa and śrāddha at the time of the eclipse of the sun or moon—these should be performed even in an intercalary month. The Smṛtimuktāphala concludes (p. 728) that there is no blemish in performing a śrāddha in an intercalary month provided it is to be performed before the end of one year from death. It is provided by Bhṛgu¹²³¹ that the sāmavatsarika śrāddha of those who die in an intercalary month

1226. मलिम्लुचो नामास्ति त्रयोदशो मास इन्द्ररप कर्मास्ति। काठकस्त. 38. 10 (161-162); संतपरेयं ह्यल्पव्याय खेत्यादास्ति त्रयोदश मास इत्याहुस्तमेव तद् प्रीणाति। तै. सं. VI, 5 3.4.

1227. तं (सौमं) त्रयोदशमासादधीर्गस्तस्मात्त्रयोदशो मासो नावृष्यते न वै सोम-विकल्पवृष्यते पापो हि सोमविक्रयी। ऐ. ब्रा III, 1 (com त्रयोदशमासो नावृष्यते शुभ-कर्मावृक्षलो वारित).

1228. मलिम्लुचस्तु मासो वै मलिनः पापसम्भवः। श्रद्धितः पितृदेवेभ्यः सर्वकर्मसु तं त्यजेत्। शुभपरिक्रिष्ट q. by आ. कि. को. p 38

1229. सप्तिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं यत्किञ्चिच्छ्राद्धिकं भवेत्। तद्वत् वाप्यथवा पूर्तं तत्र कुर्यान्मति-स्तुजे ॥ शरीत. q. by स्तुतिच. (आ. p. 374), आ. कि. को. p 323, आहूतस्य p. 252 (as सप्तुहारीत).

1230. जातकर्मान्यकर्माणि नवश्राद्धं तथैव च। मवात्रयोदशीश्राद्धं आहूतपपि च षोडश। चन्द्रसूर्येभ्ये स्नानं श्राद्धं वान तथा जपः। कार्याणि मलमासेऽपि निरसं नैमित्तिकं तथा॥ त्रैयास q. by आहूतस्य p. 283, स्तुतिच (आ. p 373 ascribes to यम).

1231. मलमासे सुतावा तु श्राद्धं यत्नतिवत्तरम्। मलमासेऽपि तत्कार्यं मान्येषां तु कर्तव्यं ॥ श्रुय q. by स्तुतिच. (आ. p. 375). The नि. ति III. p 474 says 'मलमास-सुतावां तु यदा स एवाधिक' स्यात्तदा तत्रैव कार्यमन्यथा श्रुद्धं त्व'.

may be performed in the intercalary month, but if there be none such then in the ordinary month of the same name. When the tithi for performing a śrāddha comes and there is then an intercalary month, Vṛddha-Vasistha says that śrāddha should be performed in both months.¹²³²

Further discussion about what may be done in *Malamāsa* and what is prohibited therein will be taken up in the section on *Kāla*. The question as to the day on which a śrāddha is to be performed if the tithi is spread over two days or if there is a *lāṣa* of the tithi will also be discussed in that section.

Some of the works on śrāddha such as the Pṛthvi-candro-daya deal with what is called 'saṅghāta-śrāddha.'^{1232a} When on the same day several persons die, but not at the same time, then the śrāddhas for them should be performed, as said by Rṣyaśrngā, in the order in which they died. But if five or six persons die at the same time on the same day (as when a vessel sinks in the sea or a market is burnt down all at once), then the order in which śrāddhas are to be performed is determined by the nearness of relationship to the performer of śrāddha in the case of each. For example, if a person's wife, son, brother and paternal uncle meet death at the same time, then the order should be this that the śrāddha of the wife is performed first, then of the son, then of the brother and then of the uncle. If the parents die at the same time by accident, then the father's cremation or other rites should be first performed and then of the mother.

Provision is made if the performance of a śrāddha is rendered impossible by some obstacle. Rṣyaśrngā provides ¹²³³

1232. आद्धीयाहनि संभाते अधिमासो भवेद्यदि । मासद्वयेऽपि कुर्वीत आद्धमेवं न ह्यपि ॥ इन्द्रवसिष्ठ q by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 375), नि. ति. p. 13.

1232 a. तत्रैकस्मिन्नहनि क्रमेण मृतानां मरणक्रमेणैकेन कर्त्रा आद्धं कर्तव्यम् । तदाह ऋष्यशृङ्गः । कृत्वा पूर्वमृतस्यादौ द्वितीयस्य ततः पुनः । तृतीयस्य ततः । कुर्वीतस्तिनियते त्वयं क्रमः ।... भवेद्यदि सपिण्डानां युगपन्मरणं तदा । सम्बन्धासत्तिमालोच्य तत्कमाच्छ्राद्धमाचरेत् ॥ पृथ्वीच folio 265 a; जाबालि. । पित्रोस्तु मरणं चेतस्यादेकदेव यदा तदा । पितृर्दाहादिकं कृत्वा पश्चान्मातुः समाचरेत् ॥ *ibid* folio 266 a.

1233. देये पिबूणां आद्धे तु आशौचं जायते यदि । आशौचे तु व्यतिक्रान्ते तेभ्यः आद्धं मदीयते ॥ एकोद्दिष्टे तु संभाते यदि विघ्नः प्रजायते । मासेऽन्यस्मिन्तिथौ तस्यां आद्धं कुर्वीत्ययत्नतः ॥ ऋष्यशृङ्ग q. by अपराक p. 561, आ. नि. कौ. p. 480, मद्र. मा. 618. स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 206. 70 is a very similar verse and the verse एकोद्दिष्टे तु is गरुडपुराण (मेतस्मिन् 45,9),

'if impurity (on death) intervenes when a śrāddha is to be offered to the pīṭṭ, śrāddha should be offered at the end of the period of impurity. If an obstacle arises at the time when an ekoddiṣṭa is to be performed, the śrāddha should be performed in another month on the same tithi'. This last refers to a monthly śrāddha. If any of the sixteen śrāddhas fails owing to an obstacle it should be performed on the amāvāsya or better still on the 11th day of the dark half. If there is an obstacle owing to impurity on death in the performance of a monthly śrāddha or yearly śrāddha it should be performed at the end of the impurity or on amāvāsya.¹²³⁴ The Padmapurāṇa (Pātālakhaṇḍa 101. 68-70) provides similar rules. If the obstacle is the performer's illness or his inability to collect materials or his wife being in her monthly illness, he may offer amāśrāddha described above.

It may be noted that while great emphasis was laid on inviting a very learned brāhmana at a śrāddha, that object was often frustrated in practice by the provisions made in certain smṛtis that one¹²³⁵ should not partake of śrāddha food for three years after sapindana (which is often one year after death) and that by dining at a śrāddha in the first year one eats the bones and marrow of the deceased, in the second year his flesh, in the third year his blood and śrāddha in the 4th year is (somewhat) pure. Vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p 423, where smṛti passages prescribing prayascittas for partaking of food at various śrāddhas including sāmvaśarika are set out. Hārta says: one partaking of food at Navaśrāddha should undergo Cāndrayāna, the Prājāpatya for dining at a monthly śrāddha and fast for one day for dining at a pratyūḍhika śrāddha. This is on the same lines as acceptance of gifts. A donor collected merit by making gifts, but it was for the acceptor to decide whether he should accept gifts. The ideal

1234. नास्तिकाद्ये तु संनते स्मृत्यनुवृत्तौ। वदन्ति ब्रह्मैतन्मार्गं द्वौ वापि त्रि-
हजाः॥ यद्विज्ञानं च by अपराक p. 561; नास्तिकान्मुदकुन्मानि आदानि शतत्रेण च। मणि-
संवरं आर्द्धं दत्तवानन्तरं विदुः॥ एतादृशं कृष्णपक्षे कर्तव्यं शुभनिष्ठता। तत्र स्थितिर्गो-
हेतादनां कियते तु तद्॥ पक्ष० (पातालखण्ड 101. 68 and 71)

1235. अथ ब्रह्मआर्द्धं दिवादासीति। तपिष्टीकपादूर्ध्वं पादद्वयं भवत्। तादृशं
न भोक्तव्यं त्रयेष्टानि कदाचन॥ यन्मेषादिनि मन्त्रा च द्वितीये नामभक्षणम्। कृत्वाये रधिर्
मोक्षं आर्द्धं ब्रह्मं चतुर्थकमिति आहकारिकोक्तः। नि सि III p 475, चात्रादन म-
आर्द्धे नात्रापत्यं तु निश्चेक। एकारं तु उपमेयु आपत्तिर्त्तं विधीयते॥ एतत्तु p 12 परा मा II
1. p 423; see आहविक of रुद्रपर p 123, आ. कि. की. p. 345 for similar rules
from other Smṛtis; पक्ष V. 10. 19 says 'नवआर्द्धं न भोक्तव्यं सुखा वात्स्यायनं चोत्'.

placed before brāhmanas was that one, though entitled to accept gifts on account of his vedic learning and *tapas*, should not accept gifts, if he desires to secure the highest world (Yāj. I. 213), while Manu IV. 186 affirms¹²³⁶ that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmana should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power that he acquires by Vedic study is lost by accepting gifts. Manu IV. 85-86 (= Padma V. 19. 236-237) say that acceptance of a gift from the king is terrible (in its consequences) and Padma warns that gift appears sweet like honey but is like poison (i e. deadly in its effects). This reasoning applied with greater force to officiating and dining at a śrāddha, where not only gifts are to be received, but also sumptuous food that will please the palate is served in abundance.

It has been seen above how the most ancient literary monument, viz the R̥gveda, shows that the funeral rites performed immediately after death were prompted by affectionate concern for the departed spirit mingled with some element of fear, that the object of those rites was to provide sustenance to the departed spirit and to endow it with an intermediate body before it became one of the *pitr̥s*. It has also been found that in the most ancient times of which we have literary evidence, there were rites for the worship of ancestors, being the Pinda-pitryajña performed every month on *amāvāsya*, the Mahapitryajña performed in the Śakamedha and the Astakā śrāddhas. Gradually the rites for deceased ancestors became more and more frequent, all-inclusive and elaborate, so that ultimately an exaggerated importance came to be attached to the cult of śrāddhas over which there was an enormous expenditure of time, effort and wealth. The question now arises what Indians of the 20th century should do about śrāddhas. One finds that in these days when many brāhmanas even do not engage in any of the five daily obligatory yajñas (the pañca-yajñas), they are solicitous to offer śrāddha at least once a year to their ancestors. The following may be therefore suggested as a *via media* for all kinds of people. Those who have faith in the duty of performing śrāddhas and their efficacy for the benefit of

1236. प्रतिग्रहसमर्थोऽपि प्रसङ्गं तत्र वर्जयेत् । प्रतिग्रहेण ह्यस्यास्तु ब्राह्मं तेजः प्रशाम्यति ॥ मनु IV 186, vide पद्म IV. 19. 268 for a similar verse राजन् प्रतिग्रहो घोरो मत्वास्वादो विषोपमः । तद् ज्ञायमानं कस्मात्तु कुरुषेऽस्मत्पलोभनम् ॥ वसिष्ठनासमश्वक्नी... तेन तुल्यसत्तो राजा घोरस्तस्य प्रतिग्रहः ॥ पद्म V 19 235.

the dead may perform them on a small scale, bearing in mind the emphatic admonition of Manu (III. 125-126), the *Kūrmapurāṇa* II. 22, 27, *Padmapurāṇa* V. 9. 98¹²³⁷ that one should desist from extravagance in the matter of *śrāddhas*, particularly in the number of *brāhmanas* to be invited. Those whose faith is shaken or shattered by the onrush of modern ideas and English education or firm belief in the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanna* should also remember one thing. The main underlying conception of *śrāddha* is certainly admirable, viz. a tender and affectionate regard for one's near and dear relatives. It is a good practice to set apart at least one day in a year for the remembrance of one's near and dear relatives that are no more, to invite relatives, friends, and learned people to a dinner in memory of the dead and to bestow monetary gifts on poor but learned persons of character and devoted to the practice of plain living and high thinking. This will be in keeping with our past traditions and will also give a new orientation to and infuse new life into practices and usages that have become lifeless and meaningless to many people. From very ancient times one of the fundamental conceptions of our faith has been the idea of three debts owed to sages, gods and *pitrs*. The debt owed to the ancestors is paid off by the procreation of a son who would offer *pindas* to his (and therefore also to his father's) ancestors. This is a grand conception. Nothing can be more sublime than the formula which one has to repeat at the time of offering *pindas* and water (with sesame) at *Gayā* 'may those of my ancestors that are in the form of *pretas* be all satiated by means of the (balls made) of barley flour mixed with sesame and may everything, whether moving or immoveable from *Brahmā* up to blades of grass derive satisfaction from the water offered by me.' If the implication of this formula be thoroughly understood and

1237. द्वौ दैवे पितृकृत्ये जनिर्नैकमुभयत्र वा । भोजयेद्दाम्नरोपेह न क्षुर्यादित्तरं द्वयः ॥
 पत्र V. 9. 98 जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्कण्ठा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण कृदित्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः ।
 ब्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अन्नमो यः पुत्री यज्ञा ब्रह्मचारिवासी । ते सं VI. 3 105 ; ऋणम-
 स्मिन् संनयत्यश्नुतत्वं च गच्छति । पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येज्ज्जीवतो मुखम् ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 33.1
 This subject has been dealt with already in H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 414-416
 and may be further dilated upon under *Gayāśrāddha* ये केचित्पितृकृत्येण वर्तन्ते
 पितरो मना । ते सर्वे वृत्तिमायान्तु सक्तुमिस्तिमिच्छन्ति ॥ आनन्दस्तस्य पर्यन्तं यत्किञ्चित्संचराचरम् ।
 मया कृत्वा तमेव वृत्तिमायान्तु सर्वदाः ॥ बाहुपुराण 110. 63-64 Compare also a similar
 invocation in बाहु. 110 21-22 and the *Mettasutta* in the *Suttanipāṭi*.

implemented by actual practice, it will make the whole world kin. Therefore, while discarding the heavy accretions accumulated through ages, we Hindus of these days must see to it that we do not throw overboard the gold that lies buried under the crust of ritual and ill-understood ceremonies.*

* In passing I may mention that my friend Mr. N. G. Chapekar, B. A., LL. B., retired First Class Subordinate Judge residing at Badlapur in the Thana District, has been celebrating the yearly śrāddha of his mother in the manner indicated above for about twenty-five years.

SECTION IV

CHAPTER XI

TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ (pilgrimages to holy places)

All religions have laid great emphasis on the sacredness of certain localities and have either enjoined or recommended with great insistence pilgrimages to them. Among the five incumbent practical religious duties¹²³⁷ of a Moslem, pilgrimage at least once in his life to Mecca and Medina, the birth place and burial place of the prophet Mohammad, is one. The four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists have been the place of the birth of Buddha (Lumbini or Rummindsi), the place where he attained perfect enlightenment (Bodh Gayā), the place where he set in motion the wheel of *dharma* by delivering his first sermon (at Sārṇāth near Benares) and the place where he passed away into the state of *nirvāṇa* (Kusinārā). Vide Mahāparinibbānasutta (S. B. E. vol. XI, p. 90). For Christians Jerusalem has been the holiest place and no religious community except the Christians undertook in historic times several great military pilgrimages. The crusades were launched to free the Holy Land of Christians from the domination of Moslems. In spite of what Gibbon says¹²³⁸ somewhat cynically about those who joined the crusades, it must be admitted that there were thousands among the crusaders who risked their lives and fortunes in the pursuit of an ideal. In India holy places have played a very important part. Large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated as sacred¹²³⁹

1237. Vide S. B. E. vol. VI, Introduction LXXI, for the five duties. The pilgrimage is called *Hajj* and the Moslem who performs it is entitled to be called *Hajj*.

1238. Gibbon remarks 'At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their christian brethren and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination' Decline and Fall of the Rōman Empire, vol. VII (ed. of 1862) p. 188.

1239. Tagore in his 'Sādhana' (p. 9) remarks 'India chose her places of pilgrimage wherever there was in nature some special grandeur or

(Continued on the next page)

and as the abodes of gods. In ancient and medieval India pilgrimages brought many advantages to the community as well as to the pilgrims themselves. Though India was divided into many kingdoms and the people of India followed several cults and sub-cults, pilgrimages tended to foster the idea of the essential and fundamental unity of Indian culture and of India also. Benares and Ramesvara were held sacred by all Hindus, whether they hailed from the north of India or from the peninsula. Though the Hindu community was broken up into numerous castes and suffered from caste exclusiveness, pilgrimages tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers or shrines. The traditions associated with holy places, the discipline through which the pilgrims passed, association with holy and philosophic men and the whole atmosphere and environment at *tirthas* made it easy for pilgrims to remain at a high spiritual level and inculcated in them a mood of reverence that lasted long even after they returned from the pilgrimage. Pilgrimages supplied the much needed stimulus to draw ordinary men away from selfish pursuits and to make them think of the higher and more enduring moral and spiritual values. These obvious benefits and the belief that a holy place was the abode of some divinity led ancient dharmaśāstra writers to lay emphasis on visits to tirthas. The Visnu Dh. S. provides ¹²⁴⁰ that the *dharma* common to all men comprises the following: forbearance, truthfulness, restraint of the mind, cleanliness, charity, control of the senses, *ahimsā*, obedience to elders, *visiting holy places*, compassion, straightforwardness,

(Continued from the last page)

beauty so that her mind could come out of its world of narrow necessities and realize its place in the Infinite. This was the reason why in India a whole people who once were meat-eaters gave up taking animal food to cultivate the sentiment of universal sympathy for life, an event unique in the history of mankind. There is a fundamental difference in the outlook of modern Westerners and that of ancient and medieval Indians (which persists to a large extent even now). If there is a beauty spot anywhere most men in the West would think of building a hotel there for tourists, while ancient and medieval Indians would have thought of erecting a shrine there.

1240. क्षमा सर्वं धर्मः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः । अहिंसा युक्लक्ष्ण तीर्थाहुसरणं
 दया । आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवनाह्वयपूजनम् । अनन्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥
 विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II 16-17 Vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II. 80 1-4 for a list of सामान्यधर्मः
 such as अहिंसा, सत्यवचन, तीर्थाहुसरण and H. of Dh vol II p 11 notes 28-30
 for quotations about सामान्यधर्मः from शान्तिपर्व, वामनपुराण, ब्रह्मपुराण and other
 sources

freedom from avarice, honouring gods and brāhmanas and freedom from jealousy. Modern men whose faith in some of the aspects of the religious beliefs of our forefathers has been weakened or altogether sapped by the sight of the professional ministrants at the tirthas and their rapacity and ignorance should not judge the ancient attitude towards tirthas harshly.

The word *tirtha* occurs frequently in the Rgveda and other Vedic samhitās. In several passages of the Rgveda *tirtha* appears to mean a road or a way (e. g. in Rg. I. 169. 6 'tirtha nāryah paumsyāni tasthuh', Rg. I. 173. 11 'tirtha nācehā tātsānam-oko', Rg. IV. 29. 3 'karan-na Indrah sutirthābhayam ca.' In some places *tirtha* may be taken to mean a ford in a river, as in Rg. VIII. 47. 11 'sutirtham-arvato yathānu no nesathā sugam &c.', Rg. I. 46. 8 'aritrām vām divas-prthu tirtha sindhūnām rathah'. In Rg. X. 31. 3 'tirtha na dasmam-upa yantūmāh', *tirtha* probably means 'a holy place'. On Rg. VIII. 19. 37 'Suvāstvā adhi tugvanī' the Nirukta IV. 15 explains that *Suvāstu* is a river and *tugvan* means 'tirtha' (either a ford or a holy spot). In the Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1-2¹²⁴¹ it is said that the sacrificer is to bathe at a *tirtha* (probably a holy river). The Rudras are said to prowl about tirthas (ye tirthāni pracaranto arkāvanto nisanginah) in Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 1-2 and Vaj. S. 16. 61 (reads 'arkāhastā'). In the Śāṅkhayana Br. ¹²⁴² it is said that Day and Night are the sea that absorbs everything and the twilights are the unfathomable *tirthas* (of the sea). *Tirtha* also means the way between the 'utkara' and 'cātvala' pit for going to or coming from the sacrificial ground (the *vikāra*).^{1242a} Vide H of Dh. vol. II. p. 984.

It is said that, just as some parts of the human body (e. g. the right hand or ear) are held to be purer (than others), so some localities on the earth are held to be very holy. Tirthas are held to be holy (on three grounds, viz.) on account of some wonderful natural characteristic of the locality or on account of the peculiar strikingness (or grandeur) of some watery place or on account of the fact that some (holy) sages resorted to

1241. अथु स्नाति साक्षदेव दीक्षातपती अवरुणे तीर्थे स्नाति। तै. सं. VI. 1. 1. 1-2
Vide जैमिनि III. 4. 14-16 for a discussion on the purpose of this passage

1242. सधुद्रो वा एष सर्वहोते यदहोरात्रे तस्य द्वे अगारे तीर्थे यस्मिन्ने तस्यधा अगारार्थं तीर्थार्थं सधुद्रमतीयात्तादृक् तत्। शौ. भा. II. 9.

1242 a. ते अन्तरेण चात्वालोल्लास उपनिष्क्रामन्ति तद्वि यद्वाय तीर्थमामर्गं याम ।
शौ. भा. 189

them (for bathing, austerities &c.). Tirtha, therefore, means a locality or spot or expanse of water which gives rise to the accumulation of righteousness (merit) owing to its own peculiar nature without any adventitious circumstance (such as the presence of Śalagrāma near it).¹²⁴³ Or it is better to say that those localities that have been technically spoken of by wise and great sages as tirthas are tirthas, just as Pāṇini employs such technical terms as Nadi and Vṛddhi in his grammar. The Skandapurāṇa¹²⁴⁴ says that a spot of the earth resorted to by ancient good men for the collection of merit is called tirtha and that the main thing is to go to (i. e. associate with holy) men and pilgrimage is only a secondary object.

In the R̥gveda waters, rivers in general and certain named rivers¹²⁴⁵ are referred to with great reverence as holy and are deified. In R̥g VII. 49 the refrain of all four verses is 'may the divine waters protect me' (ta āpo devir-īha māmavantu). In R̥g. VII. 49. 1 waters are spoken of as purifying (punanāh). R̥g. VII. 47, X. 9, X. 30¹²⁴⁶ are hymns addressed to waters as divinities. They are said to purify a man not only physically but are also invoked to rid a man of all sins and lapses from the right path. The Tai S. II. 6. 8. 3 asserts that all deities are centred in waters (āpo vai sarva devatāḥ). In the Atharvaveda¹²⁴⁷ (I 33.1) waters are described as holy and purifying and are invoked to confer happiness. About twenty rivers in all

1243. यथा शरीरस्योद्देशां केचिन्मेध्यतमा स्तुता । तथा पृथिव्या उद्देशां केचित् पुण्यतमा स्तुता ॥ प्रभावाद्भुताभूमे सलिलस्य च तेजसा । परिग्रहान्मुनीनां च तीर्थानां पुण्यता स्तुता ॥ पञ्चपुराण (उत्तरखण्ड) 237 25-27, स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6 43-44, नारदीय-पुराण II 62. 46-47 These verses are quoted by कल्पतरु on तीर्थे pp 7-8 (ascribes the- to महाभारत) and by तीर्थे p 10 Similar verses occur in अष्ट-शास्त्रनपर्व 108 16-18 'शरीरस्य यथोद्देशां शुचयः परिकीर्तिता । तथा पृथिव्या भागाश्च पुण्यानि सलिलानि च । ...परिग्रहाच्च साधूनां पृथिव्याश्चैव तेजसा । अतीव पुण्यभागास्ते सलिलस्य च तेजसा ॥'.

1244. मुख्यया पुरुषयात्रा हि तीर्थयात्राच्युद्धत । सद्भिः समाश्रितो नृप भूमिभागस्तथो-च्यते ॥ स्कन्द I 2. 13 10, यद्वि पूर्वतमै सद्भिः सेवितं धर्मसिद्धये । तद्भिः पुण्यतमं लोकं सन्तस्तीर्थे प्रचक्षते ॥ स्कन्दपुराण 4. by पृथ्वीच० folio 135 b

1245 Vide H of Dh vol II, p. 12 for the rivers mentioned in the R̥g

1246 इदमाप. प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरितं मायि । यद्वाहनमिदुद्गोह यद्वा शेष उताहृतम् ॥ अ X 9.8.

1247. हिरण्यवर्णां शुचयः पावका यासु जात सविता यास्वसि । या अग्निं गर्भं दधिरे सुवर्णास्ता न आप शं स्योना भवन्तु ॥ अथर्व० I. 33. 1.

flood of the Sarasvatī impinging by its powerful waves against the tops of hills is referred to in Rg. VI. 61. 2 and 8¹²⁵⁰. In VII. 96. 1, Sarasvatī is spoken of as *asuryā* (of divine origin) among rivers. Sacrifices are said to have been performed on the Drsadvatī, the Āpayā and Sarasvatī (Rg. III. 23. 4). In Rg. II. 41. 16 Sarasvatī is called the best of rivers and goddesses (ambitame naditame devitame Sarasvatī). Rg. I. 3. 11-12 praise¹²⁵¹ Sarasvatī as a river and a deity, as a purifier (*pāvaka*), as the impeller of sweet but truthful words and the inspirer of good thoughts and as bringing to notice its great flood of waters. From Rg. VII. 95. 2, VII. 49. 2 and I. 71. 7 it is obvious that the Rgvedic sages knew that the seven rivers fell into the sea. It would be proper to hold that the seven rivers are Sindhu (Indus), the five rivers of the Panjab and the Sarasvatī. Though from the Rgveda passages cited above it appears that in the times of the hymns of the Rgveda Sarasvatī was a big river with abundant waters, that it flowed between the Yamunā and Śutudrī (X. 75. 5), in the times of the Brahmanas it disappeared in the sands. It is now generally identified with the modern Sarsuti which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair. The Vāj. S. 34. 11 says that five rivers together with their tributary streams fall into Sarasvatī,¹²⁵² There were three *sattras* called Śarasvata, viz the first in honour of Mitra and Varuna, the 2nd for Indra and Agni and the third for Aryaman. The *dikṣā* (consecration ceremony) was to be performed on the south bank of the dry bed of the Sarasvatī where it disappeared underground¹²⁵³. Vide Tāndya Br.

1250. इयं ह्युपमेभिर्विसृता इवावजस्ताद गिरीणा तविदेभिर्कृमिभिः। ऋ. VI. 61.2; यस्या अनन्तो अद्भुतस्त्वेषश्चरिण्युरर्णवः। अमश्नन्ति रोचवत् ॥ ऋ. VI. 61.8 The निरुक्त II. 23 remarks तत्र सरस्वती इत्येतस्य नदीवत् देवतावच्च निगमा भवन्ति and explains Rg. VI. 61.2 as a verse where सरस्वती is described as a river.

1251. चोदायित्री सृष्टताना चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम्। यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती ॥ महो अर्णः सरस्वती प्र चेतयति केतुना। ऋ. I. 3. 11-12. For this last, vide निरुक्त XI. 27.

1252. पञ्च नद्यः सरस्वतीमपि यन्ति सप्तोत्तमः। सरस्वती तु पञ्चधा सो देशोऽभवत्सत्त्विः ॥ बाज. सं. 34. 11.

1253. सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते। ..इषहत्या अप्ययेऽपोनृचीय चर्चं निरूप्याथाति-यन्ति। चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्वासीनामि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् एतन् प्राञ्चवणः तावदितः स्वर्गो लोकः सरस्वतीसमितेनाध्वना स्वर्गलोकं यन्ति। ... यदा एतन् प्राञ्चवणमागच्छन्त्यथोत्थानम्। . कार-पञ्चवं प्रति यहुनामवभृथमभ्यवपन्ति। ताण्ड्य 25. 10 I, 15, 16, 21, 23. मनु II. 17 defines तद्भावरत्नं as the country between the divine rivers सरस्वती and इषहती and (II. 21) मध्यदेश as the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya mount-

25. 10 for the first Sārasvata-sattra, 25. 11 for the 2nd and 25. 12 for the third. The land between Vināśana and Plaksa Prāsra-vana (which was the source of the Sarasvatī) was the proper locality for Sārasvata-sattra. At the confluence of Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī an *īṣṭi* to Apām Napāt was performed wherein boiled rice (*caṇu*) was the offering. From the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared up to Plaksa-Prāsra-vana the distance was a journey on horse-back for forty days and nights. When the sacrificers (in the sattra) reach Plaksa Prāsra-vana they should stop the performance of the items of the sattra and undergo the Avabhṛtha bath near the river Yamunā (modern Jumna) which flows through the country called Kārapacava (and not in the Sarasvatī even if it had water). For details, vide Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (10. 15-19) which mentions (in 10. 19. 1) a spot called Parināh in Kurukṣetra where the Vedic fires were to be kindled, the Āśv. Ś. S 12. 6. 1-28 which adds that at the distance of each throw of the Śamyā from the Vināśana one day is to be spent by the sacrificers, the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra (24. 5-6) which states that the *īṣṭi* at the confluence of the Drsadvatī and Sarasvatī is to be offered to Agni Kāma, Āp. Ś. S 23. 12-13 (which gives more details than any one of the other three sūtras). In the Ait. Br. a story is narrated that the sages performed a sattra on the Sarasvatī and Kavaśa who was sitting amongst them was driven out by them as not a brāhmana but the son of a female slave and left in a sandy desert with the idea that he would die of thirst, but he praised the waters or *Apām napāt* with the hymn, Rg. X. 30 ('pra devatrā brahmane') called 'Aponaptīya' and Sarasvatī came rushing towards the place where Kavaśa stood and surrounded it, which (spot) thence-

(Continued from the last page)

ains, which is to the east of विनक्षन and west of Prayāga. For the mention of विनक्षन in the Baud. Dh. S., Vanaparva and Salyaparva, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 14 note 35. Dr. D. R. Patil in his thesis 'Cultural History of Vāyupurāṇa' (p. 334) remarks that the institution of pilgrimage was first started by Buddhists and Jains and that later on it became common to all faiths in India. This is quite wrong. The Brāhmana and Śrautasūtra passages clearly show that there were holy places in the comparatively small part of India up to the Yamunā where the Sārasvata sattras had to be carried on. The importance of holy places, visiting them and performing religious rites there were known in the Brāhmana period at least a thousand years before Buddhism and Jainism began to spread.

refers to this salve. Gaut., Baud Dh S. and Vas. Dh. S. have the same sūtra ¹²⁵⁹ stating that the 'deśas (localities) that are holy and hence destroyers of sin are all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (ṛsis), cowpens and temples of the gods' The Vāyupurāṇa ¹²⁶⁰ and Kūrma state that all parts of the Himālaya are holy, the Ganges is holy everywhere, all rivers falling into the sea and all seas are holy. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhanda 39. 46-47) says that all rivers, whether flowing through a village or a forest, are holy and that where no name of a tirtha on rivers is known it should be called Visrutirtha. Kālidāsa speaks of the Himālaya as *devatātmā* (as vivified by the presence of gods) in the Kumārasambhava (I 1). The Bhāgavata V. 19.16 names 27 holy mountains while the Brahmandā (II. 16. 20-23) names thirty. The grandeur and sublimity of snow-capped mountains, of large life-sustaining rivers and of great forests easily impress the minds of almost all people and induce them to think that there is something divine about them, that the Supreme

1259 सर्वे शिलोच्चयाः सर्वाः सवन्त्यः पुण्याः ह्रवास्तीर्थान्युपनिवासा गोष्ठपरिस्कन्दा इति देशाः। गौ 19, 14 = बसिष्ठ 22 12 = बौ ध सू III. 10 12 (which reads ऋषि-निकेतनानि गोष्ठक्षेत्रपरिस्कन्दा इति)

1260. सर्वे पुण्या हिमवतो गङ्गा पुण्या च सर्वतः । सद्युज्ज्या. सद्युज्ज्या सर्वे पुण्या. सम-
न्ततः ॥ बाहुपुराण 77. 117, सर्वत्र हिमवान् पुण्यो गङ्गा . न्ततः । नद्यः सद्युज्ज्या. पुण्याः
सद्युज्ज्या विशेयतः ॥ कूर्म II 37 49-50, 'राजा समस्ततीर्थानां सागर सरिता पतिः' ।
नारदीय (उत्तर) chap 58 19; सर्वे प्रसवणा पुण्या सर्वे पुण्या शिलोच्चया । नद्यः पुण्या
सदा सर्वा जाह्नवी तु विशेयतः ॥ शङ्ख 8 14 (reads सरासि च शिलोच्चया) q by तीर्थ-
प्रकाश p 14, सर्वाः सद्युज्ज्या पुण्या सर्वे पुण्या, नगीतमा । सर्वमायतनं पुण्य सर्वे पुण्या
ब्रह्मायमा ॥ श्लोक q by तीर्थकल्पः p 250, पक्ष IV. 93 46 has almost the same
words (reads ब्रह्मायमा) The great mountains (called कुलपर्वतः) generally
enumerated are. महेश्वो मलय सद्यः क्षुत्तिमाक्षपर्वतः । विश्वेश्वर पारियात्रश्च सत्तत्र
कुलपर्वता ॥ कूर्म I. 47 23-24, वामन 13. 14-15, बाहु I 85, मत्स्य 113 10-12. ब्रह्म
18 16 enumerate them somewhat differently. The बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III. 81 says
'तत्रापि दैवतकविष्णुसत्त्वकुमारमलयश्रीपर्वतपारियात्रा सत्त कुलाचलाः ।' The गौ.
मतपुराण 37 reads 'महेश्वो . क्षुत्तिमानपि । विश्वेश्वर पारियात्रश्च न विनश्यन्ति पर्वताः' ।
The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (II 16 39) and बाहु (45 108) observe about rivers falling
into the sea तास्तु नद्यः सरस्वत्यः सर्वा गङ्गा सद्युज्ज्या । विश्वस्य मातरः सर्वा जगत्पादरा-
स्तृता ॥ In some Purāṇas certain great rivers are said to be specially holy
at certain times For example, देवीपुराण quoted by कल्प (on तीर्थ) p 242 states
'कार्तिके ग्रहणं श्रेष्ठं गङ्गायस्तुनसङ्गमे । मार्गे तु ग्रहणं पुण्यं देविकाया महासुने । पौषे तु
नर्मदा पुण्या माघे सनिहिता क्षुभा । फाल्गुने वरणा खयाता चैत्रे पुण्या सरस्वती । वैशाखे तु
महापुण्या चन्द्रभागा सतिह्रा । ज्येष्ठे तु कौशिकी पुण्या आवाढे तायिका नदी । श्रावणे सिन्धु-
नामा च भाद्रमासे च गण्डकी । आश्विने सरयूश्चैव ध्रुव पुण्या तु नर्मदा । गोदावरी महापुण्या
चित्रे राहस्यमन्त्रिते ।' एवमादिष्वथान्येषु तीर्थेषु सतिह्रास्तु सर्वेषामपि स्वभावेषु श्रुतिनेषु प्रसवणेषु
पर्वतेषु तिष्ठन्तेषु धनैर्द्रव्येण गोमयलिप्तेषु मनोज्ञेषु । विश्वधर्मसूत्र 85.

Being is partially revealed in such surroundings. In Protestant Europe and the U. S. A. hardly anyone performs a pilgrimage to a holy place in these days. Instead, they tour different countries for rest, health and in search of natural beauty and a respite from humdrum existence. But pilgrimage to a place supposed to be holy for the curing of disease is not rare even now. When one reads a work like that of Louis Carell, a great surgeon and a winner of the Nobel prize, on the miracles worked at Lourdes in France (in 'a Journey to Lourdes') one sees that pilgrimage has taken on a new motive in the West. Similarly, pilgrimage to the tombs of unknown warriors has become common owing to the two world wars.

In Rg. X. 146 a large forest ¹²⁶¹ (Aranyāni) is invoked as a deity. The Vamanapurāṇa mentions ¹²⁶² seven forests in Kurukṣetra as holy and as removers of sin, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Punaśītarana.

In the Sūtras and ancient smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya tīrthas do not occupy a very prominent position. But in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas they are highly lauded and placed even above sacrifices. In the Vanaparva ¹²⁶³ a comparison is made between sacrifices to gods and pilgrimages. Sacrifices require numerous implements, collection of materials, the co-operation of priests and the presence of a wife and so

1261. अरण्यान्यरण्यसौ या मेव नदयसि। कथा ग्रामं न वृच्छसि न त्वां मीरिषि विवृत्तीरे॥ ऋ. X. 146 1. The निदयस् 9.30 explains this verse and says अरण्यानी means अरण्यस्य पत्नी, while the वार्तिक 'हिमांरण्योर्महत्वे' on पा. IV. 1. 49 holds that अरण्यानी is formed from अरण्य in the sense of सहस्र

1262. शृणु सप्त वनानीह कुरुक्षेत्रस्य मध्यतः। येषां नामानि पुण्यानि सर्वपापहराणि च॥ काम्यक च नदं पुण्यं॥ वामनपुराण 34. 3-5.

1263. ऋषिभिः कृतव मोक्षा देवेष्विव यथाक्रमम्। फलं चैव यथातथ्यं प्रेत्य चेह च सर्वशः॥ न ते शक्या दुरिद्रेण यज्ञा प्राप्तु महीपते। बहुपकरणं यज्ञा मानासम्भारविस्तरा॥ मायन्ते पार्ष्णीवैतै सत्युर्द्ध्वै नरैः कश्चित्। नार्थन्यूनैर्नावगणैरेकात्मभिरसाधनैः॥ यो दुरिद्रेः अपि त्रिधि शक्यः प्राप्तु नरेभ्यः। तुल्यो यज्ञफले पुण्यैस्त्वं निबोध युषां वरः॥ ऋषीणां परमं शुद्धमिदं भरतसत्तम। तीर्थाभिगमनं पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विशिष्यते॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 82. 13-17, 9 by तीर्थकल्पतरु p 37, तीर्थं p 12 (which explains अवगणैः तक्षादिसहाय्यरहितैः, यज्ञस्य कुण्डमण्डपादिसाध्यत्वात्, एकात्मभिः, पत्नीरहितैः, असंहतैः कृत्तिगादिसङ्घातरहितैः)। The अनुशासनपर्व (107 2-4) has almost the same verses as न ते शक्या .. शक्यः प्राप्तुं सदा भवेत्; मत्स्यपुराण (chap 112. 12-15) has these verses (except the half verse नार्थन्यूनैः साधनैः and पद्मपुराण, आदिशृणु 11. 14-17, 49. 12-15, vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 4-5 for the same ideas in almost the same words.

they can be performed only by princes or rich men. They cannot be performed by poor men, who are devoid of wealth, who are without a wife and without friends, who are helpless. The reward that a man gets by visiting holy places cannot be secured by performing such sacrifices as Agnistoma in which large fees are paid (to priests); therefore visiting holy places is superior to sacrifices. But the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 82, 9-12 and Anuśāsana 108, 3-4) lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of pilgrimages is to be reaped. It says ¹²⁶⁴ 'He whose hands, feet and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a good reputation derives the (full) reward of pilgrimages. He who turns his face away from receiving gifts and is content with what little he gets and is free from vanity obtains the rewards of pilgrimages. He, who is free from hypocrisy (or deceit), is not engaged in various undertakings (for earning money), is not a heavy eater, has subdued his senses and is (therefore) free from all sins; so also he who does not fly into a rage, who always speaks the truth, who is firm in his observances, and acts towards all beings by treating them like himself, obtains the full reward of pilgrimages'. The idea seems to be that pilgrimages may help to remove the sins of men who are not possessed of the above characteristics, while those who possess these acquire a great store of merit in addition. The Skanda (Kāśikhaṇḍa 6.3) asserts 'śnēna cannot be predicated of a man whose body alone is flooded with water; that man who is plunged in restraint of senses, who is pure, relieved of all taint and is stainless, is alone to be called snāta' (as having had a bath). The Anuśāsana has almost the same

1264. यस्य हस्ती च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतम् । विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ प्रतिग्रहादुपाहृत सन्मुखो येन केनचित् । अहङ्कारनिवृत्तश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अकल्मषो निरारम्भो लज्जाहारी जितेन्द्रियः । विमुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्यः स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अक्रोधनश्च राजेन्द्र सत्यशीलो ब्रह्मव्रत । आत्मोपमश्च धृतेषु स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ वनपर्व 82 9-12 q. by the तीर्थकल्पवच pp. 4-5, तीर्थप. p. 13 (only 9 and 12) 'हस्त्वयोः संयमः परपीडा-चौर्यादिनिवृत्त्या, पादयोः सयम् अगम्पदेशमनपरतादृणादिनिवृत्त्या । मनसः कुत्सितसङ्कल्पादिनिवृत्त्या । विद्या अत्र तत्तत्तीर्थमुपाज्ञानम्, तपः तीर्थार्थवृत्तादि, कीर्तिः सञ्चितत्वेन प्रसिद्धिः' तीर्थप. p. 13. 'अकल्मषः दम्भरहितः, निरारम्भोऽत्रार्थार्जनादिव्यापार-रहितः' तीर्थकल्पवच p. 5. Vide also वनपर्व 92.11, 93. 20-23. The above verses of the वनपर्व occur in पद्म, आदिखण्ड 11. 9-12 and the first two in पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237, 30-32; all occur in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6. 48-51, वायु 110. 4-5 are the same as the first two, the verse यस्य हस्ती च is शङ्करस्मृति 8.15, ब्रह्म 25 2, अग्नि 109 1-2, the स्कन्द (I 2.2 5-6) says that Angiras sang the वृत्तं यस्य... सयम् । निर्विकारा क्रियाः सर्वा सः श्रुते

words (108.9).^{1264a} The Vāyupurāṇa states¹²⁶⁵ 'A steadfast (or wise) man visiting tirthas with faith and controlling his senses would be purified even if he has been guilty of sins; what need is there to say about him whose actions have been pure? One who has no faith, who is full of sins, whose mind is not free from doubts (about the rewards of pilgrimages and the rites there), who is an atheist and who is bent on bad reasoning—these five do not reap the rewards of pilgrimages'. The Skandapurāṇa (I. 1. 31, 37) remarks that all holy places, sacrifices and various gifts are meant for cleansing the mind (of its sins and sinful proclivities, *manaḥ-suddhi*). The Padmapurāṇa (IV. 80, 9) remarks 'sacrifices, *vratas*, *tapas* and *dāna* cannot be carried out fully in the Kali age; but bathing in the Ganges and taking the name of Hari are free from all defects. The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa¹²⁶⁶ puts the matter very clearly when it says 'When resort is made to a tirtha, it removes the sins of the sinful and tends to the increase of merit in the case of the good and that a holy place yields fruit to men of all varnas and āśramas.' Some of the Purāṇas (such as Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikhaṇḍa 6, Padma, Uttarakhaṇḍa, 237) say that in addition to the holy places on land (*bhūma*) there are certain virtues that may be called mental tirthas (in a figurative sense). According to them 'truthfulness, forbearance, restraint of the senses, compassion for all beings, straight-forwardness, charity, self-control, contentment, celibacy (brahmacharya), sweet speech, knowledge, patience, austerity, are tirthas and the highest tirtha is purity of mind.' They further state that a man who is avaricious, wicked, cruel, hypocritical and immersed in pleasures of senses is still sinful and impure even if he bathes in all tirthas and that fish are born and die in holy waters but they do not go to heaven because their minds are not purified and that even charity, sacrifices, austerity,

1264 a नौदककृच्छगात्रस्तु स्नात इत्यभिधीयते । स स्नातो यो वमस्नातः सबाह्याभ्यन्तरः शुचिः ॥ अश्वशासन 108 9.

1265. तीर्थान्यहसर्व धीर. अश्वधानो जितेन्द्रियः । कृतपापो विशुध्येत किं पुनः शुभकर्मकृत् ॥ अश्वधानाः पाप्मानो नास्तिका स्थितसंशयाः । हेतुद्वया च पश्येत् न तीर्थफलभानिन ॥ वायु 77, 125 and 127 q by तीर्थकल्पः pp. 5-6, ती. चि. p 4 (which explains पापात्मा बहुपापयस्तस्तस्य पापक्षमन तीर्थं भवति न तु यथोक्तफलम्) These verses occur also in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 56 52-53.

1266 पापानां पापक्षमनं धर्मवृद्धिस्तथा सताम् । विज्ञेयं सेवितं तीर्थं तस्मात्तीर्थपरो भवेत् ॥ सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सर्वोभयनिवासिनाम् । तीर्थं फलमदं ज्ञेयं नात्र कार्यं विचारणा ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273, 7 and 9,

cleanliness, frequenting sacred places, learning—all these are not tīrthas, if the mind is not pure ¹²⁶⁷ The Brahmapurāṇa (25.4-6) states 'a heart that is wicked is not purified by baths at holy places, just as a vessel in which *surā* (liquor) was carried remains impure even after being washed with water hundreds of times, that tīrthas, gifts, *vratas*, or (residence in) hermitages do not purify a man whose heart is wicked, who resorts to hypocrisy and whose senses run away (are uncontrolled). Wherever a man who has his senses under control may dwell, there are present Kuruksetra, Prayāga and Puskara'. The Vāmanapurāṇa has a fine ^{1267a} *Rūpaka* about the soul being a river full of the water of control, flowing with truth and having character as the bank and the waves of compassion (for all beings) and states that the soul cannot be purified by water. The Padmapurāṇa (II. 39. 56-61) extends the meaning and scope of tīrthas by remarking that places where Agnihotra and śrāddha are performed, a temple, a house where Veda is being studied, a cowpen, the place where a soma drinker dwells, parks, a place where the *Āśvattha* exists, a place where Purāṇa is being recited or where one's teacher stands or where a chaste housewife dwells, or where a father and a worthy son dwell are all holy.

Numberless tīrthas and holy shrines have been mentioned from ancient times. The Matsyapurāṇa states ¹²⁶⁸ that Vāyu declared that there are 35 millions of tīrthas in the sky, in the aerial regions and on the earth and all of them are centred in the Ganges; while the Vāmanapurāṇa 46. 53 states that there are 35 millions of Lingas. The Brahmapurāṇa says that the number of tīrthas and shrines is so large that they cannot be

1267. सर्वं तीर्थं क्षमा तीर्थं..तीर्थानामुत्तमं तीर्थं विशुद्धिर्नमः पुनः ॥ जायन्ते च श्रियन्ते च जलेष्वेव जलोक्तम् । न च गच्छन्ति ते स्वर्गमविशुद्धमनोमलाः ॥ दानमिग्या तपश्चैवं तीर्थसेवां कृतं तथा । सर्वभ्येतान्यतीर्थानि यदि भावो न निर्मलः ॥ स्वर्गः, कोटी= 6. 28-45, पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 11-28, compare मत्स्य 22 80 (सर्वं तीर्थं दया तीर्थः)।

1267 a आत्मा नदी संयमोयपूर्णं सत्पावहा शीलतया दयामि । तत्राभिप्रेक्ष्य कुक्ष्यपङ्कजं न वारिणां शुध्यति चान्तरात्मा ॥ वामनपुराण 43. 25

1268. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटिश्च तीर्थानां वायुरज्रवीर्यं । दिवि सुव्यन्तरीक्षे च तत्सर्वं जाह्नवी स्मृता ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 110 7, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 53-54, and पद्म IV. 89. 16-17 and V. 20 150 (last पाद is तानि ते सन्ति जाह्नवी); बराट् 159 6-7 पाटिकोटिसदृशाणि पाटिकोटिसतानि च । तीर्थान्येतानि देवाश्च तारकाश्च नमस्तले । गणितानि समस्तानि वायुना जगद्वायुषां, तिस्रः कोट्योर्धकोटी च तीर्थानि ध्रुवत्रये । तानि स्नातुं समापान्ति गङ्गायां सिद्धये क्षुरे ॥ ब्रह्मपुर. 175 83; तस्माच्छुद्धं वक्ष्यामि तीर्थान्यापतनानि च । विस्तरेण न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं वर्षशतैरपि ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 25 7-8.

enumerated in detail even in hundreds of years. The Vanaparva ¹²⁶⁹ remarks that Naimisa is the (best) tirtha on the earth and Puskara in the aerial region, while Kurukṣetra is the most distinguished in all the three worlds and that all the ten thousand crores of tirthas are present in Puskara (chap 82,21) New tirthas were added from time to time and the monetary benefits derived by the permanent residents and particularly by the tirtha priests led them to prepare numerous mahātmyas of an apocryphal character and father them on Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahabharata and the Purāṇas. Most of the writers of digests on tirthas follow a process of selection. The Tirthakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, one of the earliest digests (about 1110-1120 AD), devotes more than half the work to Vārāṇasī and Prayāga alone, assigns only two or three pages to such famous tirthas as Puskara, Pṛthūdaka, Kokāmukha, Badarikāśrama, Kedāra. The Nṛsimhaprasāda (Tirthasāra) mostly deals with tirthas in the Deccan and southern India such as Setubandha, Puṇḍarika (modern Pandharpur), Godāvari, Kṛṣṇā-venyā, Narmadā. The Triśthalīsetu of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa devotes two-thirds of it to Benares and its sub-tirthas and the rest to Prayāga and Gayā. This unequal treatment arose from various causes, such as the localities where the authors lived, their familiarity with the holy places and their predilections. There was also another tendency among the authors of Purāṇas, Mahātmyas and digests viz. that of great exaggeration and over-statement which is often repellent. If a man reads the description of one tirtha and does not discount much as sheer hollow laudation, he is likely to feel that a pilgrimage to a certain tirtha will yield all the desires in this life as well in the next and that after visiting a holy tirtha like Kāśī or Prayāga he need not go to any other tirtha, nor need he perform any *vajña* or act of charity and the like. A few striking passages may be cited here. The Vanaparva remarks that ¹²⁷⁰ even gods and sages secured

1269. पृथिव्यां नैमिषं तीर्थमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम् । त्रयाणामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विद्धि-
व्यते ॥ वनपर्व 83 202, q. by तीर्थेन p 19 and तीर्थकल्पदत्त p 178; नीलकण्ठ explains:
नैमिषारण्ये कृतं पुण्यं पृथिव्यामेव सन्ततिसप्तचिसार्धं गौमादिपदमाहिहेतुरित्यर्थ, अन्तरिक्षे
व्ययचन्द्रादिमार्गे नक्षत्रादिचक्रेषु पुष्कर मापयतीत्यर्थ । The same verse occurs in
मत्स्य 109.3, पद्म (आदिखण्ड 27.87) and the first half in वामन 7. 37.

1270 पुष्करेषु महामाग देवाः सर्पिणो युरा । सिद्धिं समप्सिंभावाः पुण्येन महता-
न्विताः ॥ तत्राभिषेकं यः कुर्यात्पितृदेवाचने रतः । अश्वमेधादश्वं फलं प्राप्नुमनीविण ॥ वनपर्व
82. 26-27; नास्मात्परतर तीर्थं लोकैस्मिन्परिपठ्यते । पद्म (5th खण्ड, 27 78).

perfection at Puskara and that whoever takes a bath there and devoutly worships gods and his pitrs secures rewards ten times of what the performance of Āśvamedha might give. About this very tīrtha viz. Puskara, the Padmapurāṇa says that there is no holier tīrtha in this world. The Vanaparva (83, 145) in its eulogy of Prthūdaka asserts that Kuruksetra is holy, that Sarasvatī is holier than Kuruksetra and that Prthūdaka is holier than all other tīrthas. The Matsyapurāṇa puts the¹²⁷¹ comparative holiness of several tīrthas thus 'the waters of the Sarasvatī purify after (one bathes for) three days, those of Yamunā in seven days, those of the Ganges at once, while the water of the Narmadā purifies a man at sight of it.' In its eulogy of Vārāṇasī the Kūrma-purāṇa states 'there is no place higher than Vārāṇasī nor will there be one' (I 31. 64). The inveterate habit of exaggeration goes so far that it is said that by merely residing in Kāśī till one's death not only does a man become free from the great sin of brāhmaṇa murder but from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths and is not born again.¹²⁷² The Lingapurāṇa says the same thing. The Vāmana-purāṇa remarks¹²⁷³ that *mukṣa* (release from *samsāra*) can be secured in four ways, viz. by knowledge of *Brahman*, by śrāddha at Gayā, by loss of life in repelling the carrying away of cows and by residence in Kuruksetra and that those who die in Kuruksetra never come down (to the earth). Mere residence in Kāśī was so much lauded that the Matsya (181. 23), the Agni (112. 3) and other Purāṇas say that after repairing to Kāśī one should smash one's feet with a stone (in order that

1271. त्रिभिः सारस्वत तीर्थं सप्ताहेन तु बाहुनम्। सद्यः पुनरिति गङ्गायै दर्शनादेव नार्नदम्॥ पद्म, आदिखण्ड 13, 7, मत्स्य० 186.11. The अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि (Mysore ed.) I. 1.130 has a very similar verse 'सरस्वती त्रिभिः स्नाने पञ्चभिर्बाहुनापहतम्। जाह्नवी स्नानमात्रेण दर्शनेनैव नार्नदाः॥

1272. आ देहपतनाद्यास्तत्क्षेत्रं यो न भुञ्जति। न केवलं ब्रह्महत्या प्राकृतं च निवर्तते। प्राप्य विश्वेश्वरं देवं न स भूयोऽभिजायते। मत्स्य 182 16-17, q. by तीर्थनाल्पः p. 17 (which reads प्राकृतश्च that is explained as संसारबन्ध) and तीर्थचि p. 345 which quotes the passage from लिङ्गपुराण, but those verses are not found in chap. 92 of the लिङ्गपुराण (Venk. ed.) which deals with वाराणसीमाहात्म्य लिङ्गपुराण 1. 92 63 is विष्णुसक्तचित्तोपि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः। इह क्षेत्रेऽस्युतः सोऽपि संसारे न पुनर्भवत्। कामं ह्यत्र मृतो देवि जन्तुर्मोक्षाय कल्पते। लिङ्ग 1. 92 94. The verse आ देहपतनात् occurs in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 25. 67.

1273. ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयामाह गोव्रहे सरणं ध्रुवम्। वासः, क्षताः कुरुक्षेत्रे सुकिरिकाः चतुर्विधाः॥ ग्रहनक्षत्रताराणां कालेन पतनञ्जयम्। कुरुक्षेत्रं सुतानां च पतनं नैव विद्यते॥ वामन-पुराण 33.8 and 16; the first occurs in बाहु 105 16, आग्नि 115. 5-6.

one may not be induced to visit another tirtha) ¹²⁷⁴ and stay in Kāśī forever.

The Brahmapurāṇa classifies tirthas into four divisions ¹²⁷⁵ viz. daiva (created by gods), āsura (those associated with such asuras as Gaya), ārsa (those established by sages) such as Prabhāsa, Naranārāyaṇa and mānusa (created by kings like Ambarīsa, Mannu, Kuru) and provides that each preceding one is superior to each succeeding one. It enumerates six rivers to the south of the Vindhya and six rivers having their sources in the Himalayas as most holy and as devatīrthas, viz. Godāvari, Bhīmarathī, Tungabhadra, Venikā, Tāpī, Payosnī, Bhāgrathī, Narmadā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Visokā, and Vitastā. Similarly, Kāśī, Puskara and Prabhāsa are devatīrthas (Tirthapr. p. 18). The Brahmapurāṇa (175. 31-32) assigns daiva, āsura, ārsa and mānusa tirthas respectively to the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas.

There is a good deal of discussion in the Purāṇas and digests about those who are entitled or have the eligibility or capacity (*adhikāra*) for tīrthayātrā. The Vanaparva ¹²⁷⁶ provides that brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, when they have bathed in holy places, are not born again. The same work further states that whatever sin a man or a woman may have committed from birth, the moment a person takes a bath in the holy Puskara all that sin vanishes ¹²⁷⁷ Therefore not only men but women also had the right to undertake tīrthayātrā. The Matsyapurāṇa ¹²⁷⁸ goes further and asserts that 'Avimukta

1274. अस्मिन् चरणौ हत्वा वसेत्काशी न हि त्यजेत् । अग्नि 112.3; अविमुक्तं यदा गच्छेत् कदाचित्कालपर्ययात् । अस्मिन् चरणौ भित्त्वा हत्वेव निधनं ब्रजेत् ॥ मत्स्य 181.23, which last is quoted in तीर्थकल्पः p. 16. अस्मिन् चरणौ हत्वा वाराणस्या वसेत्करः । कूर्म I 31 35 q by तीर्थम p. 140.

1275. चतुर्विधानि तीर्थानि स्वर्गं मर्त्ये रसातले । वैवानि मुनिशङ्खल आसुराण्याकषाणि च । मातृयाणि त्रिलोकेषु विरुयातानि सुरादिभिः । ..ब्रह्माविष्णुशिवैर्वैवर्तनमित वैवहृत्पते । ब्रह्मसुराण 70 16-19 q by तीर्थमकाश p. 18, which also quotes the verses from ब्रह्मसुराण 70 33-35 about the twelve rivers (देवतीर्थस) आरक्ष stands for आर्य. Vide ब्रह्म 70 33-40 for examples of the four kinds of तीर्थस

1276. ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वा राजसत्तन । न वै योनौ प्रजायन्ते स्नातास्तीर्थे महात्मन । वनपर्व 82 30-31 q by तीर्थम p. 19 (which reads न वियोनौ ब्रजन्त्येते, meaning 'are not born in a condemned or low body')

1277. जन्मममृति यत्पापं स्त्रिया वा पुरुषेण वा । पुनरे स्नातमात्रस्य सर्वमेव प्रणश्यति ॥ वनपर्व 82 33-34 q. by तीर्थम p. 23.

1278. मानावर्णा विवर्णाश्च चण्डाला ये त्र्युत्पिस्ताः । किल्बिषैः पूर्णदेहाश्च मकुटैः पातकेरिताः । भेषज परम तेषामविमुक्तं विदुर्बुधाः । मत्स्यपुराण 184. 66-67, कूर्मसु. I. 31. 42-43 q. by तीर्थकल्पतक p. 26, तीर्थम. (on p. 140), तीर्थचि p. 140.

(Vārānasi) is the highest cure for men of numerous castes, for men not (recognized as) belonging to any particular *varṇa*, for cāṇḍālas who are abhorred (by people) and for persons whose bodies are full of diseases and of aggravated sins' It is stated in the Vāmanapurāṇa: ¹²⁷⁹ persons of all the four *āśramas* (i. e. brahmacārins, householders, forest hermits and *sannyāsins*) by bathing in the tirtha (mentioned by it) save seven generations in their families and that persons belonging to the four varṇas and women, when they bathe in tirthas with devotion, see the highest goal. It was provided by the Brahmapurāṇa that a brahmacārin can undertake a pilgrimage only if ordered or directed by his guru, and that a householder whose wife is alive and is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her; otherwise he would not reap the fruit of pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhaṇḍa chap. 59-60) narrates the story of a vaiśya called Kṛkālā who went on a pilgrimage without his virtuous wife and did not reap the fruits of a long pilgrimage (bhāryām viṇā yo dharmāḥ sa eva viphalo bhavet, 59, 33). The Tirthacintāmaṇi and Tirthaprakāśa quote a passage (from the Kūrmapurāṇa) which glorifies Vārānasi (called Avimukta there) as follows ¹²⁸⁰ 'brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons of mixed castes (varṇasankara), women, mlecchas and others who are born in evil forms and are of mixed blood, worms, ants, birds and beasts when they die in Avimukta are born as human beings in Benares and no one guilty of sins dying in Avimukta goes to Hell' As regards ¹²⁸¹ women and śūdras, a smṛti verse provided 'Japa, tapas, pilgrimage to holy places, becoming an ascetic (sannyāsin), efforts to attain mastery over mantras and worshipping deities (as a priest)—these six lead to sinfulness in the case of women and

¹²⁷⁹. ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थो यतिस्तथा । कुलानि नायेत्तनात् सप्त सप्त च सप्त च ॥ ब्राह्मणा, क्षत्रिया, वैश्याः क्षिया शूद्राश्च तत्परा । तीर्थसनात् भक्तिपुता पश्यन्ति पदम् ॥ वामनपुराण 36 78-79.

¹²⁸⁰. ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रा ये वर्णसङ्कराः । स्त्रियो म्लेच्छाश्च ये चान्ये सङ्कीर्णाः पापयोनयः ॥ कीटा विपिलिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये सुगणक्षिणः । कालेन निघनं याता अविशुक्ते वरानने!... शिवे मम पुरे देवि जायन्ते तत्र मानवा । नाविशुक्ते मृत कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी । कुर्म I 31, 32-34, मत्स्यपुराण 181, 19-21 q. by तीर्थचि p. 346, तीर्थम p. 139 (which quotes from कुर्मपुराण and adds नाविशुक्ते मृत कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी). ईश्वराष्टशतीता हि सर्वे याप्ति परा गतिम् । नाविशुक्ते मृत कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी । कुर्म I, 31 31-34 q. by तीर्थचि p. 346, तीर्थम p. 139 The same verses occur in पद्म I 33, 18-21

¹²⁸¹. जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्राः प्रव्रज्या मन्त्रसाधनम् । देवताराधनं चेति स्त्रीशुद्धयना निषद् ॥ q. by तीर्थम p. 21, ascribed to मनु by भट्टोजि in त्रिषुदीपेत्सुतारसंग्रह p. 2,

śūdras.' This was explained away by stating that this text refers to undertaking pilgrimage without the husband's permission (in the case of a woman) and as to a śūdra in such a way as to be opposed to the primary duty of a śūdra to wait upon learned brāhmanas (as laid down in Manu X. 123). Kātyāyana¹²⁸² as quoted in the Vyavahāramayūkha provides 'whatever a woman does that relates to (benefit in) a future state (i. e. state after death) without the permission of her (husband's) father, husband or son, would become fruitless' It is clear therefore that it was recognized early that *tirthayātrā* was a popular way for redemption of sins in the case of all classes of men and women. Though a Hindu woman succeeding as heir to her husband's estate has only a limited and qualified ownership over it, judicial decisions have recognized that she can alienate a small portion of her husband's estate for the expenses of a pilgrimage to Gayā for performing her husband's śrāddha for the latter's spiritual benefit or of a pilgrimage to Pandharpur. Vide *Muteeram v. Gopal* 11 Beng. L. R. 416; *Darbari Lal v. Gobind* 46 All. 822; *Ganpat v. Tulsiaram* 36 Bom. 88 (pilgrimage to Pandharpur).¹²⁸³ It was also provided that there was no question of untouchability¹²⁸⁴ when bathing in holy waters.

1282 नारी खल्वननुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्ता सुतेन वा । विफलं तद्भवेत्तस्या यत्करोत्यौर्ध्व-
देहिकम् ॥ कात्या १. ११. १३, this verse is quoted by चतुर्वर्गः on व्रत I. p. 327 as from आदित्यपुराण and और्ध्वदेहिकम् is explained as व्रतानि.

1283. Strangely enough, the Calcutta High court has held that a widow cannot validly alienate a part of her husband's property inherited by her as heir for a pilgrimage to Benares; vide *Hari v. Bayrand* 13 C. W. N. 544 at p. 547. But a gift to the temple of Jagannātha at Puri for *bhog* (offerings of cooked food) to the deity and for the maintenance of the priests there for the salvation of the husband and the members of his family and for the widow's own salvation was upheld by the Privy Council in *Sardar Singh v. Kunj Behari* 49 I. A. 383. As seen in note 1294 below, a person on returning from a pilgrimage had to honour and feed brāhmanas. In *Dinanath v. Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303, 1306, where a widow on returning from a pilgrimage to Gayā for the benefit of her husband's soul incurred a debt for feeding brāhmanas and her husband's relatives and alienated a portion of her husband's property, it was held that the debt was one for a spiritual purpose and was binding on the reversioners after the death of the widow.

1284. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां संग्रामे देशविल्लेखे । नगरग्रामवाहे च स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यति ॥
वृह १. ११. १३, स्पृष्टिः I p 122 This is variously explained. The तीर्थम्, p 41 says 'तीर्थे विवाह इत्यनेनानिवार्य-तीर्थाद्याधिकरणकारस्पृश्यस्पर्शो न दोषायैवभिधानात् । स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यतीति वचनं पक्कानशुद्धौ कल्पतरुद्वयता लिखितं तीर्थे पक्कानस्पर्शं न दोष इति । अत एव पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रादौ तथैव शिष्टाचार इति ॥'. Vide above note 750 for the same quotation. The शुद्धिम्, p. 130 explains तीर्थादी अस्पृश्य-
स्पर्शने नाचमननानादि

There is a verse of Bṛhaspati: 'At holy places, in marriages, in a religious festival (or procession), in a battle, when there is an invasion of the country and when a town or village is on fire, no blame attaches on the ground of incurring contact with untouchable persons or things.'

In order to guard against the facile assumption that without a change of heart or change in one's sinful mode of life a mere physical act of pilgrimage and bath in holy waters would be enough, some of the texts in the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* adopted two propositions: viz the one noted above that it is the pure mind that is a real tīrtha and further emphasized that it is better to stay at home and perform all the duties of a householder including the performance of vedic sacrifices than to go on a pilgrimage. The *Śānti-parva* ¹²⁸⁵ in the dialogue between Tujādhara and Jāṇali (a brāhmana proud of his *tapas*) asserts that purodāśa is the holiest of offerings, that all rivers are (holy like) Sarasvatī and all hillocks (and not merely Himālaya and the like) are holy, that one's soul is a tīrtha and advises Jāṇali not to be a guest, (i. e. to be wandering in quest of tīrthas) to several countries. The *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* and *Tīrthaprakāśa* quote passages from the *Brahmapurāṇa* that a brāhmana should wander about tīrthas after his capacity to perform sacrifices has come to an end, that it is better for a man to stay at home and perform the duties of an householder when he has the capacity and authority to perform *śukla* and *yajñas*, and that all the tīrthas do not come up (in their rewards) to the performance of *agnihotra*. ¹²⁸⁶ The *Kūrmapurāṇa* ¹²⁸⁷ has the following remarkable verses on this point. 'That person who abandoning his proper duties ¹²⁸⁷ resorts to tīrthas does not reap the fruits of

1285. दुरोडासो हि सर्वदा पशूनां मेघ्य उच्यते। सर्वा नद्यः सरस्वत्यः सर्वे दुष्यन्ति।
क्रोडोद्वयाः। जाजले तीर्थमात्मैव मा स्म देशातिथिर्मयं। एतानीदृशकान् धर्मानाचरन्निदं जाजले।
कारणैर्धर्ममन्विच्छन् स लोकानाप्नुते क्षुमात्। शान्तिर्षव 263. 40-42. जीलरुण्ट explains
'यत्रैवात्मसमाधानं तत्रैव सर्वाणि तीर्थानि सन्तीत्यर्थः' 11.

1286. यज्ञाधिकारेऽप्यथवा निवृत्ते विभक्तु तीर्थानि परिभ्रमेत्... यस्पद्विषयेनाधिकारि-
ताति वरं यद्वै यद्वधमाश्च सर्वं। एवं यद्वधमाश्चमत्स्थितरप तीर्थे गतिः। पूर्ववर्तिर्निषिद्धा। सर्वाणि
तीर्थान्यपि चाग्निहोत्ररूपानि नैवेति वयं वदाम। ब्रह्मपुराण ५ by तीर्थरत्नप्रकाश ५,
तीर्थचिन्ता pp. 5-6 and तीर्थम p. 19. Vide नारदटीका (चत्वर) 52 22 for the first verse.

1287. यः स्वधर्मात् परित्यज्य तीर्थसेवा करोति हि। न तस्य फलते तीर्थमिह लोके
परं च॥ प्रायश्चित्ती च विपुरस्तथा यायावरो यद्वै। मकुर्वात्तीर्थसेवा यथाऽप्यग्राह्यो
जनः॥ सहाशिरां सपत्नीको गच्छेत्तीर्थानि पत्न्यत्। (सर्वापविनिर्मुक्तो यथोक्तं गतिमाप्नुयात्)
कृणानि श्रीगणेशाय नमः। तीर्थसेवनम्। विधाय वृत्तिं पुत्राणां भार्यां तेषु निधाय च॥
सूत्रं II, 44, 20-23.

pilgrimage in this world as well as in the next. A person who has to undergo an expiation (for a sin), or who is a widower or who is a householder of the *yāyāvara*¹²⁸⁸ type or similar persons may resort to pilgrimages. One may go to holy places with his vedic fires or with his wife; he becomes free from all sins and secures the best goal as stated above. One who wants to go on pilgrimages should pay off the three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and should consign his wife to their care.'

Ancient writers on Dharmaśāstra favoured pilgrimages by prescribing, as stated in the *Viṣṇu Dh. S.*, that¹²⁸⁹ no money was to be demanded from a Vedic student, a forest hermit, an ascetic, a pregnant woman and a pilgrim by a ferryman or by a toll officer and that if he took money from such persons he was to be made to return it. But this prescription was not invariably followed even by Hindu Kings. The *Rājatarāṅgi* (VI 254-255 and VII, 1008) notices that a tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddhas at Gaya.¹²⁹⁰ It appears that Siddharāja king of Anahilavād (1095-1143 A. D.) levied a tax on pilgrims going to Somanātha at the frontier town Bahuloda, that he remitted the tax at the intercession of his mother and that the tax thus remitted amounted to 72 lakhs of rupees every year (this last may be an exaggeration to glorify Siddharāja).^{1290a} Moslem kings levied this tax. It appears that a great writer called Kavindrācārya took up the cause of Hindu pilgrims visiting Prayāga and Kāśī and so eloquently pleaded it before Emperor Shah Jehan that the latter remitted the tax altogether

1288. A householder is said to be of two sorts, *śālīna* and *yāyāvara*. The latter is one who subsists by picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken from the fields to the house or threshing floor or who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as a priest or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 641-642 and notes 1501-1504. For the three debts to Gods, Manes and sages, vide, H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 270 and 425

1289. बह्मचारिवानप्रयत्नभिक्षुविनिर्वाहसाराणि नाविकः शौल्किकः शुल्कमाद-
दानश्च । तच्च तेषां दद्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 132-133.

1290. काश्मीरिकाणां यः आङ्गशुल्कोच्छेत्ता गयान्तरे । सोऽप्येवमन्तकः क्षुरः
परिहासपुराश्रयः ॥ बह्म नहाशिलां कण्ठे वितस्ताम्बासि पातितः । राजत VI. 254-55.
The valiant *परमन्तक* or *परिहासपुर* who had relieved Kashmir residents from the tax at Gaya was drowned in *Vitastā* (by queen *Diddā*) with a big stone tied round his neck.

1290a. Vide *Bom G.* vol. I part 1 p. 172 and *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (tr. by Tawney p 84)

and conferred upon the great scholar ¹²⁹¹ the title of 'Sarva-vidyā-nidhāna'. People throughout India felt such relief at the remission of the tax that congratulatory letters and addresses (several of them couched in very poetic language) poured upon Kavindrācārya. These have been published in a work styled 'Kavindra-candrodaya' by Dr. Har Dutta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar (in the Poona Oriental series), a characteristic verse from which is quoted below.¹²⁹² In a remarkable copper-plate inscription in Sanskrit ¹²⁹³ and Kannada issued by the Hoysala king Narasimha III in Māgha śaka 1200 (1279 A. D.) it is said that the king granted the revenues (amounting to 645 *maskas* a year) of a village called Hebbāle to the pilgrims of Kāśī and to god Śrīviśveśvara for the purpose of enabling the pilgrims to Benares (including those from the whole of Karnāṭaka, from the countries of Telingana, Tulu, Tīrhuṭ, Gauda and others) to pay off the tax levied by the Turuskas (Moslem kings).¹²⁹⁴

The digests quote certain verses of the Brahmapurāṇa about the rites to be performed when a person decides to start on a pilgrimage. The Brahmapurāṇa provides that the intending pilgrim should restrain his senses the previous day, should observe a fast and on the next day he should offer worship to Ganeśa, the gods, the pitrs and honour good brāhmanas according to his ability and when he returns from the pilgrimage he should offer similar worship and honour.¹²⁹⁵ The digests

1291. Vide I A vol 41 (1912) p 7 at p 11 for an account by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri of the abolition of the pilgrim tax by Shah Jehan.

1292. येन श्रीसाहिजाहौ नरपतितिलकाः स्वल्पं वक्ष्यं कृतोऽयं किं चावश्यं मयः पुनरपि विहितः साहिवायाकाकोहः । काशीतीर्थमयागमतिजनितकरमाहमोक्षकहेतुः सोऽथ श्रीमान्मन्त्रो जयति कविशुक्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥ कवीन्मन्त्रोदय प. 23 No. 169. There is possibly a veiled allusion to गजेन्द्रमोक्ष in the words 'माहमोक्ष'.

1293. Vide Epigraphia Carnatica, vol 15 No 298 pp. 71-73 (containing transliterated text) and p 12 of the dynastic list; the important words in Kannada are 'Ellā-ksetravāsi-gaṇa Turakkariga ... Kula karnāṭigaru Telugu Tulu-Maleylaru .Tirabhubli-garu...Gavudigaru' &c. This inscription indicates that the expression 'Turushadanda' occurring in certain Gāhadvāla inscriptions such as those in E I IX at p 305, E I XIII p 295, E. I. XIV p. 195 meant a levy imposed by Moslem raiders and rulers.

1294. यो यः कश्चित्तीर्थयात्रां तु गच्छेत्तस्यतः स च पूर्वं पुरे स्वे । कृतोपवासः शुचिर-प्रसन्नः सम्पूजयेद्भक्तिमयीं गणेशम् ॥ देवान् पित्र्यं ब्राह्मणाश्चैव साधून् धीमान् पित्र्यं ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च । प्रत्यागतश्चापि पुनस्तथैव देवान् पित्र्यं ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च । ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थ-कल्पः p. 9, तीर्थचि p 6 (explains तस्यत इति पूर्वदिने कृतैरुपकादिनिघ्न.), तीर्थच.

explain that on return there is no fast and no worship of Ganeśa. He should perform śrāddha in which there is plenty of ghee, honour three brāhmanas (at least) with the offer of sandalwood paste &c. and then make a resolve (*saṅkalpa*) to go on pilgrimage. The Vāyupurāṇa ¹²⁹⁵ and the digests lay down that (after the worship of Ganeśa, the planets and the deities) he should put on the dress of a *kārpātī* viz. wear a copper-ring, a copper bracelet and reddish garments. Bhattoji (p 5) states that according to some the apparel of *kārpātika* is to be put on by a pilgrim going to Gayā. The Padma (IV. 19. 22) prescribes the pilgrim's dress for other tīrthas also. The Tir. O. adds that this dress is to be worn only on the journey to a tīrtha, when the pilgrim is in a tīrtha, but not at the time of performing his daily duties such as taking meals (p. 9).

There is a difference of opinion among the digests as to whether tonsure of the head is obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa ¹²⁹⁶ and Skandapurāṇa appear to make it obligatory. The Tīrtha-Kalpataru does not ¹²⁹⁷ refer to tonsure at all, while a fast at a tīrtha is declared by it to be optional. The tendency of later digest-writers is generally to make every religious act more elaborate and harder. The tonsure of the head and beard was prescribed for a sacrificer

(Continued from the last page)

p. 23 (which states 'सुसयतः पूर्वदिने कृतैकमकादिनियम इति केचित्, ब्रह्मचर्यादि-शुक्त इति तु युक्तम्'). In *Dinanath v. Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303 this passage of the Brahmapurāṇa is quoted and relied upon. These verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 24-25). The स्कन्दपुर (काशीखण्ड 6. 56-57) and पद्म have similar verses तीर्थयात्रा चिकीर्षु माग्निधावोपोषणं युद्धे । गणेशं च पितृन् विभान् साधून् शक्या प्रपूज्य च । कृतपारणको हृष्टो गच्छेन्नियमधुक् पुन । आगत्यान्वच्यं च पितृन् यथोक्त-फलभागवत् ॥ पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 36-38 ब्रह्म 76. 18-19 provide नान्दीमुखआह, देहशुद्धि, ब्राह्मणभोजन, remaining celibate and not talking with *patita* people, when one is on a pilgrimage to गोदावरी.

1295. उद्यतश्चेद्भया गन्तुं आहूय कृत्वा विधानतः । विधाय कार्पटिविषं कृत्वा श्रानं प्रदक्षिणम् । ततो ग्रामान्तरं गत्वा आद्रक्षेपस्य भोजनम् । बाह्यपु 110 2-3, q. by तीर्थचि प 7, तीर्थम p. 29 (which explains 'कार्पटिविषः ताम्रमुद्राताम्रकङ्कणकापायवज्रधारणम्') The तीर्थचि remarks that although these requirements are mentioned in connection with Gayā, these hold good as to pilgrimages to all holy places. Besides, this *kārpātika* apparel is to be worn only when actually travelling and not when the pilgrim performs his daily duties or takes his meals or offers śrāddha

1296. तीर्थोपवास कर्तव्य शिरसो मुण्डनं तथा । शिरोगतानि पापानि यान्ति मुण्ड-नतो यत । पद्म (उत्तरखण्ड 237. 45), स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड 6. 65).

1297. तीर्थोपवासश्च फलविकीर्णार्थ । तीर्थमभिगम्य व्रतोपवासनियमशुक्लरूपहमव-गाहमानस्त्रिरात्रमुपित्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते स्वस्तिमांश्च भवतीति देवलवचनात् । तीर्थकल्प० p 11.

when undertaking such solemn Vedic sacrifices as Cāturmāsya and Agnistoma.¹²⁹⁸ The termination of the stage of Vedic studenthood (*samūvartana*) was also marked by tonsure.¹²⁹⁹ Further, tonsure was prescribed when undergoing *prāyaścitta* for sins (vide p. 122 above). The Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. both quote a verse of Viṣṇu ¹³⁰⁰ from the *Smṛtisamuccaya*, viz. 'at Prayāga, on a pilgrimage, on the death of one's father or mother one should cut one's hair; but one should not cut one's hair without cause.' The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes a verse as follows: 'On the Ganges, in Bhāskaraksetra, on the death of one's father, mother and *guru*, at the time of consecrating Vedic fires and at a *soma* sacrifice—tonsure is prescribed in these seven cases. Some read 'satsa' and therefore they take the first two words as meaning 'on the Ganges only at Prayāga.' Both Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. quote a verse ¹³⁰¹ which says that tonsure and fast are acts that must be done at all tirthas except at Kuruksetra, Viśālā (Ujjayinī or Badarikā), Virajā (river in Orissa) and Gayā.' In the case of a *snātaka*, all the hair except the top-knot is cut and

1298. Vide Sat. Br II 6. 3 14 ff. (S. B. E. vol. 12 pp 448).

1299. Pārashara gr. II 6. 17, Khādīra gr. III. 1. 2. 23, Sāh. gr. III. 1. 1-2 (S. B. E. vol. 29. p 314, p. 408, p. 91 respectively). The Khādīra gr. is 'prāśya vāpayet śikhāvarjam keśasmaśrulomanakhāni.'

1300. मनुष्याणां तु पापानि तीर्थानि प्रतिगच्छताम्। केशमाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति तस्मात्तद्वपनं चरेत् ॥ एव, पातालखण्ड 19. 21; उपवासदिने हण्डनमपि। प्रयागे तीर्थयात्रायां पितृमातृविधायकः। कचाना वपनं कुपाद्भूया न विकचो भवेत् ॥ इति स्तुतिस्तद्वपनम्-विष्णुलिखितवचनात्। तीर्थं चि प. 7, तीर्थं p. 28. This verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 62 28. The Mitā. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes the following verse गङ्गाया भास्कर-क्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्होराहुती ॥ आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तसु स्तुतम् ॥. भास्करक्षेत्रं is प्रयाग acc. to some and कोणाक्षेत्रं acc. to others. It is not correct to translate 'ādāhāna' as 'in the Garbhādhāna ceremony' (as Dr. Chaudhuri does on p. 55 of his English Intro. to गङ्गावाक्याः) आधान by itself in धर्मशास्त्र works generally means अग्न्याधानं गर्भाधानं is referred to by the word निषेक or गर्भाधानं itself. भास्करक्षेत्रं is really कोणाक्षेत्रं and not प्रयाग, which latter is called प्रयागपतिक्षेत्रं in मत्स्य 104 5 and 111. 14.

1301. हण्डनं चोपवासश्च सर्वतीर्थेष्वप्यपि विधिः। वर्जयित्वा कुरुक्षेत्रं विशालां विरजां ययाम् ॥ वायु. 105. 25 q by तीर्थं चि p. 14 (ascribes to स्कन्दपुराण). तीर्थं p. 50 (ascribes to देवल and स्कन्द). The तीर्थं. (p. 50) refers to the view of तीर्थकल्पः 'यद्यपि कल्पतरुकारेण तीर्थं हण्डनं नोक्तं न वा तत्र प्रमाणं दृष्टितं तथापि हण्डनं चोपवासश्चेत्यादिवाक्यस्य सकलशिष्टपरिहृयित्वास्तत्कर्तव्यमेव'. The तीर्थं चि. p. 32 also does the same. In the गङ्गावाक्याः second half is read as वर्जयित्वा गयां गङ्गां विशालां विरजां तथा ॥ and it is said to be from स्कन्दपुराण. The बालमन्दूकी on Yāj. III. 17 explains विरजं as दक्षिणदेशस्य लोणारक्षेत्रमपि विरजमित्यादित्यद्वयम्. The first half is अग्नि 115 7 and the whole verse is ascribed to अग्निपुराण by the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 141a and occurs also in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 45.

in the case of women whose husbands are living only two finger-breadths of hair are out. *Vṛddha-Hārta* (IX. 386-387) lays down that in the case of women whose husbands are living tonsure of the head should not be carried out, but that holding up all their hair only three finger-breadths should be cut off. Other *smṛtis* like *Āpastamba* in verse (I 33-34), *Angiras* verse 163, *Yama* 54-55, *Parāśara* q. by the *Mitākṣarā* on *Yaj.* III. 263-264 lay down that tonsure is limited to the cutting of two finger-breadths of hair in the case of woman (*nārī*). *Par.* M. ¹³⁰² II. 1. p. 291 reads 'evam nārikumārīnām' and holds that *nārī* means here 'a woman whose husband is alive'. Although the *smṛti* passages occur in the section on *prāyaścitta* still by analogy they are to be applied to the tonsure in holy places. As regards widows, ascetics ¹³⁰³ and *sūdras* all hair are to be cut. The *Tirthaprakāśa* finds fault with *Vācaspatimīśra* for saying that there is no tonsure on the Ganges. When there is such a conflict of views, the final decision rests with the usage of each country or the individual's choice. The *Tir. K.* (p 10) appears to hold that honouring the *pitṛs* at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is specially obligatory on a man with means. The texts make a difference between *ksaura* and *mundana*. The latter means 'shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard,' while *ksaura* means only shaving the head. Therefore the *Nāradya* says that all sages did not prohibit *ksaura* even at *Gaya* but only *mundana* is forbidden there ^{1303a} and there is no *mundana* on the Ganges anywhere except at *Prayāga*. The *Tirthendusekhara* (p 7) gives it as its opinion that tonsure and fast are not obligatory but are only *kāmya* (i. e. to be done if certain rewards are desired) and points out that *śīstas* do not resort to these two at many *tirthas*.

1302. स्त्रीणां पराशरेण विशेषोऽभिहितः। वपनं नैव नारीणां... सर्वान् केशान्सकुञ्च्य छेदयेदङ्गुलिद्वयम्। सर्वत्रैवं हि नारीणां शिरसो मुण्डनं स्मृतम्॥ मिता on p. III. 263-264; सर्वान् केशान्... मुण्डनं भवेत् ॥ इत्यस्य भाष्यस्वित्तमकरणे श्रुतरयाकाङ्क्षातौल्येनात्राप्यन्वपात्। प्रयागादावपि तासां ह्यङ्गुलकेशाग्रकर्तनमात्रं वपनम्। तीर्थम् pp 50-51.

1303. यति शूद्रश्च विधवा सशिखं वपनं चरेत्। इति दाक्षिणात्याः। वाचस्पति-मिश्रास्तु-वर्जयित्वा गया गङ्गां विशाला विरजा तथा-इति पटिला गङ्गाया न मुण्डनमिति प्रलपन्ति। तत्र सार्धयः। अस्य पाठस्य शिष्टैरपरिमहात्। तीर्थम् p. 51.

1303 a गयादावपि देवेशि इमंश्रूणां वपनं विना। न कौरं मुनिभिः सर्वैर्नपिज्ज्ञं चेति कीर्तितम्॥ सदनश्रुकेशवपनं मुण्डनं तद्विदुर्बुधाः। न कौरं मुण्डनं मुञ्च कीर्तितं वेदवेदिभिः॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 54-55, प्रयागव्यतिरेके तु गङ्गायां मुण्डनं नहि। *ibid* chap. 62.52.

The Purāṇas and digests devote some attention to the mode of travel. The Matsya (106. 4-6) states that ¹³⁰⁴ if a pilgrim goes to Prayāga in a conveyance drawn by bulls he falls into hell and his pīṭras do not accept the water offered by him at the holy place and if a pilgrim because of riches or avarice or foolishness goes in a conveyance (not drawn by bulls) all his effort (as a pilgrim) becomes fruitless and therefore a pilgrim should avoid journey in a conveyance. According to the Kalpataru (on Tīrtha p. 11) using a conveyance is forbidden only in the case of pilgrimage to Prayāga (and not in the case of other tīrthas), while the Tir. C. (p. 8) and Tir. Pr. (p. 45) quote a verse ¹³⁰⁵ which provides that if a pilgrim uses a cart drawn by bulls he is guilty of *govadhā* (killing a cow), if he travels on horse-back (or in a horse-drawn carriage) his pilgrimage yields no fruit, if he is carried by men (in a palanquin or the like) he secures only half the merit but if he travels bare-footed then he wins the full merit. The Padma-purāṇa (IV. 19. 27) has a similar verse. The Tir. Pr. p. 34 quotes a verse from the Kūrmapurāṇa that those who are unable to perform a pilgrimage otherwise do not incur blame (or loss) by making use of a conveyance drawn by men or a chariot which is drawn by mules or horses. Similarly, a verse of the Viṣṇupurāṇa ¹³⁰⁶ quoted by both Tir C and Tir. Pr. (pp. 34-35) provides that one should always go on a journey wearing shoes and holding an umbrella in the rains or in summer and armed with a staff at night or in a forest. The Viṣṇudharmottara takes a more practical view when it says that to make a pil-

1304. प्रयागतीर्थयात्रार्थी च. प्रयासि नरः कश्चित्। बलीवर्द्धसमारुहः। कृष्टं तस्यापि यत्फलम्॥ नरेके वसते मोरे गवां क्रोधो हि वारुणः। सलिलं न च गृह्णाति पितरस्तस्य देहिन्॥ ऐश्वर्यलाभमोहाद्वा गच्छेयानेन यो नरः। निष्फलं तस्य तत्सर्वं तस्माद्यानं निवर्जयेत्॥ मत्स्य. 106. 4-5 and 7. These verses are quoted by तीर्थचिं p. 8 (its reading ऐश्वर्यलाभ-माहात्म्यात् is better) and तीर्थप्र pp. 33-34. The verse ऐश्वर्यलाभमाहात्म्यात् 13 q. by माय तत्त्व p. 492. The कूर्म (I. 37 4-5) has the verse ऐश्वर्यमदमोहेन and remarks 'मत्स्यपुराणीय-वर्जयेत्' The गङ्गावाक्यां p. 13 reads ऐश्वर्यमदमोहेन प्रयागमनेपि दोषामावः।

1305. गोयाने गोवधः प्रोक्तो वृषयाने तु निष्फलम्। नरयाने तदर्थं स्यात् पद्व्या तत्र चतुर्धनम्॥ q. by गङ्गाभक्तिः p. 13, तीर्थचिं. and तीर्थप्र, 'उपानद्व्या चतुर्धनं गोयाने गोवधादिकम्' पद्म IV. 19.27.

1306. वर्षातपादिके छत्री दण्डी राज्यद्वीषु च। शरीरत्राणकामो वै सोपानत्कः सदा ब्रजेत्॥ इति विष्णुपुराणीयवचनेन निष्पत्तिपक्षसदाशब्दस्वरसात् तीर्थयात्रायामपि उपान परिधानमावश्यकमिति। तीर्थचिं. pp. 8-9. This verse is विष्णुसु III 12. 38, नारदीय (उत्तर) 62, 35 is almost the same, तीर्थारुसरणं पद्व्यां तपः परमिहोच्यते। तदेव कृत्वा यानेन स्नानमात्रफलं लभेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III, 273. 11-12.

grimage on foot is the highest *tapas* (austerity) and that if a pilgrimage be made in a conveyance the pilgrim will reap only the reward of the bath. The Tir. Pr. (p. 35) allows the use of a vessel to reach holy places like Gangāsāgara which cannot be reached otherwise.

The Tristhali-setu (pp. 1-3) has a long discussion about the *sankalpa*¹³⁰⁷ (declaration) to be made at the time of starting on a pilgrimage. The conclusions reached are that the declaration should not include the names of all the holy places intended to be visited, but should expressly state the last one up to which one desires to go, that persons from southern or western India should make a *sankalpa* about Gayā (and pilgrimage to Prayāga and Kāśī will be implied) and that a person from East India should make a *sankalpa* about Prayāga (and pilgrimage to Gayā and Kāśī will be included as a matter of course) and that (as an alternative method) a man from south or west India should at first make a *sankalpa* about pilgrimage to Prayāga, then while in Prayāga he should make a *sankalpa* about visiting Kāśī and then in Kāśī he should make a *sankalpa* about visiting Gayā. A pilgrim from Eastern India should first make a *sankalpa* about Gayā, then, while in Gayā, he should make one about Kāśī and so on. The Tirthaprakāśa (p. 326) appears to criticize the first method proposed by the Tristhali-setu and states its own view to be that those who intend to visit many sacred places should make a *sankalpa* in the form 'I shall perform pilgrimage' (Tirtha-yātrāmaham karisye). The Tirthaprakāśa, however, approves of the second method proposed as an alternative.

That the merit of a pilgrimage could be collected in a vicarious manner is laid down by the Smṛtis and Purāṇas. Atri (50-51) provides¹³⁰⁸ 'He for whom an effigy made with kuśa grass intending it as a representative is dipped in the waters of a holy place secures one-eighth part of the merit (that he would have secured by himself bathing in the waters). If a man takes a bath (in a holy place) having in view (the benefit

1307. The *sankalpa* may take the form ओं अद्य प्रतिपदमश्वमेधयज्ञजन्य-फलसमकृतमातिक्राम्येष्टुर्कतीययात्रामहं करिष्ये।

1308. प्रतिष्ठति कुशनीयं तीर्थवारिषु नज्जयेत्। यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत अष्टभागं लभेत स ॥ नातरं पितरं वापि आतरं रुद्रदं शुक्रम्। यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत द्वादशांशफलं लभेत्। अत्रि 50-51. The first verse is quoted as पैठानसि's by तीर्थकल्पः p. 11 and by तीर्थवि pp 13-14 and occurs in स्कन्द (काशीः 6. 64), the 2nd is q. by माय तत्त्व. 492, as from अत्रि The महावाक्यवली (p 59) reads लभेत् सं. and attributes it to गरुडपुराण

of his mother, father, brother, friend or guru, these latter receive one-twelfth of the fruit (of the pilgrimage). Another verse of Paithinasi says that he who visits a holy place for money (wages) from another gets only a 16th part of the merit, but he who goes to a tirtha while bent on another purpose or errand (such as study, business, waiting on a guru)¹³⁰⁹ reaps only half the merit. The Visnudharmottara has a similar verse. It was owing to this idea of collecting merit and God's Grace that wealthy men built *Dharmasālās*, *tanks*, and *annasatras* and wells for the conveniences of pilgrims and the planting of trees by the sides of roads had in view the comfort of pilgrims as well as of the general public. The Prabhāsa khanda remarks 'A wealthy man who enables another to perform pilgrimage by providing his own money or conveyances gets one-fourth of the merit of the pilgrimage.'¹³¹⁰

The Prāyascittatattva of Raghunandana quotes from the Brahmandapurāṇa some verses which enumerate fourteen acts that a pilgrim has to give up after reaching the Ganges viz. *śauca* (punctilious performance of bodily purification), *ācamana* (sipping water on various occasions in the day), hair (dressing), wearing *nirmālya* (flowers taken away after being offered in worship), repeating the *Aghamarsana* hymn (Rg. 190, 1-3), shampooing the body, sports, acceptance of gifts, sexual dalliance, devotion to another tirtha, praising another tirtha, the gift to others of clothes (worn by oneself), striking any one and swimming across the water of the tirtha.

One noticeable rule is that, though Manu III, 149 requires strict examination of the ancestry and learning of *brāhmanas* to be invited at a śrāddha, some of the Purāṇas provide¹³¹¹ that

1309. पैठीनसिः। योब्रह्माक्ष स लभते य. परार्थेन गच्छति। अर्थं तीर्थफलं तस्य यः प्रसङ्गेन गच्छति। तीर्थकल्प. p. 11, अथ. तत्त्व. p. 492 (explains परार्थेन वेषादिना प्रसङ्गेन सहेत्यान्तरप्रसङ्गेन), तीर्थम. p. 36 (प्रसङ्गेन ह्युत्सेवाव्ययनवागिण्यादिवैर विहितविहितम्) This is found in इन्द्रव. (काशी) chap. 6, 63). The first half is पय VI. 237 43

1310. यथान्यं कारयेत् शक्या तीर्थयात्रां तथैवः। स्वकीयद्वययानाभ्या तस्य शुच्यं चतुर्थेणम्। प्रभासखण्ड q. by तीर्थम. p. 36; तीर्थं प्रप्याहपद्वेण स्नानं तीर्थे समाचरेत्। स्नानजं फलमाप्नोति तीर्थयात्राफलं न तु॥ शङ्ख 8 12 q. by स्तुतिच. I. p. 132 and कल्प-सूत्र (तीर्थे) p. 11. Almost the same verse occurs in पद्मसु. VI. 237, 41-42, vide विष्णुप्रमोचर III 273, 10 for a similar verse.

1311. तीर्थेषु ब्राह्मणं नैव परीक्षेत कथंचन। अन्त्यायिनमनुग्रहं भोज्यं तं मन्त्रब्रवीत्॥ पद्म V 29, 212 and देवीपुराण q. by तीर्थकल्प. p 10; ब्राह्मणाक परीक्षेत आदौ क्षेत्रनि-वासिनः। ह्यमहान्परिवारोऽप्य ब्राह्मणानां परीक्षये॥ स्कन्द. (प्रभासखण्ड) quoted by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 130 b; न परीक्ष्यो द्विजस्तीर्थस्वार्थी भोज्य एव च। सकुम्भिः पिण्डदानं च चरणा पापसेन वा। स्कन्द. (काशी) 6, 56-57).

one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmanas at holy places and this view is endorsed by several digests such as the Kalpataru on tirtha (p. 10), the Tir. C. (p. 10) and the Tir. Pr. (p. 73). The last work remarks that brāhmanas who are known for certain to possess defects deserving condemnation should be avoided. The Varāhapurāṇa goes¹³¹² so far as to say that at Mathurā a pilgrim should prefer to honour a brāhmana born and bred up in Mathurā rather than a brāhmana who has studied the four Vedas (but is a stranger to Mathurā). Similar passages from the Vāyu and Skandapurāṇa have been quoted above in note 910 and there is another similar passage in Skanda. It is provided by the Vāyupurāṇa¹³¹³ that when a son goes to Gayā, he should invite only those brāhmanas that have been settled in Gayā by Brahmā and that such brāhmanas are above ordinary mortals, that when they are gratified the gods together with one's *pitrs* become pleased, that one should not enter upon a consideration of their family, their character, their learning or their austerities and that when the Gayā brāhmanas are honoured the man doing so secures release (from samsāra). In Vāyu 106 73-84 and Agni 114. 33-39 and Garuda it is narrated that, after Gayasura fell down and asked for boons which were granted by Viṣṇu, Brahmā bestowed upon the Gayā brāhmanas 55 villages and Gayātirtha extending over five *krośas*, gave them well-appointed houses, desire-yielding cows and trees, but he enjoined on them not to beg or accept a gift from others. The brāhmanas, however, greedy as they were, officiated at a sacrifice performed by Dharma (Yama) and begged him for fees and accepted them. Then Brahmā cursed them that they would always be in debt and took away the Kāmadhenu and Kalpavṛkṣa and other gifts. The Agnipurāṇa¹³¹⁴ (114. 37) adds that Brahmā cursed them to be bereft of all learning and to be full of greed. The brāhmanas then begged Brahmā to favour them with some means of livelihood (as they had been deprived by the curse of Brahmā of all that had been bestowed on them). Brahmā pitied them and told them that they would maintain themselves at Gayā-tirtha

1312. चतुर्वेदे परित्यज्य माथुरं पूजयेत्सदा । मथुराया ये वसन्ति विष्णुरूपा हि ते नराः । ज्ञानिनस्तान् हि पश्यन्ति अज्ञाः । पश्यन्ति तां हि । बराह 165. 57-58.

1313. यदि पुत्रो गयां गच्छेत्कदाचित्कालपर्ययात् । तानेव भोजयेद्विमानं ब्रह्मणा ये प्रकल्पिताः । अमात्रवतया विभ्रा ब्राह्मणा (बह्मणा) ये प्रकल्पिताः । वायु 82 25-27.

1314. स्थिता यदि गयायां ते क्षास्ते ब्रह्मणा तदा । विद्याविवर्जिता द्यूय वृष्णाद्युक्ता भविष्यथ ॥ अग्नि 114. 36-37.

till the end of the world and that those who would perform śrāddha at Gayā and worship them (by engaging them as officiating priests and pay them) would secure the merit of having worshipped Brahmā. From this it is clear that the Gayā brāhmanas at the time of the composition of the section on Gayā at the end of the Vāyupurāna possessed the same characteristics as the modern Gayā brāhmanas (Gayals or Gayāwals as they are called) and made the Gayā pilgrimage their business even then (as now). One of the early historic references to Gayā brāhmanas occurs in the Śaktipur copper-plate of king Lakṣmanasena of Bengal in his 6th year (i. e. about 1183 A. D.)¹³¹⁵.

The result of this teaching of the Purānas was that the brāhmanas at Gayā became a guild or a close corporation and the Gayāwals resent the intrusion of an outsider. Disputes between Gayāwals and outside priests and cases of Gayāwals have come before the courts and have gone up even to the Privy Council in England. It has been a usage for orthodox Hindu pilgrims going to Gayā to shave themselves at the river called Punpun,^{1315a} then on arrival at Gayā to worship the feet of one of the Gayāwal brāhmanas. The Gayāwal himself or his agent takes the pilgrim to the sacred spots (Vedis) in and around Gayā. The priest is paid a fat fee near the Aksaya-vata and the Gayāwal puts a garland of flowers on the folded hands of the pilgrim and pronounces the word 'suphala' and utters a blessing that the pilgrim's ancestors would go to heaven on account of the pilgrim's visit to Gayā. In order to keep this business in their own families the Gayāwals have adopted loose and peculiar customs. If a Gayāwal is sonless he makes a gift of his office (called *gūdi* or *gaddi*) to another Gayāwal, who describes himself as the adopted son of the Gayāwal making the gift. There is no real adoption in the strict sense. Therefore, the so called adopted son retains his rights in the family of birth, he is not severed from his natural family and it is not rare to find that one Gayāwal claims to have succeeded to four *gūdis* (i. e. claims to be the son adopted by several persons simultaneously). The Gayāwals have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of

1315. Vide E. I. vol. XXI, p. 211 at p. 219 'श्रीबल्लालसेनदेवमन्त्र गणाल-
ब्राह्मणहरिदासेन मतिगृहीतपञ्चशतौत्तिकसेवपाटकाभिधानशासनविनिमयेन ;

1315 a. The *मन्त्रपुराण* says : काराणस्या कृतव्याहृतीर्थे शोणनदे तथा । पुन इया
महानद्या आर्द्धं स्वीं पितृकयेत् ॥ p. 12 पृष्ठीच. folio 141 a,

their clients, who sign such entries and enjoin upon their descendants to make members of that particular Gayāwal family their *gurus* whenever they might visit Gayā. Thus large incomes and properties come to the hands of the Gayāwals. They send their agents throughout India, who bring as many pilgrims as possible. In *Lachman Lal v. Kanhaya Lal* the Privy¹³¹⁶ Council had to deal with the case of a Gayāwal who claimed to be an adopted son without loss of his interest in the property of the natural family on the ground of these peculiar practices of the Gayāwals and that claim was upheld. In *Lachman Lal v. Baldeo Lal*¹³¹⁷ the Patna High Court gives a brief summary of the origin, history and customs of the Gayāwals, remarks that though in former times there were several hundred families of Gayāwals their number is now reduced to about 150, that the Gayāwals so-called *gaddi* is not a hereditary office, but only a business to which a goodwill is attached. The Calcutta High Court decided in *Dwarkanath Misser*¹³¹⁸ v. *Rampertab Misser* that persons who require religious ceremonies to be performed for their benefit are at liberty to choose the priest by whom they shall be performed, that plaintiffs are not entitled to a declaration that they along with defendants are exclusively entitled to officiate as priests when pilgrims, on their way to the holy city of Gayā, perform the *śrāddha* ceremony of their ancestors on the bank of the sacred river Punpun, and that the plaintiffs could be given a declaration that they are entitled to officiate as priests for such pilgrims as may choose to employ them for the purpose of religious ceremonies and that the defendants are not entitled to prevent the plaintiffs from the exercise of their calling. In *Narayan Lal*¹³¹⁹ v. *Chulhan Lal* the Calcutta High Court decided how the books containing the names and addresses of pilgrims kept by a joint family of Gayāwals were to be divided at the time of the partition of all the properties of the family.

The literature on tirthas is probably far more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmaśāstra. Not to mention the Vedic Literature, the Mahābhārata and the Purānas

1316. 22 Cal 609 at pp. 615-618 (P. C.) = 22 I. A. 51.

1317. 2 Patna Law Journal 705.

1318. 13 C. L. J. p. 449.

1319. 15 C. L. J. p. 376.

contain on a very modest calculation at least 40000 verses on tirthas, sub-tirthas and legends connected with them. In the Vanaparva (chap. 82-156) and Śalyaparva (chap. 35-54) alone there are about 3900 verses on *tīrthayātrā*. To mention only a few of the Purāṇas, the Brahmapurāṇa devotes about 6700 verses (i. e. nearly half of its total extent of 13783 verses) to tirthas, the Padma about 4000 verses out of the 31000 verses of the first five khandas, the Varāhapurāṇa devotes about 3182 verses to tirthas (out of which about 1400 refer to Mathurā) out of about 9614 verses, the Matsya about 1200 verses out of 14002. Besides these, the following well-known digests and works on tirthas deserve mention. The Tirthavivecana-kāṇḍa of the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (G. O. S. series); the Oṣṭurvarga-¹³²⁰ cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (1260-1270 A. D.) contained a section on tirthas (no Ms. has yet been discovered), the Tīrthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati (1450-1480 A. D.) published in B. I. series, the Tīrthasāra, part of Nṛsimhaprasāda about 1500 A. D. (published in the Sarasvatī-bhavana series); the Trīsthalīsetu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (about 1550-1580 A. D.) printed by the Anandaśrama Press, Poona; Tīrthasaukhyā, a part of Todarānanda (1565-1589 A. D.), Tīrthatattva or Tīrthayātrāvidhitattva of Raghunandana whose literary activity lies between 1520-1570 A. D. (printed in Bengali characters and over and above the 28 *tattvas* of his Smṛtitattva), Tīrthaprakāśa by Mitrāmīśra about 1610-1640 (published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series), the Trīsthalīsetusāra-saṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji (about 1625); Trīsthalīsetusāra-saṅgraha of Nāgeśa, the Tīrthendusekhara of Nāgeśa or Nāgoji (published in the Sarasvatībhavana series, Benares, 1936). There are several works on tirthas (not yet printed) mentioned in H. of Dh. vol 1, p. 554, of which the Tīrtharatnākara of Anantabhaṭṭa composed at the order of Anūpasimha is probably the largest work on tirthas (ms. no. 1822 in the Anup Library at Bikaner). Besides these there are special works on indivi-

1320. Vide H. of Dh. vol 1 p. 354 n. 838 which shows that Hemādri had completed his section on tīrtha when he commenced the Parīśesa-khanda. It may be noted that the त्रिस्थलीसेतु and the तीर्थप्रकाश had the work of Hemādri on tīrtha before them. For examples, the त्रिस्थलीसेतु p. 53 'तथा च हेमाद्र्यादिस्त्रिपुराणवाक्यानि भाष्येणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि, p. 55 'विशेषस्तु हेमाद्रौ यक्षरीरोत्सर्गविधेरवगन्तव्यः'; the तीर्थप्रकाश pp. 122, 123, 136, 377 refer to हेमाद्रि's quotations from the स्कन्दपुराण, भविष्यपुराण, जाबालीयनिषद् and कूर्मपुराण respectively, which unmistakably refer to tīrthas and p. 478 speaks of तीर्थहेमाद्रि.

dual tirthas such as the Gāṅgā-vākya-āvalī¹³²¹ (on the Ganges) of Vidyāpati (1400-1450 A. D.) published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri; Kāśimīrtimoksa-vicāra of Sureśvarācārya (published in the Sarasvatibhavana Texts series, Benares 1936); the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Raghunandana, the Puruṣottama-kṣetratattva of Raghunandana (published by Jivananda). Only printed works have been drawn upon in this work (except where expressly stated otherwise).

The preliminaries before starting on a pilgrimage to any tirtha prescribed by the purāṇas and digests may be brought together. On a certain day (when a person has decided on tirtha-yātrā) he should take only one meal, then the next day he should shave himself (according to most digests) and observe a fast; then on the day after the fast he should perform his daily duties, should make a *sankalpa* (declaration of intention) in the form 'I shall perform a pilgrimage to such and such a place and I shall worship Gaṇeśa and my favourite deities for the accomplishment of the pilgrimage without obstacles'; offer worship to Gaṇeśa, to the planets (nine) and his favourite deities with five or sixteen upacāras,¹³²² then perform a pārvana-śrāddha with plenty of ghee according to his own grhyasūtra, honour three brāhmanas at least and donate some money to them. Then he should put on a pilgrim's dress as described above (p. 573), go round the village in which his house is located (or at least round his own house), reach another village not more distant than one *krosa* (two or two and half miles) and break his fast by eating the remainder of the food cooked and ghee used for the śrāddha (this applies to pilgrimage to Gayā). He may break his fast

1321. The last verse of the Gāṅgā-vākya-āvalī is विद्यापतिस्त्रिणा। गङ्गावाक्यावली देव्याः प्रमाणविमलीकृता॥. This verse shows that the famous Maithila scholar Vidyāpati at least provides the authorities on which the work is based. Some scholars hold that it is really Vidyāpati who wrote the work for commemorating the queen who had honoured and patronized him. The 2nd Introductory verse claims the work as Viśvāsa-devī's own. In the दानवाक्यावली of धीरमति the last verse is निरन्ध्रान् सत्यगालोक्य...स्त्रिणा। दानवाक्यावली देव्या....कृता॥ (D. C ms. No 216 of 1881-82).

1322. For the sixteen and five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 729-730. The ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण (Ānandāśrama ed.), ब्रह्मखण्ड, chap. 26 90-92 mention 16, 12 or five upacāras as follows: असत्तं वसन् पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयकम्। पुष्प चन्दनधूप च दीपं नैवेद्यमुत्तमम्॥ गन्धं माल्यं च शय्यां च ललितां सुविलसन्नाम्। जलमर्चं च ताम्बूलं साधारं देयमेव च। गन्धाक्षततल्पताम्यूलं विना द्रव्याणि द्वादश। पाद्यार्घ्यजल-नैवेद्यपुष्पाप्येतानि पञ्च च॥.

in his own house (in the case of other tirthas) and then start. Then the next day he should bathe with pure clothes on and then put on his pilgrim dress and start on his pilgrimage in the forenoon with his face to the east, preferably bare-footed. There are two views here. Some say that on the day on which a man reaches a tirtha he should observe a fast, while the other view is that the pilgrim should fast on the day previous to his reaching the *tirtha*. In the first case he will have to perform a śrāddha on the day of the fast and in that case he cannot actually taste the remnants of śrāddha food but should only smell the cooked food. The Kalpataru (on tirtha p 11) and the Tirtha-cintāmani (p 14) quote Davaḷa for the proposition that a fast on reaching a tirtha is not obligatory, but if observed yields special merit.

CHAPTER XII

THE GANGES

Since the Ganges is the holiest of rivers and since such highly esteemed tīrthas as Kanakhala, Haridvāra, Prayāga and Kāśī are situated on it, it would be most proper to begin the treatment of individual tīrthas with the Ganges.

It has been already seen (p. 556) how the Ganges is the first among the many rivers invoked in the famous *Nadistuti* hymn (Rg X. 75 5-6). In Rg ¹³²³ VI 45 31 we have the word 'Gāngyah' which most probably means 'growing on the Ganges'. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII. 5 4 11 and 13 and Ait Br. 39. 9 the victories and sacrifices of Bharata Daussanti on the Gangā and Yamunā are mentioned. In Śat. Br XIII. 5 4 11 and 13 an ancient *gāthā* is quoted 'At Nādapit the Apsaras Śakuntalā conceived Bharata who after conquering the whole earth brought to Indra more than 1000 horses meet for sacrifice.' The Mahābhārata (Ānuśāsana 26, 26-103) and the Purāṇas (such as Nāradiya, Uttarārḍha, chap 38-45 and 51. 1-48, Padma V. 60. 1-127, Agni chap 110, Matsya chap. 180-185, Padma, Ādikhaṇḍa, chap 33-37) contain hundreds of verses eulogising the greatness and the sanctifying activity of the Ganges. The Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikhanda, chap 29 (verses 17-168) contains one thousand names of the Ganges. It is not possible to reproduce here even a small fraction of what is said in these works about the Ganges. To most men in India great rivers like the Ganges, great mountains like the Himālaya present a double aspect, viz the physical aspect and the spiritual aspect. A great river apart from its volume of water is deemed to have a spiritual or divine life which animates it. Tylor (in 'Primitive Culture', 2nd ed. p 477) observes 'What we call inanimate objects—rivers, stones, trees, weapons and so forth—are treated as living intelligent beings, talked to, propitiated, punished for the harm they do.' There are separate treatises devoted to the glorification of the Ganges and the pilgrimage to it such as the

1323 अथि बृह. पणीना वपिष्ठे सुर्धञ्जयात्। उच. कक्षो न गाङ्ग्यः॥ ऋ. VI. 45 31
The last pāda means 'like a broad patch of grass or bush growing on the banks of the Ganges'.

Gaṅgāpattalaka of Gaṇeśvara (1350 A. D.), Gaṅgāvākyāvalī of Viśvāsadevi, queen of king Padmasimha of Mithilā, the Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgini of Gaṇapati, the Gaṅgākṛtyavivēka of Vardhamāna. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 538 for the dates of some of these works.

The Vanaparva, chap. 85, has a grand eulogy of Gaṅgā in verses 88-97, some of which may be translated here ¹³²⁴. "The Ganges is equal to Kurukṣetra wherever one may take a bath in it, but there is a speciality about Kanakhala and in Prayāga there is the greatest and highest (holiness). If a person, after committing a hundred bad deeds, sprinkles himself with Ganges (water), the waters of the Ganges burn all of them as fire burns fuel. In the Kṛta age all (places) were holy, in Trētā age Puṣkara was (the holiest place), in Dvāpara Kurukṣetra and in the Kali age the Ganges. The Ganges, when its name is uttered, purifies a sinner, when seen it yields good fortune, when a bath is taken in it or its water is drunk, it sanctifies the family up to the seventh ancestor. As long as (a particle of) the bones of a man touches Ganges water (i. e. lies inside it), so long does the man remain happy (or honoured) in heaven. There is no holy place equal to the Ganges, there is no god higher than Keśava. That country and that penance-grove where the Ganges flows should be known as the sacred spot of success (or perfection) since it attaches itself to the Ganges." The Anuśāsana (26.26, 30-31) asserts "those districts and countries, those hermitages and mountains, in the midst of which the Ganges flows are pre-eminent in *punya* (religious merit). Even those men who, after committing sinful acts in the first part of their lives, resort afterwards to the Ganges reach the highest world (or goal). That increase (in merit) which comes to men that bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges and that then become pure in spirit, cannot be secured

1324. कुक्षेत्रसना गङ्गा यत्र तत्रावगाहिता। विक्षिप्तो वै कसत्रले प्रयागे परस्मै महत् ॥
पयकार्यगतं कृत्वा कृते गङ्गावसेचनम्। सर्वं तत्तत्प गङ्गापो दहत्याग्निरिवेचनम् ॥ 88, सर्वं
कृत्युगे दुपयं वेतायां पुष्करं स्तुतम्। ह्यपरेपि कुक्षेत्रं गङ्गा कलिदुगे स्तुता ॥. पुनानि कीर्तिता
पापं दहता भद्रं प्रयच्छति। अवगाहता च पीता च पुनात्यासतनं कुलम् ॥ यावदस्ति ननुत्तरय
गङ्गायाः स्मृते जलम्। तावत्त पुष्यो राजन् स्वर्गलोके नहीयते ॥ 94. . न गङ्गासहस्रं तीर्थं न
देवः केजालयः... यत्र गङ्गा महाराज स देशस्तत्तपोवनम्। सिद्धिसेत्रं च तज्ज्ञेयं गङ्गातीरं
सनाभितम् ॥ वनपर्व 85 88-97=पद्म I 39.81-90. नारदीय. (उत्तर) 39. 46 is कुक्षेत्रं ..
गाहिता। हृदिहारे प्रयागे च सिन्धुसङ्गे फलायिका ॥ The नारदीय (उत्तर) 38. 20 is कृते
तु सर्वतीर्थीनि वेतायां. कलौ गङ्गा विक्षिप्यते ॥. The कूर्म I 27 37 has कृते तु नैनिर्ण तीर्थं,
The same verse is quoted from मत्स्य by तीर्थचि. p. 191.

even by the performance of hundreds of solemn Vedic sacrifices.'¹³²⁵

In the Bhagavadgītā (X. 31) Lord Kṛṣṇa says that among streams he is the Ganges (srotasāmasmi Jāhnavī). The Manusmṛti setting out an exordium to a witness to tell the truth indicates that the Ganges and Kurukṣetra were the most sacred spots in the age of the Manusmṛti.¹³²⁶ Some of the Purāṇas describe the Ganges as flowing in Heaven (as Mandakīnī), on the earth (as Gangā) and in the nether regions or Pātālā (as Bhogavati). Vide Padma VI. 267. 47. The Viṣṇupurāṇa¹³²⁷ and other Purāṇas state that the Ganges springs from the toe-nail of the left foot of Viṣṇu. In some Purāṇas it is said that Śiva let off from his matted hair the Ganges in seven streams, three flowing towards the east (Nalini, Hṛādini, Pāvani), three to the west (Sita, Caksus and Sindhu) and Bhāgirathi (vide Matsya 121. 38-41, Brahmandā II 18 39-41, Padma I 3. 65-66). The Kūrmapurāṇa (I 46.30-31) and Varāha (chap. 82 in prose) state that the Ganges flows first in four different streams, Sita, Alakanandā, Sucaksu and Bhadrā and that the Alakanandā flows towards the south, comes to Bhāratavarsa and falls into the sea with seven mouths.¹³²⁸ In the Brahmapurāṇa (73. 68-69) the Ganges is described as sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu and as established in the matted hair of Mahēśvara (Śiva).

The Viṣṇupurāṇa eulogises¹³²⁹ the Ganges as follows: The Ganges purifies all beings from day to day when its name is

1325 स्नातानां ह्यग्निभिस्त्वयैः गाङ्गैर्यैः प्रयत्नात्मनाम् । स्यादग्निर्भवति या इमां न सा कदा-
द्यतैरपि ॥ अष्टाशतन 26 31, नारद (उत्तर) 39 30-31 and also 40, 64.

1326. यनो वैवस्वतो देवो यस्तस्यैव हृदि स्थितः । तेन चैव विवाहस्ते ना गङ्गां मा कुक्कु-
न्मनः ॥ मनु 8. 92.

1327. वानपाद्गङ्गाङ्गाङ्गुष्ठनखस्रोतोविनिर्गताम् । विष्णोर्विभर्ति या भक्त्या शिरसाहर्नि-
र्वां ध्रुव ॥ विष्णु II. 8 109, v. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p 161 (reads शिवः), नदी सा
वैष्णवी प्रोक्ता विष्णुपादसमुद्भवा । पद्म V. 25. 188.

1328. तथैवालकनन्दा च दक्षिणादेव भारतम् । प्रयाति सागरं भित्वा सप्तभेदा
हिजोत्समा ॥ कूर्म I 46.31.

1329. श्रुताभिलाषिता ह्यष्टा स्पृष्टा पीतावगाहिता । या पावयति धृतानि कीर्तिता च
दिने दिने ॥ गङ्गा गङ्गैति यैर्नाम योजनानां शतैश्चपि । स्थितैश्च्यारित हन्ति पापं जन्मत्रया-
जितम् ॥ विष्णु II. 8 120-121 v. by गङ्गावा p. 110, तीर्थचि p. 202, गङ्गाभक्तिः
p 9. The 2nd verse is variously read in पद्म VI 21.8 and 23 12, ब्रह्म 175. 82
as गङ्गा ..यो व्याघोजनानां शतैरपि । शुचये सर्वपापेभ्यो विष्णुलोकं स गच्छति; while पद्म
I. 31.77 reads =शतैरपि । नरो न नरकं याति किं तथा सदृशं भवेत्.

heard, when one desires to see (it), when it is seen or touched or when its waters are drunk or when one plunges into it or when one takes (or sings) its name; when people utter the name 'Ganges' even though living at a distance of hundreds of *yojanas*, their sins accumulated in three births are destroyed' The *Bhavisyapurāna*¹³³⁰ has a similar verse 'one becomes free from sins at once by seeing the Ganges or touching it or drinking its water and by uttering the name *Gangā* and also by remembering it.'¹³³¹ The *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Garuda* and *Padma* remark that the Ganges is easy of access everywhere but is difficult to reach at three places viz at *Gangādvāra* (*Haridvāra*), at *Prayāga* and where it joins the sea and that those who bathe therein reach heaven and that those who die there are not born again. The *Nāradiyapurāna*, on the other hand, says that the Ganges is difficult of access everywhere, but much more so at three places. The man, whether desiring it or not, who draws near the Ganges and dies (near it) secures heaven and does not see hell (*Matsya* 107.4).¹³³² The *Kūmapurāna* represents that the Ganges¹³³³ is equal to all the 35 millions of holy places declared by *Vāyu* in the heaven, in mid region and on the earth and that all of them are represented by the Ganges. The *Padmapurāna* asks 'what is the use of sacrifices rich in large wealth, what is the use of very difficult austerities when there is the Ganges honoured easily and gracefully that yields Heaven and *mokṣa*'? A similar verse occurs in the *Nāradiya-purāna* 'what is the use of Yoga with its eight *angas*, of austerities, of solemn (Vedic) sacrifices? Residence

1330. दर्शनात्स्पर्शनात्पानात् तथा गङ्गेति कीर्तनात्। स्मरणादेव गङ्गाया तस्य पापं प्रमुच्यते॥ भविष्यत् पृ. 4 by तीर्थं पृ. 198, गङ्गाया पृ. 12, गङ्गाभा पृ. 9. The first half is अनुशासन 26.64, अष्टिगु. 110 6, गच्छतिष्ठन् जपन्वायन् सुश्रुत् जामत् स्वयं वदन्। य स्मरेत् सततं गङ्गां सोऽपि मुच्येत बन्धनात्॥ इन्द्र (काशीराज्य) पृ. 27 37, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 16-17.

1331. सर्वत्र सुलभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु दुर्लभा। गङ्गाहारे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे॥ तत्र स्नात्वा दिव याप्ति वे सुतास्तेऽपुनर्भवा॥ मत्स्य 106 54, कूर्म I 37 34, गरुड (पूरुष) 81. 1-2, पद्म V 60 120. The *Nāradiya* (उत्तर 40, 26-27) reads सर्वत्र दुर्लभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु चाधिका। गङ्गाहारे सङ्गमे॥ एषु स्नाता दिव...र्भवाः॥

1332. अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गाया योऽभिपद्यते। मृतस्तु लभते रम्यं नरकं च न पश्यति॥ मत्स्य 107 4, q. by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थं) p 145 (reads यो विपद्यते). कूर्म I. 37.39 has the same verse with slight variations, compare पद्म I. 44.4.

1333 तिस्र कोट्योर्धकोटी च तीर्थानां गङ्गुरमणीत्। द्विगु श्रुत्यन्तरिक्षे च तत्पर्यं जाह्नवि स्मृता॥ कूर्म I. 39 8, पद्म I. 47.7, V. 60 59, मत्स्य. 102. 5 (reads नानि ते मां नि जाह्नवि).

on the Ganges alone is superior to all these'¹³³⁴. Two verses of the Matsya-purāṇa¹³³⁵ deserve mention here 'even a man of sinful deeds, on remembering the Ganges even at a distance of thousands of yojanas, attains the highest goal. A person is delivered from sin by uttering the name (of the Ganges), on seeing it a person sees happiness; by bathing in the Ganges and drinking its water he purifies his family up to the seventh ancestor'. It is stated in the Kāśikhanda that on the banks of the glorious Ganges all times are auspicious as well as all countries, and all men are fit for receiving gifts

In the Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 82) the name 'Gangā' is derived as 'gām gata' (that has gone to the earth). The Padma-purāṇa (Śrīstikhanda 60, 64-65) specifies the *mūlamantra* about the Ganges as follows. 'Om namo Gangāyai, viśvarūpīnyai nārāyaṇyai namo namaḥ'.

The Padmapurāṇa (śrīsti 60 35) holds that Viṣṇu represents all the gods and the Ganges represents Viṣṇu. It eulogises the Ganges as follows: Sons abandon their fathers, wives their husbands, friends and relatives abandon a friend or a relative if any one of these is adulterous, or *patita*, or wicked or becomes a cāṇḍāla or kills his *guru*, or is full of all kinds of sins and hatreds, but the Ganges does not forsake such persons¹³³⁶.

The extent of the holy region of the Ganges is laid down in some purāṇas. The Nāradiya¹³³⁷ states the region

1334. किं यज्ञैर्बहुविधाद्यै किं तपोभि सुदुष्करै । स्वर्गलोकांमवा गङ्गा सुखसौभाग्य-
प्रजिता॥ पद्म V 60 39; किमद्याङ्गेन योगेन किं तपोभि किमध्वरै । वास एव हि गङ्गाया
सर्वतोपि विशिष्यते॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 38 38, q in तीर्थचि p 194 (reads गङ्गाया
ब्रह्मज्ञानस्य कारणम्) and प्राय तत्त्व p 498. The first verse किं यज्ञै is quoted as
from ब्रह्माण्ड by तीर्थचि p 195 (last pāda is सुखसौख्या यतः स्थिता)

1335. योजनाना सहस्रेषु गङ्गाया. स्मरणाक्षर । अपि दुष्कृतकर्मा तु लभते परमां
गतियम् । कीर्तनान्मुच्यते पापाद् हृष्टा भद्राणि पश्यति । अवगाह्य च पीत्वा तु पुनस्त्याज्यसमं
कुलम्॥ मत्स्य 104 14-15 q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थे) p 160, vide also मत्स्य. 108 25-26
Compare वनपर्व 87 93 (युनाति कीर्तिताः) quoted in n 1324, सर्व एव शुभ कालः
सर्वो देशस्तथा शुभ । सर्वो जनो दानपात्रं श्रीमतीजाह्नवीतटे॥ काशीखण्ड 27. 69.

1336. जारजं पतितं दुष्टमन्यजं शुरुवातिनम् । सर्वद्रोहेण संयुक्तं सर्वपातकसंयुतम् ॥
त्यजन्ति पितरं पुत्रा पियं पत्न्यं सुहृन्ना । अन्ये च बान्धवा सर्वे गङ्गा ताञ्च परित्यजेत्॥ पद्म
(सुष्टिखण्ड 60 25-26).

1337. तीपद्रव्यं तिसात्रं तु परित क्षेत्रमुच्यते । तीरं त्यक्त्वा वसेत्क्षेत्रे तीरे वासो न
चेप्यते ॥ एकयोजनविस्तीर्णा क्षेत्रसीमा तद्वहयात् । नारदीय (उत्तर) 43. 119-120 The
first is quoted from स्कन्द by तीर्थचि p. 266, which remarks 'उभयतटे प्रत्येकं
क्रोडादयं क्षेत्रम्' The half verse 'एको' is quoted from भविष्य by तीर्थचि. p. 267,

within one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is called *kṣetra*; one should reside within the *kṣetra* limits, but not on the bank itself; residence on the bank (of the Ganges) is not desired. The limits of the *kṣetra* are of the extent of one *yojana* between both the banks' i. e. the *kṣetra* extends for two *kośas* from each bank. The general rule is stated by Yama that forests, mountains, holy rivers and *tirthas* are without an owner, these cannot be possessed (by a person as owner). The *Brahmapurāṇa* ¹³³⁸ says that measuring from the flowing waters for a distance of four *hastas*, God *Nārāyaṇa* is the Lord (or owner) and no one should accept a gift in that strip even if he be on the point of death. A difference is made between the *garbha* (the inner circle) of the *Gangākṣetra*, the *tīra* and the *kṣetra*. '*Garbha*' extends up to that portion of the river stream which is reached on the 14th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada*; beyond that is the *tīra* (bank), which extends upto 150 *hastas* from *garbha* and *kṣetra* extends up to two *kośas* from each bank.

Let us suppose that the pilgrim has come to the Ganges. Then the question is, how is he to proceed about a bath in the Ganges. Many of the digests contain several alternate forms of the *sankalpa* to be made at the time of *Gangā-snana*. For example, the *Prāyaścittatattva* (pp. 497-498) contains a very elaborate *sankalpa*. A simple one is quoted below from the *Gangāvākyaśālī*. ¹³³⁹ The mode of bathing prescribed in the

(Continued from the last page)

गङ्गाया. p. 136. गव्यूति is a measure of length or distance generally taken as equal to two *kośas*. There was some difference about the measures of length. According to the *Amarakośa* a *gavyūti* is equal to two *kośas* 'गव्यूति. स्त्री क्रोशयुग्मम्'. According to the वाच 8 105-107 and 101. 122-126 and ब्रह्माण्ड II 7 96-101 the measures are 24 अङ्गुल = one हस्त, 96 अङ्गुल = धनुः (which is same as दण्ड, युग and माली), 2000 धनुः = गव्यूति and 8000 धनुः = योजन, acc. to the मार्कण्डेय 46. 37-40, 4 हस्त = धनुः or दण्ड, or युग or मालिका, 2000 धनुः = क्रोश, 4 क्रोश = गव्यूति which is the same as योजन. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 n. 185.

1338 प्रवाहमवधिं कृत्वा यावद्वस्तचतुष्टयम् । अत्र नारायण स्वामी नान्यः स्वामी कदाचन ॥ न तत्र भतिष्ठह्यीयात्प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि ॥ भाद्रशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां यावदाक्रमते जलम् । तावदूर्ध्वं विजालीयात्तद्वर तीरमुच्यते । नारद (उत्तर) 43 116-118 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 266 and प्राय. तत्र p. 499 (from ब्रह्मपुराण and the verse भाद्र from द्वापद्वर्ग) and by गंगाया p. 136 (the first verse from ब्रह्माण्ड). नारद (उत्तर) 43. 118 (last half) is सार्धहस्तशतं यावदूर्ध्वं स्तीरं ततः परम् ॥ The digests read भाद्रकृष्ण for भाद्रशुक्ल.

1339. अद्याहुकं मासि अमुकपक्षे अमुकतियो सद्यः पापघ्नाकार्यैक सर्वयुगमातिक्रान्ते गङ्गाया स्नानमहं करिष्ये । गङ्गाया. p. 141. Vide तीर्थचि. pp. 206-207 for several alternative सङ्कल्प before गङ्गास्नान.

Matsyapurāṇa 102 is common to people of all varṇas and students of all the different recensions of the Veda. The Matsyapurāṇa, chap. 102, which contains one of the earliest procedure of a religious bath, and which has been taken over by several digests such as the Gangavākyaṇī (pp. 148-152) is summarised here. Cleanliness (of the body) and clean thoughts do not exist without a bath; therefore bathing is first prescribed for making the mind pure. One may bathe with water drawn (in a vessel from a well or stream) or with water not so drawn. A wise man should fix upon a holy spot after repeating the fundamental mantra 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' (reverent bow to Nārāyaṇa). A man holding darbha grass in his hand and being clean and pure should perform ācamana (ceremonial sipping of water). He should select a spot four *hastas* square on all sides and invoke the Ganges (to come or be present there) with the following mantras 'you are sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu, you are a devotee of Viṣṇu, you worship Viṣṇu; therefore save us from sins committed from birth to death. Vāyu declared that there are three and a half crores (35 millions) of holy places in heaven, on the earth and in mid air; all these, O Ganges (daughter of Jahnu), belong to you. Your name among the gods is Nandini (the joy-giving) and also Nalinī and there are other names of yours viz. Dakṣā, Prthivī, Vihagā, Viśvakāyā, Amṛtā, Śivā, Vidyādhārī, Suprasāntā, Viśva-prasādinī, Kṣemā, Jāhnavī, Śāntā, Śāntipradayinī.^{1339a} One should utter these holy names at the time of bathing; then the Ganges flowing in the three worlds would be near (even if a man bathed at home). He should, after folding his hands, cast on his head thrice, four times, five times or seven times water on which he has muttered the mantras seven times. After having invoked the clay (in the river bed) with the mantras 'O earth! Oh clay! you are crossed over by horses and chariots, by Viṣṇu, remove my sin which I may have committed by my evil deeds; you were brought up (from the depths of the sea) by the Boar incarnation of Kṛṣṇa with his hundred hands. O clay! you are given (to the world) by Brahmā and you had mantras repeated over you by Kāśyapa. Occupying my limbs may you drive away all my sin! Oh clay! Give us

^{1339 a.} Verses 1-8 of मत्स्य० chap. 102 are q. by the स्मृतिच. I. p. 182. The स्मृतिच. I p. 183 also gives the twelve names of गङ्गा differently. पद्म (IV. 89. 17-19) has the same holy names of the Ganges that the Matsya (102. 6-8) mentions. For the thousand names of the Ganges, vide above p. 585.

prosperity; everything is centered in you; a bow to you, that are virtuous and the source of all worlds'. Having thus bathed and having sipped water (*ūcamana*) according to the procedure prescribed, he should get out of the Ganges and should put on two white and pure garments. Then he should perform *tarpana*¹³⁴⁰ for the satisfaction of the three worlds. (He should say) 'This water is being offered by me for satiating gods, yakṣas, nāgas, gandharvas, apsarasas, asuras, cruel snakes, eagles, trees, jackals, birds, creatures that sustain themselves on air and water or that move in the sky, all beings that are without support and those that are devoted to the dictates of *dharma*'. The person (performing *tarpana*) should wear the sacred thread in the *upavīta* form (when satiating gods) and then wear it in the

1340 *Tarpana* (satiating with the offering of water) is of two kinds viz principal (*pradhāna*) and subsidiary (*anga*). The first has to be performed every day by a twice-born person (who has finished his studies) for the gods, sages and pītr̥s in that order. The 2nd is performed as an *anga* of snāna. निर्य वैमिक्तिके काम्ये त्रिविधं स्नानमुच्यते । तर्पणं तु भवेत्तत्सङ्गत्वेन प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ ब्रह्मसूत्राण्यं. q. by गंगाभक्तिः p 162 तर्पणं is an *anga* of bath as well as of *brahma yajña*. *Tarpana* has been described at great length in H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 668-669 and pp 689-695. Therefore it is not necessary to make any lengthy remarks on *tarpana* here. A few matters that deserve attention are mentioned. One rule is that one has to perform *tarpana* according to the provisions of his own recension of the Veda. The persons to whom water is to be offered and the manner in which it is to be offered are set out on p 692 of vol II of H. of Dh. Another rule is that *tarpana* has to be done (even if the day is not auspicious) at a tirtha, in Gayā, in pītr̥pāśa (i.e. the dark half of Bhādrapada) with water mixed with sesame 'तीर्थे तिथिभवेत्ते (तिथिर्विज्ञेदे?) च गङ्गाया मेतपक्वके । निविद्धेपि दिने कुर्यात्तर्पणं तिलमिश्रितम् ॥'. A widow also has to perform *tarpana* for her husband and his relatives at a sacred place. An ascetic (*sannyāsin*) has not to do it. A person whose father is living has not to perform *tarpana*, but acc. to Viṣṇupurāṇa he offers three handfuls to gods, three to the sages and one to Prajāpati (in the form 'devās-trpyantām') Another rule is the one makes an offering in śrāddha or into fire with one hand only (the right hand) but in *tarpana* water is poured into the stream in which one is bathing or on land with both hands. 'आद्धे हवनशाले च पाणिनेकेन दीयते । तर्पणे तुभ्य कुर्यादेव एव विधिः स्मृतः ॥' नारदीयसूत्राण्यं (उत्तर) 57.62-63. If a man is not able to perform the elaborate *tarpana* described in vol II. he should repeat the mantras from वायुसूत्राण्यं 110 21-22 set out here and offer three aṅgulas of water mixed with sesame and Luṣas, अन्नहस्तमभ्यर्प्यन्त देवर्षिपितृमानवा, वृक्षान्तु पितरं, सर्वे मातृमातामहादयः ॥ अतीतकुलकोटीना सप्तहोपनिवासिनाम् । आ ब्रह्म-शुबनाहोकादिदमस्तु तिलोदकम् ॥.

nivāta ¹³⁴¹ form (when satiating men). He should devotedly satiate men, the sages who were sons of Brahṁā; he should say "May Sanaka, Sananda and Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu, Pañcaśikha—may all these reach satiety by the water offered by me." Then he should satiate with water and *akṣata* grains (the sages) Marici, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasistha, Bhṛgu, Nārada; he should satiate all these *devargis*, and *brahmarsis*, ¹³⁴² and *ṛṣis* with water and *akṣatas*. Then wearing the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode, bending his left knee on the ground, he satiates with water mixed with sesame and sandal-wood paste *pitrs* called Agniṣvāta ¹³⁴³, Saumya, Havismat, Ūsmapa, Sukalin, Barhisad and others called Ājyapa. He should make a bow to Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Varasvata, Kāla, destroyer of all beings, Audumbara, Dadhna, Nīla, Paramesthin, Vrkodara, Citra and Citragupta. With darbhas in his hand a wise man should satiate his *pitrs*. He should satiate with devotion his father and the rest by uttering their names and gotra and his maternal grandfather and others in the same way and should recite the following *mantra* 'May those who are my bandhus or not my bandhus or were my bandhus in some previous life reach satisfaction and also whoever desires satisfaction from me.' Then he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) in the prescribed way and draw the figure of a lotus in front of himself and offer thereon to the Sun *arghya* (respectful offering of water) with water mixed with red sandal-wood paste, flowers and *akṣatas* (grains of rice) and repeat the names of Sūrya (the Sun) 'Bow to thee! that are Visnu in another form, that art the face of Visnu, that hast thousand rays and that art all refulgence. Bow to thee that art beneficent, the lord of the world. Bow to thee that art adorned with divine sandalwood, that art seated on a lotus, adorned with ear-rings and armlets, the lord of people; that awakenest (or enlightenest) the whole world, that goest everywhere and markest the good and evil

1341 निवीत मकुल्याणां शचीनादीन् पितृणां सुपदीन् देवानाम् । तै सं. II. 5. 11. 1. For explanation of these three modes of wearing the sacred thread, vide H. of Dh. vol II pp 287-288 and *apasavya* has been explained in this volume in note 1095.

1342. Vide Vāyu 61 86-90 for definitions and enumeration of ब्रह्मर्षि, देवर्षि, राजर्षि and also Baud. Gr I. 7 and Devala q by अपराक्षे pp. 442-443 for कृषि and other terms

1343. For Agniṣvāta and other names of classes of *pitrs*, vide above pp. 343-344 and Brahṁānda III. 10. 53, 75, 93, 96.

deeds; a bow to thee who art a god to all. O Bhāskara (Sun), be well disposed to me. A bow to thee, Divākara (maker of day). A bow to thee, Prabhākara (source of refulgence). Having thus bowed to the Sun and having circumambulated thrice (the lotus drawn for representing the sun) and touching a brāhmana, gold and a cow, the person (bather) should go to a temple of Viṣṇu (or to his own house, according to another reading).¹³⁴⁴

It may be noted that the verses of the Matsyapurāṇa (102. 2-31) summarised above occur (with slight variations of a word here and there) in Padma (Pātāla-khaṇḍa 89. 12-42) and Śrīti-khaṇḍa, chap. 20. 145-176.

The Sm. O. and Raghunandana in his *Prāyaścittatattva* (p. 502) lay down two mantras to be recited at the time of taking a bath in the Ganges¹³⁴⁵ 'O Ganges, daughter of Jahnu! That flowest in three worlds, that art sprung from the lotus-like feet of Viṣṇu, that art far-famed as devoted to (the spread of) dharma, remove my sin; O divine mother, O Bhāgīrathī! purify with your immortal waters me who am full of faith and devotion'. The mantra to be repeated at the time of the bath at the place where the Ganges falls into the ocean according to the same two works is "O god that art the lord of rivers! O goddess that art the best among rivers! Having bathed at the confluence of both I shall cast off my sins"

On pp. 243-244 above it has been stated that the Viṣṇu Dh. S. and other works recommend the casting of the ashes or charred bones of a cremated body in the Ganges at Prayāga, Kāśī or other holy place and the rites accompanying the casting of ashes have been there set out. A few words are added here. The same verse¹³⁴⁶ (with slight variations) about casting

1344. धर्मराजो ज्ञानं विना are the names of यम and for चित्रगुप्त vide p 160 above and बराहपुराण chap. 203-205.

1345. विष्णुपादाब्जसम्पत्ते गङ्गे त्रिपथगामिनि। धर्मवतेति विख्याते पापं मे हर जाह्नवि॥ भद्रया भक्तिसम्पत्ते (॥) श्रीमातर्देवि जाह्नवि। अमुतेनाम्बुना देवि भागीरथे पुनीति माय॥ सुतिष्ठेत्. I. 131, पाथ तत्त्व p. 502, त्व देव सरिता नाथ त्वं देवि सरिता वरे। उभयो सङ्गे स्नात्वा सुखानि दुरितानि वै॥ *ibid.* पञ्च, सुखिषण्ड 60, 60 is the same as the first verse and 60. 62 offers some variant readings for the second.

1346. यावदस्थि मल्लस्य गङ्गायाः स्पृशते जलम्। तावत्स पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ वनपर्व. 85.94 = पञ्च J. 39 87, अलुशासन 26 32 is यावदस्थिनि गङ्गाया तिष्ठन्ति हि शरीरेणः। तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि.. महीयते॥ = मत्स्य 106.52, कूर्म I 37.32 (reads पुरुषस्य तु।), नारद (उत्तर) 43.109 यावन्त्यस्थिनि गङ्गायां तिष्ठन्ति पुरुषस्य वै। तावद्वर्ष महीयते। नारद (उत्तर) 62.51 is यावन्ति नखलोमानि गङ्गातोये पतन्ति वै॥ तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध) 15 163 'केशास्थिनपदस्थताश्च भस्मापि क्षुपसत्तम। नयन्ति विष्णुसदृशं स्पृष्टा गाङ्गेन चरिणा॥'.

ashes in the Ganges occurs in several works. The Agnipurāṇa observes 'the deceased man benefits if his bones are thrown into the Ganges; a man stays in heaven as long as (even a particle of) his bone remains in the waters of the Ganges. No rites for the dead are performed for those who commit suicide or who are *patita*; but even in their case the fall of their bones in Ganges water is beneficial to them.' The Tir. C and Tir. Pr. quote two verses and a half from the Brahmapurāṇa¹³⁴⁷ which set out a briefer rite of throwing ashes than the one in the Nirṇayasindhu. The verses mean: "The man carrying the ashes should take a bath, sprinkle *pañcagavya* over the ashes, should place on them a piece of gold, honey, ghee and sesame; then he should deposit them in an earthen vessel; he should then look in the southern direction, say 'salutation to Dharma,' enter the waters (of the Ganges), utter, 'may he (Dharma or Viṣṇu?) be pleased with me' and then cast the ashes in the water; then he should bathe in the river, come out of it, cast a look at the Sun and then give a present (*dakṣiṇā*) to a brāhmana; if he does so, then the state of the deceased person will be like Indra.' Vide Skanda, Kāśī-khaṇḍa 30. 42-46 where a little more elaborate procedure is prescribed. The importance of casting ashes in the Ganges probably owes its origin to the story of king Sagara's sons who were reduced to ashes by the wrath of the sage Kapila and who were saved by the ashes being washed in the waters of the Ganges brought down from heaven by Bhagiratha. Vide Vanaparva chap. 107-109, Viṣṇupurāṇa II, 8-10 for the story. The Nāradiya makes not only the throwing of calcined bones a source of benefit to the departed but even his nails and hair when cast in the Ganges confer the same benefit. It is stated in the Kāśīkhanda that those who, while standing on the banks of the Ganges, praise another tīrtha or do not think very highly of the Ganges go to hell.^{1347a} The Kāśīkhanda further provides that there is special and

1347. स्नात्वा ततः पञ्चगवेन सिक्त्वा हिरण्यमध्याज्यतिलेन चोज्यम् । ततस्तु सुतिष्ठद्वदे निधाय पश्यन् दिशं प्रेतगणोपगृह्णाम् ॥ नमोऽस्तु धर्माय वदन् प्रविश्य जलं स मे प्रीत इति क्षिपेच्च । स्नात्वा तथोत्तीर्य च भास्करं च दृष्ट्वा भद्रयादय दक्षिणां तु ॥ एवं कृते प्रेतपुरि-
स्थितस्य स्वर्गे गतिः स्यात्तु महेन्द्रतुल्या । ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थचि. pp. 265-266 and तीर्थ-
म. p. 374. The गङ्गावा p. 272 quotes these as from ब्रह्माण्ड (with slight variations, one of which is यस्तु सर्वहिता विष्णु स मे प्रीत इति क्षिपेत् ।). These
verses are नारद (उत्तर chap. 43. 113-115) with slight variations.

1347 a. तीर्थमन्यत्पशंसन्ति गङ्गातीरे स्थिताश्च ये । गङ्गां न बद्ध-मन्यन्ते ते
दुर्गुनैरययामिनः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी 27. 80.

excessive merit in Gaṅgāsānāna on special days e. g. the merit of bath on New Moon has one hundred times as much merit as on an ordinary day, a thousand times on a saṅkrānti, one hundred thousand on the eclipse of the sun or moon and unlimited times when a bath is taken on moon eclipse on a Monday and on sun eclipse on Sunday.¹³⁴⁸

TRISTHALĪ

The three great tirthas of Prayāga, Kāśī and Gāyā are referred to as Tristhali and the great scholar, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A. D.), wrote (about 1580 A. D.) in Benares a famous work called Tristhalisetu (a bridge to the Tristhali) wherein he gives a thorough and exhaustive treatment of the pilgrimage to these three holy places^{1348a} alone. Prayāga is assigned pp. 1-72, Kāśī pp. 72-316 and Gāyā pp. 316-379 (of the Ānandāśrama edition). Following with all humility the footsteps of such an illustrious and venerable scholar I shall deal with the three tirthas in the same order.

PRAYĀGA

One of the most ancient reference to the greatness of the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā occurs in a khila¹³⁴⁹ verse which is usually placed in Rg. X. 75 and may be rendered as follows: "Those who take a bath at the place where the

1348 दहौ शतस्र्जं दुष्यं संक्रान्तौ च सहस्रकम् । चन्द्रदर्पग्रहे लक्षं स्पृहीपाते
स्वनन्दकम् । .. सोमग्रहः सोमदिने रविगरे रवेग्रहः । तच्चूडानगिपर्वोऽयं तत्र स्नानम्-
संख्यकम् ॥ स्कन्दः काशीः 27. 129-131.

1348 a. त्रयाणां स्थलानां समाहारः त्रिस्थलीः ।

1349. सिवासिधे सरिते यत्र सङ्गते तत्राहुवासी दिव्यश्रुत्यन्ति । ये वै तन्त्रं विदुजन्ति
धीरास्ते जनानो अमृतत्वं भजन्ते ॥ The त्रिस्थलीः p 3 says it is a supplementary śruti
text of the Āśvalāyana school, while the Tir. C p 47 quotes it as a verse of
the Rgveda. It is quite possible to hold that the verse does not encourage
religious suicide but only makes this distinction that by a bath only once
a man goes to heaven and that if he dies at Prayāga he attains mokṣa even
without correct metaphysical knowledge Vide रघुवंश 13 58 'तत्त्वावयवेन विनापि
भूयस्तद्वत्पूजां नास्ति शरीरवन्धः' q. by तीर्थम् p 313. The स्कन्दः काशीः पति-
पत्न्येते सिवासिधे सन्निधौ । तत्राहुवाङ्गा ह्यमृतं भवन्तीति विनिश्चितम् । काशीः 7. 54 q by
त्रिस्थलीः p 11. Vide also काशीखण्ड 7.46 for a similar verse The verse no
doubt has a vedic ring about it The त्रिस्थलीः p 4 notices another reading
The waters of the Ganges are whitish while those of the Jumunā are dark
Classical Sanskrit poets very often harp on these colours of the waters of the
two rivers. Vide रघुवंश 13 54-57.

two rivers, white and dark, meet together, rise up (fly up) to heaven; those determined men who abandon their body there (i. e. commit suicide by drowning themselves) secure immortality (or *mokṣa*)". This must have been a comparatively early verse. The Skandapurāṇa refers to it as śruti. The greatness of Prayāga is dwelt upon in the Mahābhārata (Vana-parva 85. 69-97, 87. 18-20, Anuśāsana 25. 36-38)¹³⁵⁰ and in many purāṇas such as the Matsya (chapters 103-112, in all 260 verses), Kūrma I. 36-39 (verses 121), Padma (I. chap. 40-49), Skanda, Kāśī-Khaṇḍa, chap. 7. 45-65). Only a few out of the hundreds of verses on Prayāga can be cited here by way of sample. One remarkable fact is that the Rāmāyana does not say much about Prayāga. The confluence of the two rivers is no doubt referred to (Rām. II. 54.6) but from the description it appears that there was a forest at what is now Prayāga. Prayāga is called Tirtharāja (the prince among tirthas) in the Matsya 109. 15, Skanda (Kāśī 7. 45), Padma VI. 23. 27-35 (where the refrain at the end of each verse is 'sa tirtharājo jayati prayāgaḥ) and elsewhere. The legend runs that Prajāpati or Pitāmaha (Brahmā) performed a sacrifice here and Prayāga is the middle one of the vedis of Brahmā, the others being Kuruksetra in the north (uttaravedi) and Gaya in the east. It is believed that three rivers meet at Prayāga viz. Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī (underground between the two). It is said in the Matsya¹³⁵¹, Kūrma and other Purāṇas that at the very sight of Prayāga, even by taking its name or by applying its clay to one's body a man becomes free from sin. The Kūrmapurāṇa¹³⁵² proclaims "it is the sacred spot of Prajāpati; those who bathe here go to heaven and those who die here are not born again." That sacred spot is known as tirtharāja; it is dear to Keśava. The same is known as Trivenī.

1350. दशतीर्थसहस्राणि तिस्रः कोट्यस्तथापराः । समायच्छन्ति मादयां तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ ॥ मायमासं प्रयागे तु नियतं संशितव्रतः । स्नात्वा तु भरतश्रेष्ठ निर्मलः स्वर्गमाप्नुयात् ॥ अनुशासन 25. 36-38.

1351. दर्शनात्तस्य तीर्थस्य नामसंकीर्तनादपि । सृष्टिकालम्भनाद्वापि नरः पापात् मुच्यते ॥ मत्स्य. 104. 12, कूर्म I. 36. 27. The अग्नि (111. 6-7) reads स्तवनादस्य तीर्थस्य; वनपर्व 85.80 reads 'गमनात्तस्य...दपि । सृष्टिकालभयाच्चापि नरः ..च्यते'.

1352 एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् । अत्र स्नात्वा दिवं याप्ति ये सृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः ॥ कूर्म I. 36 20 मत्स्य (104 5 and 111. 14) and नारद (उत्तर 63.127-128) also calls it प्रजापतिक्षेत्रम्.

The word Prayāga is employed in the neuter when connected with such words as tīrtha or ksetra, as in Matsya (111-14 prajāpater-īdam ksetram prayāgam-īti viśrutam), but when employed along with words (in the masculine gender) such as tīrtharāja, it takes the masculine gender. .

The word Prayāga is derived in various ways. The Vana-parva¹³⁵³ appears to suggest that the word Prayāga is derived from the root 'ya' when it says 'Brahmā who is the soul of all beings performed formerly a sacrifice here; therefore it became known as Prayāga'. In the Skanda¹³⁵⁴ purāṇa also it appears to be explained by taking the two parts *pra* and *yāga* separately. "It is mentioned as Prayāga because it is superior to all sacrifices; Prayāga was the name given to it by the gods Hari, Hara and others seeing that it is superior to all sacrifices though the latter be enriched with fees and the like." The Matsyapurāṇa¹³⁵⁵ appears to lay emphasis on the part 'pra' when it says 'on account of its efficacy (or power) as compared with all other tīrthas it prevails (or is useful) far more'. The Brahmapurāṇa¹³⁵⁶ affirms "It is called prayāga on account of its eminence and it has the word 'rāja' (in Tīrtharāja) applied to it on account of its being the chief".

We must distinguish between Prayāga-maṇḍala, Prayāga and Venī or Trivenī, each subsequent one being smaller and holier than each preceding one. The Matsya¹³⁵⁷ states that the sphere of Prayāga is five *yojanas* in circumference and that the moment a man enters inside this strip of land, there is an *Āsvamedha* at every step. This has been explained by the Tristhaṇḍī-setu (p. 15) as follows. Regarding Brahmayūpa (the sacrificial post of Brahmā) as the spike or peg, if one measures with a rope one and one half *yojana* long all round, that would be the

1353. शङ्खायनयोर्वीर सङ्गमं लोकविश्रुतम् ॥ यज्ञायजत धृतात्मा पूर्वमेव पितरम् । प्रयागमिति विख्यातं तस्माद्भरतसत्तम ॥ बलपूर्व 87. 18-19, तथा सर्वेषु लोकेषु प्रयागं पूजयेद् बुधाः । पूज्यते तर्धिराजस्तु सत्यमेव दुषिष्ठिर ॥ मत्स्य 109 15

1354. प्रकृष्टं सर्वयोगेभ्यः प्रयागमिति गीयते । इष्टा प्रकृष्टयोगेभ्यः हृष्टेभ्यो दासिणादिभिः । प्रयागमिति तज्ज्ञानं कृतं हरिहरादिभिः ॥ q in त्रिस्थली° p 13. The first half : स्कन्द, काशी° 7 49, so प्रयाग means प्रकृष्टो योगो यज्ञ

1355. प्रभावात्सर्वतीर्थेभ्यः प्रभवत्यधिकं विभो । मत्स्य 110 11

1356. प्रकृष्टत्वात्ययोगोसौ प्राधान्याद्वाजशब्दान् । ब्रह्मपुराण q in त्रिस्थली° p. 1

1357. यज्ञयोजनविस्तीर्णं प्रयागत्य तु मण्डलम् । श्रविष्टमात्रे तच्छ्रमावशमेव पदे पदे मत्स्य. 108 9-10, 111. 8, पञ्च I 45 8 The कूर्मपुराण has यज्ञयोजनविस्तीर्णं ब्राह्मणपरमेष्ठिनः । प्रयागं प्रथितं तीर्थं यत्तु साहाय्यमस्ति ॥ II 35.4.

Prayāgamandala of five *yojanas* in circumference. The boundaries of Prayāga itself are defined by Vanaparva,¹³⁵⁸ the Matsya-purāṇa (104 5 and 106. 30) and others. 'Prayāga extends from Pratisthāna up to the pool of Vāsuki and upto the two *nāgas* Kambala and Āsvatara and the *nāga* Bahumūlaka; this is known in the three worlds as the sacred spot of Prajāpati' (Matsya 104. 5), while Matsya 106. 30 provides that to the east of the Ganges is the Sāmudrakūpa, which is the same as Pratisthāna. This is explained by the Tristhalisetu as follows. the eastern boundary is the kūpa called Pratisthāna¹³⁵⁹; the northern one is the Vāsuki pool, the western limit is formed by Kambala and Āsvatara, the southern boundary is Bahumūlaka. This would be a four-cornered space which is included within Prayāga-mandala. According to the Matsyapurāṇa as quoted by the Kalpataru on tirtha p. 143 the two Nāgas are on the south bank of Yamunā while the printed text has 'vipule Yamunātate' (106 27)¹³⁶⁰ The printed text of Padma I 43. 27 supports the Kalpataru reading ('Yamunā-daksine tate') Veni-ksetra is within the limits of Prayāga itself and is twenty bow lengths in extent, as stated in the Padma. There are three *kūpas* viz. Prayāga, Pratisthāna and Alarkapura. The Matsya and Agni say 'there are three fire kundas and the Ganges flows in their midst' It should be noted that except where special reference is made in the Purāṇas to the sub-tirthas, the reference to a bath at Prayāga in general means bath in the Veni i. e. the confluence of the two rivers, as e. g. in Vanaparva 85 81 and 85 and Matsya 104 16-17.¹³⁶¹

1358 आ प्रयागं सतिष्ठानाद्यस्तु वासुकेर्हवात्। कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ नागश्च बहु-
मूलकः॥ एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्। नत्स्य 104 5, पञ्च I. 39. 69-70, 41
4-5 are similar वनपर्व 85 76-77 are. प्रयागं सतिष्ठानं कम्बलाश्वतराद्वनौ। तीर्थं भोग-
वती चैव वेदिरेषा प्रजापतेः। तत्र वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च मूर्तिनमो दुषिष्टिः। अग्नि 111 5 has the
verse प्रयागं...प्रजापते. (reads वेदी मोक्षा)

1359 पूर्वपार्श्वे तु गङ्गायास्त्रिषु लोकेषु भारतः। कूर्पं चैव तु साहस्रं सतिष्ठानं च विश्रुतम्॥
नत्स्य. 106. 3.

1360. माघ सितसिते विप्र राजसूयैः समो भवेत्। धृष्टविंशतिर्विस्तीर्णं सितनीलाम्बु-
सङ्गमे॥ इति पाद्ममोक्तं। त्रिस्थलीः p. 75. सितसित (white and dark) means Veni.
Vide n. 1337 above for चतु being equal to four hastas and 96 angulas

1361. तत्र त्रीण्यग्निकुण्डानि येषां मध्येन जाह्नवी। वनपर्व 85 73, त्रीणि चाप्यग्नि-
कुण्डानि येषां मध्ये तु जाह्नवी। नत्स्य 110 4 and अग्नि 111.12, पञ्च I. 39. 67, I 49. 4;
while नत्स्य, 104 13, कूर्मे (I. 36 28-29) read पञ्च कुण्डानि

The Vanaparva¹³⁶² and some of the Purāṇas represent that the country between the Ganges and the Yamunā is (like) the hips and loins of the earth (i. e. it is the most prosperous and plentiful part of the earth) and that Prayāga is like the inmost part of the hips.

The Narasimha-purāṇa says that Viṣṇu is in the form of Yogamūrti in Prayāga (65 17). It is said in the Matsya-purāṇa¹³⁶³ (111. 4-10) that when Rudra dissolves the world at the end of the Kalpa, the holy place of Prayāga is not destroyed, that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahेशvara (Śiva) stay in Prayāga, that to the north of Pratisthāna Brahmā stays in it under guise, that Viṣṇu stays there as Veni-Mādhava, that Śiva stays there as the Vata (banyan tree) and that therefore the gods with the Gandharvas, the Siddhas and great sages always protect the sphere (maṇḍala) of Prayāga by guarding it against evil actions. The Matsyapurāṇa, therefore, recommends that a pilgrim should go to Prayāga which is protected by all the gods, stay there for a month, avoid sexual intercourse, worship gods and pits and thereby secure his desired objects (104. 18). The same Purāṇa highly eulogises the gift at Prayāga of a *kapitā* cow properly decked (105. 16-22) with clothes, ornaments and jewels. The Padmapurāṇa (Ādi 42 17-24) has the same verses as the Matsya on this subject. Similarly, the marriage of a daughter in the āśra form at Prayāga is highly spoken of in Matsya (106. 8-9). The Matsya (105. 13-14 and 106. 10) says generally that if a man makes a gift of a cow, of gold, of precious stones, of pearls and of other things that he owns his pilgrimage becomes fruitful (*saphala*) and he collects religious merit (*puṇya*) and that when a man makes gifts according to his ability and wealth, the fruit of his pilgrimage increases and he remains in heaven till the end of the world. The Brahmanda¹³⁶⁴ assures pilgrims that whatever gifts are made according to one's ability at

1362. गङ्गावसुनयोर्मध्यं पृथिव्या जघनं स्मृतम् । प्रयागं जघनस्थानमुपरधमुपयो विदुः ॥ वनपर्व 85. 75 = पञ्च I 39. 69 and I. 43 19, अग्नि 111 4, कूर्म I. 37. 12, मत्स्य 106. 19 The idea appears to be that holy places are like the children of the earth.

1363. प्रयागे निवसन्त्येते ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः...उत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठानाच्छमना ब्रह्म तिष्ठति । वेणीमाधवरूपी तु भगवास्तत्र तिष्ठति ॥ महेश्वरो वटो धृत्य तिष्ठति परमेश्वरः । ततो देवाः सगन्धर्वाः सिद्धाश्च परमर्षयः । रक्षन्ति मण्डलं नित्यं पापकर्मनिवारणार्थम् ॥ मत्स्य. 111. 4-10, Vide कूर्म I. 36 23-26, पञ्च, आदिरण्य 41. 6-10 for similar verses.

1364. कुशक्षेत्रे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे । गङ्गायां पुनरेतेतो गङ्गाद्वारे च नमिरे । यद्दानं दीयते शक्या तदानन्त्याप कल्पते ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड ५. in विरचली. p 24.

Kuruksetra, Prayāga, at the mouth of the Ganges where it falls into the sea, on the Ganges, at Puskara, at Setubandha, at Gangādvāra and in Naimisa tends to confer inexhaustible rewards. In the Vanaparva¹³⁶⁵ it is stated that this sacrificial ground (of Brahmā) is honoured even by the gods, that even a small thing donated here assumes greatness (i. e. produces the rewards of large gifts).

The confluence of the three rivers came to be associated with *omkāra*,¹³⁶⁶ the mystic syllable that stands for *Brahma*. It is said in a purāṇa passage (probably Brahmapurāṇa) that the three parts of *om* (aum) respectively are Sarasvatī, Yamunā and Gangā and that the waters of three rivers represent Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Saṅkarsana Hari.

It may be noted that, in spite of the fact that the Matsya, Kūrma (I. 36-39), Padma (Ādi chapters 41-49), Agni 111 and other Purāṇas contain several hundred verses on Prayāga, the Kalpataru (on tirtha), the earliest extant digest on tirthas, quotes only the Matsya (104. 1-13 and 16-20, 105. 1-22, 106. 1-48, 107. 2-21, 108. 3-5, 8-17 and 23-34, 109. 10-12, 110. 1-11, 111. 8-11, in all about 151 verses) and Vanaparva chap. 85. 79-87 and 97 and does not add a single word of explanation or discussion. But the other digests profusely quoting mostly from Purāṇas discuss at some length several topics and a few words must be devoted to some of those topics.

One such topic is tonsure at Prayāga. It is stated by the Gangāyākyaśāli (p. 298) and the Tir Pr. (p. 335) that, though the author of the Kalpataru says nothing about tonsure at Prayāga, yet as śistas (respectable and learned people) and the writers of digests accept it as necessary, certain authorities would be set out. The two verses quoted by most^{1366a} writers are 'one should tonsure the head at Prayāga, offer pindas at Gayā, make gifts in Kuruksetra and should commit

1365. एषा यजनभूमिर्हि देवानामपि सत्कृता । तत्र दत्तं स्वल्पमपि महद्भवति भारत ॥ वनपर्व 85 82 = 83 77 of the cr. ed which reads तत्र दत्तं सूक्ष्ममपि

1366 ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम् । तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्यप्रदायिनी ॥ अकार शारदा भोक्ता मधुमन्तत्र जायते । उकारो यमुना भोक्तामिरुद्धस्तज्जलात्मक । मकारो जाह्नवी गङ्गा तत्र सङ्कर्षणो हरिः । एवं त्रिवेणी विख्याता वेदबीजप्रकीर्तिता ॥ q. by त्रिस्थली p. 8.

1366a. प्रयागे वपनं कुर्याद्वयायां पिण्डपातनम् । दानं दद्यात् कुरुक्षेत्रे वाराणस्यां तद्वत्पजेत् ॥ किं गयापिण्डदानेन काश्यां वा मरुतेन किम् । किं कुरुक्षेत्रदानेन प्रयागे वपनं यदि ॥ q. by गङ्गावा p. 298, तीर्थचि. p. 32, त्रिस्थली p. 17, तीर्थम p. 335. These two verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 103-104

(religious) suicide at Benares. What is the use (or necessity) of pinda offerings at Gayā or death in Kāśī, or gifts at Kuruksetra, if one has tonsured one's head at Prayāga? ". Elaborate discussions are held by all these works about the exact intention of the verses, about the application of the maxim of *rātrisattra* ¹³⁶⁷ to them and about the results derived from tonsure. They have to be passed over here from considerations of space. The Tristhali-setu (p. 17) holds that the verse only praises the rite of tonsure at Prayāga and the fruit thereof is simply the removal of sin. The Tri. S. refutes (p. 17) the application of *rātrisattra-nyāya* to these verses, while Tr. O (p. 32) applies it. Some of the conclusions drawn by the Tri. S. are that in one and the same yātrā at Prayāga (even if a man stays there for some days) ceremonial tonsure takes place only once, that widows have to tonsure their heads, that in the case of women whose husbands are living only two or three finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut and offered at the *Triveni*, that even ^{1367a} boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed have to undergo tonsure provided the *cūḍā* rite has already been performed. The Tristhalisetu (p. 32) notes that certain traditionalists, ¹³⁶⁸

1367. *रात्रिसत्रस्याय* occurs in जै. IV. 3 17-19. There is a passage in the पञ्चविंशब्राह्मण 23. 2. 4 'मत्तिलिप्तिं च एता रात्रीरुपयन्ति' Here in the पञ्चविंश *रात्रिसत्र* is enjoined but no fruit thereof is expressly promised. The question arises whether in the absence of an express reward, heaven should be understood as the reward (because as explained in Jai IV 3. 15-16 *svarga* is the reward of all sacrifices for which no express reward is mentioned) or whether प्रतिष्ठा (stable position) which occurs in the above *artha-vāda* passage should be held to be the reward of *रात्रिसत्र*. The reply is that here the reward is प्रतिष्ठा and not स्वर्ग i. e. though there is no express mention of the reward in the passage about *rātrisattra*, the *artha-vāda* passage should be construed as laying down the reward. In the two verses, there is a vidhi in the words प्रयागे वपनं कुर्यात् and the second verse is an अर्थवाद. The question is what reward is promised in it. If *रात्रिसत्रस्याय* applies, then मुण्डन secures all the fruits of गयापिण्डदान, कुरुक्षेत्रदान and काशीतदुत्थान. If it does not apply then the only fruit is पापभावा.

1367a. अश्वपनीतानामपि प्रयागे वपनं कार्यम् । यस्तु पुत्रास्तथा बालान्नापयेत्याय-
प्रेतथा । यथात्मना तथा सर्वं दानं विप्रेषु दापयेत् ॥ इति मत्स्यपुराणवचने वृत्तिपादादस्य .
मुण्डनादिविधायकत्वात् । त्रिस्थली० pp 23-24. यस्तु पुत्रास्तथा ॥ मत्स्य 106.6.

1368. साम्प्रदायिकारु...तस्मात्समूलमेव केशवपनमिह स्वीयमिति । अत्रापि नोन्मुक्त-
केशवपनं किंतु वेणीं कृत्वा कुङ्कुमादिमङ्गलद्रव्यालङ्कृता भर्तारं नमस्कृत्य तदलङ्कृता वापयेत् ।
ता च वेणीमञ्जली निधाय यथाशक्तिकृतां स्वर्णमयीं रूप्यमयीं वा वेणीं मुक्तामालादि च
निधाय-वेण्यां वेणीमदानेन सर्वं याप्य प्रणश्येत् । जन्मान्तरेण्यपि सदा सौभाग्यं नम वर्धताम् ।
इति पठित्वा वेण्यां क्षिपेत् ॥ त्रिस्थली० p 22, प्रयागे स्वीयमपि मुण्डनं न तु वक्ष्यमाण-
वचनायां केशानां द्रव्यमुल्लेखमात्रम् ॥ भायश्चित्ततत्त्व p. 493.

relying on passages that aver that all sins cling to the roots of a person's hair, say that cutting two or three tresses would be merely *karṇa* and not *rapana* (tonsure), that even women whose husbands are alive must shave themselves at Prayāga, that such women should make a braid of all their hair, should deck the braid with saffron and other auspicious materials, bow to their husbands and with the husband's permission have the head tonsured, that then they should place the cut hair in their joined hands, place thereon a golden or silver *veni* and pearls and coral and should cast all these into the confluence (*Veni*) of the Ganges and Jumna after repeating the mantra 'May all my sins be destroyed by this offering of my braided hair into the *Veni*' may my blessedness (the auspicious state of wifehood) always increase in the lives to come' The Tri. S. states that women do not tonsure their head at any tirtha except at Prayāga and the only reason for this is that it is the practice of *śīstas*. Vide above pp 122-124 for tonsure as expiation for sins. The Nāradya (Uttara) 63. 106 provides the same rule as Parāśara (in note 278 above) for women. The Prāyascittatattva of Raghunandana prescribes the complete tonsure of the head for women at Prayāga.

It appears probable that the provision for the casting of *veni* (braided hair) on the part of women whose husbands were alive was suggested by the word *Veni* applied to the confluence of the two rivers, where the river Ganges appears to make a bend or curve for some distance.¹³⁶⁹

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and mediæval Indian writers was whether and when suicide, particularly at sacred spots like the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna or at the foot of the Aksaya Vata at Prayāga, would involve no sin.¹³⁷⁰ This matter has already been

1369. ओमित्येकादशं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम् । तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्य-
मदायिनी ॥ स एव तीर्थराजोऽयं त्रिवेण्या यत्र सङ्गमः । त्रिवेणी- p. 8.

1370. प्रयाग .. त्रिवेणी ॥ अवधत्तस्य .. प्रवृत्त्यते ॥ तत्राभिषेकं यं कुर्यात्सङ्गमे संज्ञित-
ब्रतम् । पुण्यं सकलमाप्नोति राजसूयाश्वमेधयो ॥ एषा यजन .. महद्भवति भारत ॥ न वेद...
प्रयागनगरं प्रति ॥ दशतीर्थसहस्राणि पट्टिकोदयस्तथापराः । येषां सांनिध्यमत्रैव कीर्तितं कुरु-
नन्दन । चाहुर्वेदे च यस्पुण्यं सत्यवादिषु चैव यत् । स्नात एव तदामोति गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे ॥ वनपर्व
85 79-85. After quoting the last verse and several other verses the त्रिवेणी-
सेतु observes (p 30) 'एतेषु सर्वेषु वचनेषु यद्यपि प्रयागशब्दस्याविशेषतः उपादानं तथापि
तदन्तर्गततत्तत्तीर्थस्नानफलस्य वाक्यान्तरैरुक्तत्वात् स्थलमात्रे च जलाभावेन स्नानानामम्बादे-
ष्टुपलक्षकः प्रयागशब्दः । The same verses occur in पद्म (आदि 39 72-78) स्कन्द
(काशी- chap 7, 63 and 65) says 'तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः । एतद्यत्पश्यते
वेदे तत्प्रयागं पुनः पुनः ॥ इयं वेणी ति नि श्रेणी ब्रह्मणो वर्त्म यावतः ।' तद्विष्णोः.....
सूरयः ।-15 क I 22.20.

dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp 924-928 and vol. III, pp. 939, 948-949. Only a brief treatment by way of a summary of the pages and a few notes will be added here. The general sentiment of Dharmaśāstra works is to condemn suicide or an attempt to commit suicide as a great sin (vide H. of Dh. vol II, page 924 for texts). The Āp. Dh. S. (I 10 28 15-17) mentions the view of Hārīta which condemns suicide even as *prāyaścitta* for committing a *mahāpātaka* (like incest) and puts killing another or killing oneself on the same footing. Manu V. 89 and Yāj. III. 154 condemn suicide by denying after-death rites to those who commit it, but Manu allowed suicide in various ways as *prāyaścitta* for *mahāpātakas* (vide Manu XI. 73, 90-91, 103-104). But exceptions to the condemnation of suicide are found in the *smṛtis*, *epics* and *purāṇas*. They may be grouped under several heads. (1) Suicide as an exception in various ways by those guilty of *mahāpātakas* (viz. *brāhmana* murder, drinking of *sura*, theft of *brāhmana*'s gold and incest), vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 924-925 for *smṛti* and other texts. (2) Starting on the Great Journey (*mahāprasthāna-gamana* or *mahāpathayātrā*) by a forest hermit (Manu VI. 31, Yāj. III. 55) suffering from incurable diseases and unable to perform the duties of his order. (3) An old man or one who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or who is so ill as to be beyond medical skill may kill himself by throwing himself from a precipice or by fire or by drowning or fasting or start on the Great Journey into the *Himālaya* or by jumping from the branches of the *Vata* tree at *Prayāga* (Aparārka p 877 quoting *Ādi-purāṇa* and *Atri-smṛti* verses 218-219 q. by *Medhatithi* on Manu V. 88 and Mit. on Yāj III. 6). (4) Even a householder, otherwise all right, may resort to suicide by the means stated (in No. 3) if his life's work is done, if he has no desire for the pleasures of the world and does not desire to live, or if he is a *Vedāntin*¹³⁷¹ and convinced of the ephemeral nature of life and may kill himself by fast in *Himālaya*. (5) Religious suicide was allowed at the confluence of the two great rivers *Gangā* and *Yamunā*, at the *Vata* there and at some other *tīrthas*. (6) A wife dying by *sahagamana* or *anumarana*. As to *Satī*, the *Nārāyaṇa* (*pūrvārtha* 7. 52-53) provides that a woman should not burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband if she has a

1371. शरीरसुखजेतव्यं विविधैर्मनाशकैः। अमुञ्च जीवितं ज्ञात्वा यो वै वेदान्तगो विज्ज ॥
अमृतं देवतास्तत्र नमस्कृत्य सुनीतया। तत् सिद्धो दिवं गच्छेद् ब्रह्मलोकं सनातनम् ॥ अङ्क-
शास्त्र 25. 63-64, तत्र refers to हिमालय as the context shows

young child or young children, if she is pregnant or if she has not attained puberty, or if she is in her monthly illness, at the time. Not only did common men believe in the promise of the Purāṇas that those who killed themselves at Prayāga (at the *saṅgama* or near Vata) secured mokṣa (freedom from the everlasting cycle of births and deaths) which was the highest of the four *puruṣārthas* (goals of human existence), but even great poets like Kalidāsa held the view that, though mokṣa or *kaivalya* or *apavarga* requires correct knowledge and realisation of the Supreme Spirit according to the Vedānta, Sāṅkhya and Nyāya systems, death at the sacred sangama led to mokṣa even without 'tattvajñāna.' In H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 925-927, historical examples of kings such as Yaśah-karnadeva, Candella Dhangadev and Ālukya Someśvara committing suicide at Prayāga or the Tūṅgabhadrā have been given. The king Kumāragupta of Magadha is said to have entered the fire of dry cow-dung cakes. This is in accordance with the prescriptions in the Matsya-purāṇa 107. 9-10 (=Padma, Ādi-khaṇḍa 44 3) which states¹³⁷² 'the man who, suffering from no diseases, having no deficiency as to his limbs and being in full possession of his five senses, encompasses (his death) in cowdung fire remains honoured in heaven for as many years as there are pores on the whole of his body.'¹³⁷³ The Rājataranginī VI. 14 refers to officers entrusted with the duty of supervising suicide by fast (*prāyopaveśa*).

1372 गङ्गायह्नयोरमध्ये कर्पासिं यस्तु साधयेत् । अहीनाङ्गो ह्यारोग्यश्च पञ्चैन्द्रिय-
समन्वितः । यावन्ति रोमकृपाणि तस्य गात्रेषु देहिन् ॥ तावद्दुर्घसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोकं महोयते ॥
मत्स्य 107 9, कूर्म I 38. 3-4, नारदीय, उत्तर, 63.154 (reads करीपासिं तु धारयेत्), पद्म
I 44. 2 (reads एखासिं यस्तु) कर्पासि is short for करीपासि for metrical reasons
कूर्म I, 38.3 reads 'करीपासि च साधयेत्' Vide Gupta Inscriptions No. 42 p. 200,
the Aśśaid Stone Inscription of आदित्यसेन of मगध, which states that his
fifth ancestor Kumāragupta plunged himself in the slow-burning fire of
dried cowdung cakes as if in water at Prayāga. शौर्यसूर्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो
यने । अम्भसीव करीपासौ मग्नः स सुखपूजितः ॥ p 203 (of the text). यने means यने
सत्यदि. The learned editor was probably unaware of the provisions about
suicide at Prayāga by being burnt with dry cowdung cakes in the Matsya
and other purāṇas.

1373. The Ain-i-Albari (tr. by Gladwin and published in 1800) speaks
of the following as the meritorious kinds of suicide (vol I. p. 531 and p. 802
of the Popular edition, edited by J. Mukhopadhyaya). These are five in
number viz. (1) starving; (2) covering himself with cowdung and setting it on
fire and consuming himself therein, (3) burying himself in snow; (4) to
plunge into water at the *Gangā-sāṅgara-saṅgama*, enumerate one's sins and
pray till alligators come and devour the man, (5) cut his throat at Allababad
at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumūnā.

The important verse on which reliance is placed for sanctioning religious suicide at Prayāga may be translated¹³⁷⁴ as follows. 'You should not set aside (pass over) your wish about dying at Prayāga on account of the words of the Veda or the words of the people.' The words of the Veda¹³⁷⁵ are Vāj. S. 40 3 (= Īśāvāsyopaniṣad 3) which literally translated means 'there are worlds of Asuras enveloped in blinding darkness, those who have killed themselves repair after death to those worlds'. This verse does not in the context appear to refer to a person committing suicide, but rather to a person who kills his soul by remaining in ignorance of the true Self. But even learned writers and poets took it to refer to suicide (vide Uṭtarā-rāmacarita, Act IV after verse 3). Another passage of the Veda on which reliance may be placed is the one in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X. 2. 6, 7 'one ought not to yield to his own desire and pass away before the full extent of life, for it (such shortening of full life) does not make for the (heavenly) world'. By 'the words of the people' are meant smṛti passages condemning suicide such as Gaut. 14, 12, Vas^{1375a} 23, 14-15, Manu V. 88 (which says that no water is to be offered to those who kill themselves), Viṣṇu Dh S 22, 56 (ātmatyāginah patitāś-ca naśaucodakabhājaḥ)

1374. न वेदवचनात्तत न लोकवचनादपि । मतिरुत्क्रमणीया ते प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥ वनपर्व 83.83, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63 129, पञ्च (आदि 39.76 reads न वेव), अग्नि 111 8 (reads मतिरुत्क्रमणीयान्ते प्रयागे मरणं प्रति) मत्स्य. 106.22 reads न वेववचना .. प्रयागमरणं प्रति) and पञ्च, आदि 43.22 reads प्रयागमरणं प्रति. The कूर्मपुराण I. 37.14 is न मातृवचनात्तत न...दपि । मतिः प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥, पञ्च, आदिखण्ड 33.64 reads न लोकवचनात् पित्रोर्न चैव कुरुवाक्यतः । मतिर्न क्रमणीया स्यादविदुःकणति प्रति ॥. This entirely changes the meaning and avers that if one has a desire to go to Kāśī, one should not heed the words of one's parents or elders or of the people (dissuading him from going).

1375. अद्वयं नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसावृताः । तास्ते मेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महन्ते जनाः ॥ वाज सं 40.3, The ईशावास्योप reads अद्वयं (sunless). Vide for आत्महन्ते the sūtra of वसिष्ठ quoted below. यो वा ज्ञात वर्णाणि जीवति स ह वैतद्व-
भूतमाप्नोति...तस्माद् ह न दुराख्य स्वकामी मेयादलोच्य ह्येत ज वा लोकाः । इत्यथवा,
X 2 6, 7 व by मेवातिथि on मनु V 88 (आत्मनस्त्यागिना चैव निवर्ततोदकाक्रिया) and VI. 32. The printed text of मेवातिथि and कुल्लूक reads स्वकामी (desiring heaven).

1375 a. य आत्मत्याग्यभिज्ञस्तो भवति सपिण्डानां प्रेतकर्मच्येदः । काष्ठजलोद-
पापाणश्छविपरञ्जुभिर्वात्मानमवसादयति स आत्मदा भवति ॥ वसिष्ठ 23, 14-15

There is no doubt that some of the smṛtis, the Mahābhārata¹³⁷⁶ itself and some purāṇas do recommend (or at least do not condemn) suicide in certain circumstances. A few purāṇa passages may be quoted here. Two verses of the Kūrma state 'That goal (or state), which a wise man that is devoted to Yoga and that has become an ascetic (or has forsaken all actions) reaches, is secured by him who gives up life at the confluence of the Gangā and Yamunā. Whoever dies in the Gangā whether wilfully or unintentionally is born after death in heaven and does not see hell'.¹³⁷⁷ The Kūrma is quite clear 'Moksa may be secured or not after a thousand births elsewhere but in Benares moksa can be secured in a single birth' (I. 32, 22). The Padma¹³⁷⁸ is quite emphatic 'a man who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally, dies in the Ganges secures on death heaven and 'moksa'. A verse of the Skanda asserts 'He who abandons his life in this sacred place in some way or other does not incur the sin of suicide but secures his desired objects.' The Kūrma (I. 38 3-12) refers to four modes of suicide and promises residence in heaven and various other rewards for thousands of years, viz. by (1) burning oneself in the slow fire of dry cowdung cakes, (2) by entering the water at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (3) by hanging with head down in the stream and feet up and drinking

1376. Vide the references given under No. 2 and 3 of the five classes of excusable or permitted suicides on p. 604 above. The Mahābhārata has a *parva* called Mahāprāsthānika in which it is narrated (chap 1, 24) that Yudhiṣṭhira with his four brothers, queen Draupadī and a faithful dog started on the Great Journey towards the Himālaya and that they fell down dead one after another, Draupadī being the first and Bhīma the last.

1377. या गतिर्योग्यकुत्तरय संन्यस्तद्वय मनीषिणः । सा गतिस्त्यजतः प्राणाच्च गङ्गायमुत्सङ्गने ॥ अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गायां यो विपद्यते । स मृतो जायते स्वर्गे नरके च न पश्यति ॥ कुर्म. I. 37 16, 39. The first verse is read in पद्म, सुदिखण्ड 60, 56 as या गतिः संन्यस्तद्वय मनीषिणः । सा गङ्गायां तु क्षीरिणि ॥ नारद (उत्तर) 43 97 is the same as पद्म.

1378. ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि कामतोऽकामतोऽपि वा । गङ्गाया च मृतो मर्त्यः स्वर्गे मोक्षं च विन्दति ॥ पद्म, सुदि 60 65 q by त्रिस्थली. p. 47. यथा कथञ्चितीर्थोऽस्मिन् प्राणत्यागं करोति यः । तस्य तत्समाप्तदोषो न प्रामुयादोऽपि तानपि ॥ स्कन्द, काशी 22, 76. The कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 258 quotes from वायुपुराण 'यो वाहिताग्निप्रवरो वीराध्यानं (० ध्यानं?) गतोपि वा । समाधाय मनः पूर्वं मन्त्रमुच्चारयेच्छनैः ॥ त्वमग्रे रुद्रस्त्वं सुधात्महोदधिस्त्वं सर्वे मारुताः क्षिप्रमीश्वरे । त्व वातैवांसि सगरी यस्त्वं प्रस्थिमावीर्य पातयन् माम् ॥' The mantra as printed makes no sense. The editor should have separated the words properly even if the mss were unsatisfactory. It appears to be Rg. II, 1, 6 (= Tai. S. I 3. 14. 1) त्वमग्रे रुद्रो अहरो महो दिवस्त्वं शर्पो मारुतं पृक्ष ईक्षिषि । त्वं वातरुणेयेति शंगयस्त्वं पूषा विधत् पाप्मि तु त्वना ॥

the waters of the Ganges, (4) by cutting off his own flesh and giving it as food to birds. The famous Chinese traveller Hsüen Tsang (about 629-645 A. D.) clearly refers to this practice of religious suicide (vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World,' vol. I. pp. 232-234). The Kalpataru on Tirtha (composed about 1110-1120 A. D.) devotes a special section to Mahāpathayātrā (pp. 258-265). Gradually, the idea of securing heaven and *mokṣa* by committing suicide at Prayāga or Benares appears to have spread to other tirthas. Vanaparva¹³⁷⁹ speaks of suicide at Prthūdaka (Pehova in the Karnal district of Punjab, 14 miles from Thanesar). The Brahmapurāṇa¹³⁸⁰ calls upon *dvijas* who are intent on securing *mokṣa* to commit suicide at Puruṣottama-kāśetra. The Lingapurāṇa¹³⁸¹ says 'if a brāhmaṇa kills himself on Śrīśaila he destroys his sins and attains *mokṣa* as at Avimukta (Benares); there is no doubt about this'. The Padma promises¹³⁸² a similar reward for suicide by fire or by fast at the confluence of Narmadā and Kaveri (a small river, not the great South Indian river).

Gradually there was a revulsion of feeling against suicide at Prayāga or Kāśī or starting on the Great Journey. Among the actions forbidden in the Kali age are included 'starting on the Great Journey' and 'suicide of old people jumping from a precipice or by fire' (vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 939, 958-59). Some of the later medieval writers try very hard to combat the view that religious suicide is permitted¹³⁸³. Nīlakantha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata, holds that Vanaparva 85. 83 (na vedavacanāt &c) refers to natural death at Prayāga and not to wilful death and that the Khila verse ('Sītāsītā' quoted above on p. 596) has the same meaning. Then he propounds two alternative interpretations of Vanaparva 85.

1379. उत्तमं सर्वतीर्थानां परमज्योत्स्नमस्तद्वत् । वृषभक्षे जल्पयते नैव श्वो मरणं
तमेव ॥ गीतं सनत्कुमारिणं व्यासेन च महत्तमना ॥ वनपर्व 83 146, 147 q. by सर्वजलस्य
p. 180 (reads श्रुते मे सर्वे) .

1380. तस्मात्सर्वमयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमा । देहत्यागो नरैः कार्यः
सम्बन्धोऽस्माभिरादिभिः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 177. 25, vide also ब्रह्मपुराण 68. 75 and
177 16-17.

1381. श्रीशैले सत्यजेद् देहं ब्राह्मणो दग्धकिल्बिषः । सुच्यते नात्र सन्वेहो ह्यविशुक्ते
यथा क्षुद्रम् ॥ लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध 92 168-169).

1382. अग्निपर्वणं यः कुर्याद्यश्च कुर्यादनाशनम् । अनिवर्तिका गतिस्तस्य यथा
मे शङ्करोऽब्रवीत् ॥ पद्म., आवि. 16 14-15

1383. Vide a learned paper on 'suicide at Prayāga' by Prof K. C. Chattopadhyaya in Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, vol. X, pp. 65 ff.

83, viz. that this passage allows those who are suffering from an incurable disease to commit suicide at Prayāga instead of dying by falling from a precipice and the like or that this verse does not apply to brāhmanas but only to the other three varnas.¹³⁸⁴

Both the Gangāvākyaṇī (pp. 304-310) and the Tir. C (pp. 47-52) hold that all varnas have the authority to resort to suicide at Prayāga. The Tir. Pr holds a long, learned and highly polemic discussion on the subject of religious suicide at Prayāga (pp. 346-355). Its own view appears to be that a brāhmana should not commit this suicide at Prayāga on account of the prohibition contained in Kalivarjya verses and that members of the other varnas may do so. The Tristhaliastu also enters upon a long discussion (pp. 47-55) and its conclusions are that in suicide at Prayāga for the attainment of *mokṣa* or other rewards (such as heaven) there is no sin, that thus suicide at Prayāga is not forbidden^{1384a} to brāhmanas as some think (since Agni 111 8 reads 'na vedavacanād *vipra*'), that persons whether seriously ill or in good health¹³⁸⁵ may resort to suicide at Prayāga, that no one has authority to commit suicide at Prayāga after abandoning to their fate one's old parents, young wife and children that require support, nor should a woman who is pregnant or who has young children or who has no permission from her husband, commit suicide at Prayāga.¹³⁸⁶ It is refreshing to find Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, perhaps

1384. शूद्राश्च क्षत्रिया वैद्या अस्यजाश्च तथाधमाः । एते त्यजेयुः प्राणान्ते वर्जयित्वा हिर्जं सुप । पतित्वा ब्राह्मणस्तत्र ब्रह्महा वात्महा भवेत् । q. by त्रिस्थलीः p. 52, which remarks that these verses are not found in any authoritative source and they involve a contradiction, in as much as क्षत्रियः and वैद्यः are allowed to kill themselves though they are *dviyas*. This is q. also by भट्टोजि in त्रि. से. सा. स p. 33

1384 a. तथा च हेमाद्रिवादिष्वादिपुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि । इन्द्रः शौचरुद्रेतुस्त- इत्याद्युपक्रम्य गच्छेन्महापथं वापि तुषारगिरिनादरात् । प्रयागवदशाखायां देहत्यागं करोति वा ॥ स्वयं देहविनाशस्य काले प्राप्ते महामतिः । उक्तमाश्रमायुद्धोकास्मात्- धाती भवेत्कचित् ॥ एतेषामधिकारस्तु सर्वेषां सर्वजन्तुषु । नराणामथ नारीणां सर्ववर्णेषु सर्वदा ॥ त्रिस्थलीः p. 53

1385 तस्मादाहुरादेरनाहुरादेश्च सर्वस्याधिकारः । किं तु इन्द्रौ पितरौ तरुणी भार्या पोष्यमपत्य च विहाय नाधिकारः । एव स्त्रिया अपि गर्भिण्या बालापत्याया भवाननुज्ञाताया वा नाधिकार इत्यादि ज्ञेयम् । त्रिस्थलीः p. 55

1386 काश्यादिमरणास्तु किरित्यत्र प्रयोजकत्वे पञ्चमी । तज्जन्मादात्मज्ञानादेव मोक्षोत्पत्तेः । ज्ञानेन विना मिथ्याज्ञानमिष्टतेरसम्भवात् । 'अत्र हि जन्तो. ... रुद्रस्तार्कं ब्रह्म व्याचष्टे' इति श्रुतेश्च । यत्तु काश्यां देहावसाने रुद्रोपदेशश्चतेरस्तु ज्ञानापेक्षा न तु सर्वत्र । प्रयागमरणादपि विनैवात्मसाक्षात्कारमप्यगोदयात् । .. तदसत् विना ज्ञानं मिथ्याज्ञानमिष्टतेरसम्भवात् । तीर्थप.

(Continued on the next page)

the most learned and renowned Pandit of his age steeped in all the lore of ancient India, make, in spite of the overwhelming weight of śāstric authority in favour of suicide at Prayāga, exceptions that surely appeal to reason, sentiment and common sense.¹³⁸⁷ Nārāyanabhatta probably followed traditions several hundred years older than his times. Alberuni in his work on India composed about 1030 A. D. says about religious suicide that 'it was resorted to by those who are tired of life, who are distressed over some incurable disease, some irremovable bodily defect or old age or infirmity. This however no man of distinction does, but only vaiśyas and śūdras. Burning oneself is forbidden to brāhmanas and ksatriyas by a special law. Therefore these if they want to kill themselves do so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner or they hire somebody to drown them in the Ganges.' (tr. by Sachau, vol. II, p. 170). The Tri. S. S. provides that a man desirous of committing religious suicide at Prayāga should first perform a prāyaścitta,

(Continued from the last page)

p. 313; the passage of the जाबालोपनिषद् is: अविमुक्तं वै कुरुक्षेत्रं देवानां देवयजनं सर्वेषां भूतानां ब्रह्मसदनम्। तस्माद्यत्र कच्चन गच्छति तदेव मन्यते तदविमुक्तमेव। इदं वै कुरुक्षेत्रं देवानां...सदनम्। अत्र हि जन्तोः प्राणेष्वक्षममाणेषु रुद्रस्तारकं ब्रह्म स्वाच्छेदे येना सावधुतीधृत्वा मोक्षीभवति।। In the Bhau Daji collection of mss at the Bombay Asiatic Society there is a ms. called अविमुक्तनिरुक्तिसार (cat. No. 1047) which contains 15 verses and comments thereon intended to explain the purport of the Jābālopaniṣad passage quoted and also some other passages from the same. In this work कुरुक्षेत्र occurring in जाबालोपनिषद् is explained as 'कुत्सितं रावयतीति कुरु पार्यं तस्य क्षेत्रमात् इति कुरुक्षेत्रं पापनाशनमित्यर्थः' and देवयजनं as ब्रह्मोपास्तिस्थानम्.

1387. काश्यपस्य चरणम्। अत्र ह सर्ववर्णानामधिकारः। गङ्गावा. p. 305 and तीर्थचि. p. 47. It is a most remarkable thing that the treatment of मयागमन in both these works is word for word the same, except that the तीर्थचि. quotes the verses न वेदवचनाः from the पद्मपुराण while the गङ्गावा. quotes them from the मत्स्य. It appears probable that the तीर्थचि. borrows from the गङ्गावा. since वाचस्पति appears to have been a younger contemporary of Vidyapati who helped विश्वासदेवी in composing गङ्गावा. Both were closely connected with the several kings and queens of the कामेश्वर dynasty of Mithilā and it is difficult to assert with confidence who borrows from whom. In New I. A. vol. VII. at p. 53 Prof. G. C. Basu while describing a newly found ms. of a work called स्वादिभक्तिविरहिणी ascribed in the colophon to विद्यापति states that that work mentions the द्वैतनिर्णय of वाचस्पति. So it is not unlikely that विद्यापति helped विश्वासदेवी by taking a part from the तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I pp. 739-740, Journal of Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XVI, New I. A. vol. VII pp. 49 ff., I. H. Q. vol. XX (1944) pp. 211 ff. for the date and works of विद्यापति and H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 404-405 for the date of वाचस्पति.

should perform his own śrāddha upto the offering of pinda if he has no relative entitled to perform it, should fast that day, should make a sankalpa next day preceded by a writing (to inform people of his desire to die in that way) and enter the holy waters contemplating on Visnu. On his death, his relatives have to observe āsaucha only for three days (and not for ten) and on the 4th day the śrāddhas of the 11th day are to be performed for him.¹³⁸⁸

The psychological background behind the religious suicide at Prayāga and other places is not difficult to realise. Centuries of philosophical thought had made a very deep impression on the minds of all people that the soul has to submit to a never-ending cycle of births and deaths. Ancient scriptures had offered a release in two ways viz. by *tattvayāna* and by suicide at a tīrtha. Death had no great terror for the pilgrim who submitted to various inconveniences and privations ungrudgingly. If one is determined to put an end to *samsāra* by taking one's life, what nobler environment could have been imagined or indicated than at Prayāga, where two mighty rivers flowing from the sacred Himalaya unite and carry on unceasingly their work of fertilizing the land and bringing prosperity and solace to millions of needy and anxious people?

While on this topic of religious suicide, it would not be out of place to briefly refer to the discussion in the digests about the meaning of the statement in the purānas that those who die at Prayāga are not born again (e.g. Matsya 180. 71 and 74). The answer is foreshadowed in the Matsyapurāna itself (182, 22-25) which ¹³⁸⁹ says: At the time of death, when the vital

1388 इहं शौचस्त्वैर्लुप्तं मत्पात्रपातमिपक्रुत्क्रियाः। आत्मानं चातयेद्यस्तु भुवःस्वर्ग्यन-
ज्ञानादिभिः। तस्य निरात्मनाशौचं द्वितीये त्वस्थितश्चरयन्। तृतीये रुद्रकं कृत्वा चतुर्थे आहूमा-
चरेत् ॥ अत्रि 218-219 q by मेधाः on मनु V. 89 कल्पः (on आशौच p. 87) quotes
these slightly differently and remarks वेदे तु देवत्यागे इहः. माशौचं कर्तव्या चोदक-
क्रिया इति वचनाद्भवत्येवोदकादिक्रिया.

1389 The स्कन्दपुराण, काशी has the following verses which repeat what the Matsya (182 22-25) says viz Śiva whispers into the right ear of a man dying at Kāśī the knowledge of *brahma* that will save his soul ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तवः कश्चित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये क्षेत्रे प्रयागे वा तदुत्पजः॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम्। दिशामि तारकं शान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात् ॥ chap. 32, verses 115-116. साक्षान्मोक्षो न चतस्रः क्षीपु भियभाणि। स्कन्द, काशी 83 (अमृत्य tells लोपासुदा). The मत्स्य- verses are अन्तकाले मनुष्याणां छिद्यमानेषु नर्मसु। वायुना प्रेर्यमाणानां स्मृतिर्निवोपजायते। अविमुक्तं ह्यन्तकाले भक्तानामीश्वरः स्वयम्। कर्मभिः प्रेर्य-
माणानां कर्णजायं प्रच्युतति। मणिकर्ण्यो त्यजन्देहं गतिमिष्टां ब्रजेन्नरः। ईश्वरप्रेरितो याति द्रष्टुमाप्तकृतान्निभिः॥ 182 22-25 The words अन्तकाले .. जायते refer to the general rule. The verses अविमुक्ते state the special case of death in Avimukta. The त्रिस्थलौ p. 297 quotes these verses and reads अविमुक्तं तन्तकाले

parts of the human body are being shattered, memory must fail a human being that is about to be pushed on (to another body) by the vital breath (when it leaves the mortal coil). But at the time of death in Avimukta (Vārānasi) Lord (Śiva) himself whispers (higher knowledge) in the ears of his devotees that are about to be pushed (into new bodies) by (accumulations of their actions). A man dying near Manikarnikā pool reaches the desired goal; he being guided by the Lord reaches the goal which is difficult of attainment by those whose minds are not pure.' In the Kāśikhaṇḍa it is expressly stated that mokṣa does not directly result in these cities (viz. Kāśī &c.). But in spite of these warnings the popular belief fostered by the literal meaning of hundreds of Purāṇa passages is that mokṣa results from dying at Prayāga or in Kāśiksetra.

The practice of religious suicide has a very respectable antiquity. In the 4th century B. C. Kalanos, the Indian Gymnosophist from Taxila who had accompanied Alexander from India, burnt himself alive on a funeral pyre at Sousa, when being over 70 years old, he was afflicted with a malady that made life more and more burdensome. Vide J. W. McCrindle's 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great' (New Edition 1896) pp. 46, 301, 386-392. Strabo informs us of a gymnosophist from India named Zarmanochegas of Broach who accompanied an embassy to Augustus Caesar at Athens and consigned himself to flames (vide 'Invasion of India by Alexander' p. 389). Hiouen T'sang (Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' vol. I. pp. 232-234) refers to suicide at Prayāga. The Jains, while on the one hand they laid the greatest emphasis on 'ahimsā' (non-injury), encouraged religious suicide (called 'Sallekhanā') in certain cases.¹³⁹⁰

Some of the works, viz. the Kāśimṛti-mokṣa-vicāra of Sureśvara (pp. 2-9), the Tristhalisetu (pp. 50-55) and the Tirthaprakāśa (pp. 313-318) discuss at some length how mere death (either involuntary or voluntary) in Vārānasi or Prayāga would lead to mokṣa. Considerations of space prevent a complete statement of their views. Their arguments are briefly as follows:—Karma is of three kinds, viz. *sañcita* (collected in former births), *prārabdhā* (that has begun to

¹³⁹⁰. Vide I. A. vol. II. p. 322 'Jain Inscriptions at Sravaca Belgola', where some verses are quoted from the Ratnalaranda of which the following one may be noted. उपसर्गे दुर्मिते जलनि रुजाया च निष्पत्तिकारे । धर्माय तन्मनो चननाद् सहेतुनामार्था ॥

operate by giving the soul the present body) and *kṛyamāna* (to be done in this body and in future). The Upaniṣads and the Gītā¹³⁹¹ declare that, just as waters do not stick to a lotus leaf, so evil deeds do not cling to a man who knows this (knowledge of *brahma*), that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all *karma* and that *moksa* results from the realization of the Supreme Spirit (Vedānta-sūtra IV. 1. 13). From this it follows that a man who has realized the Highest Reality will not be affected by the acts done by him after realization and his accumulated actions (*sañcita*) will be destroyed by that realization. The present body in which the soul realizes *brahma* was due to that part of his *karma* which had begun to operate. When the present body perishes in the case of a man who has realized *brahma* he attains final release, since no actions remain for producing effects. To the man who dies a natural death in Benares is given at the time of death the Tāraka (saving) mantra. The Matsyapurāṇa says:¹³⁹² those who enter fire according to the rules in Avimukta (i. e. Benares) enter the mouth of Śiva and so also those determined devotees of Śiva who die by fast in Benares do not return (to this world) even after millions of *kalpas*. Therefore all those who die in any way at¹³⁹³ Benares receive Grace from Śiva after their death. That leads to *tattvajñāna* (correct spiritual knowledge) which leads to *moksa*. In rare passages it is expressly stated that *mokṣa* cannot¹³⁹⁴ be immediately secured

1391 यथा शुष्कफलानि आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवमिदं पापं कर्मे न श्लिष्यत इति । छा उप IV, 14 3, मिथ्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशया । क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे ॥ शुण्डकोपनिषद् II 2 8, यथैधासि समिज्जोत्तिर्भस्मसात्कुचतेऽर्जुन । ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुचते तथा ॥ भगवद्गीता ॥ IV 37

1392 अग्निमेतं ये कुर्तुमिच्छन्ति विद्यातः । मविशन्ति सुखं ते मे नि सन्निवृत्तं वरानने । कुर्वन्त्यनशनं ये तु मद्भक्ता कृतनिश्चया । न तेषां पुनरावृत्तिः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ मत्स्य 183 77-78 q by कल्पतत्त्व on तीर्थ p 21

1393. 'ज्ञानादेव तु कैवल्यम्' इत्यादि श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यो ज्ञानाभावे मोक्षाभावाद्विश्वेश्वरखण्डसूत्रादिदत्तारकादेवात्रात्मज्ञानोत्पत्तिः । तदुक्तं काशीखण्डे । ब्रह्मज्ञानेन सुच्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तवः क्षन्ति । ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम् । दिशामि तारकं भास्वे सुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्समाप्तम् । विस्थलीय p 292 which quotes काशीखण्ड 32 115-116. Similar statements occur in काशीखण्ड 21. 98 विपक्षानां च जन्तूनां यत्र विश्वेश्वरः स्वयम् । कर्णे जापं यकुचते कर्मेनिर्मूलनक्षमम् ॥ and काशीखण्ड 61 117-118, 64 98. The गरुडपुराण (मेनखण्ड, 6 60-61) says 'तीर्थराजस्ततः काशी महादेवो दद्यान्निधिः । मृतानां यत्र जन्तुता कर्णे जपति तारकम् ॥'.

1394. साक्षान्मोक्षो न चेताहं पुरीषु मियमादिणि । स्कन्द, काशी 8 2 (अगस्त्यो नोपायुदा) तारकं प्रणव तारयतीति तारं स्वार्थं कथययः । संसारमागरादुत्तारकं तारकं च तद् ब्रह्म उति तारकं ब्रह्म उच्यते । काशीमृतिनोधाविचार p 3

(by dying) in these cities. The Tāraka-mantra is variously explained. According to Suresvara, Tāraka-mantra is the mystic syllable *om* which is a symbol of *brahma* as stated in the Tai. Up. (I. 1.8 *Om-iti brahma*) and the Gītā (8. 13 *Om-ityekāksaram brahma*). The Tri. S. gives another explanation besides this. According to Rāmatāpanīya Upanisad and¹³⁹⁵ the Padmapurāṇa the mantra is 'śri-Rāma-Rāma-Rāmeti.'

There are several sub-tīrthas that fall under Prayāga. The most important of them is the famous Vata (banyan tree) called Aksaya-Vata (the imperishable Vata). The Agni (111. 13) states 'if a man dies at the foot of the Vata and in the Sangama he goes to the city of Viṣṇu'. Special reference is made to abandoning one's life at the foot of the Vata. The Kūrma¹³⁹⁶ says 'He, who abandons life at the foot of the Vata, passes beyond heavenly worlds and goes to the world of Rudra'. The following are the sub-tīrthas of Prayāga and only references are given to the works in which they are described: (1) the two Nāgas called Kambala and Aśvatara which according to some are on the spacious (vipula) bank of the Jumnā and according to others on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106. 27, Padma, Ādi 39. 69, Agni 111. 5, Kūrma I. 37. 19), (2) Pratisthāna on the eastern side of the Ganges, being the same as the Sāmudra-kūpa (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106. 30, Kūrma I. 37. 22, Padma, Ādi. 43. 30; Vanaparva 85. 114 appears to suggest that Pratisthāna is another name of Prayāga; (3) Sandhyāvata (Matsya 106. 43, Kūrma I. 37. 28, Agni 111. 13); (4) Hamsaprapatana to the north of Pratisthāna and to the east of the Ganges (Matsya 106. 32, Kūrma I. 37. 24, Agni 111. 10, Padma, Ādi 39. 80 and 43. 32, (5) Kotitīrtha (Matsya 106. 44, Kūrma I. 37. 29, Agni 111. 14, Padma, Ādi 43. 44; (6) Bhogavati, the Vēdi of Prajāpati to the north of Vāsuki (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106. 46, Agni 111. 5, Padma, Ādi 39. 79 and 43. 46; (7) Daśāśvamedhaka (Matsya 106. 46, Padma, Ādi 39. 80); (8) Urvaśīpulina, suicide at which

1395. रामतापनीये तु श्रीराममन्त्र एव तारकशब्दार्थ उक्तः । सुमूर्खैर्दक्षिणे कर्णे यस्य कस्यापि वा स्वयम् । उपदेशयति मन्मन्त्रं स सुको भविता शिवः ॥ एते तु श्रीशब्दपूर्वकस्मिराद्युक्तो रामशब्द एव तारकतयोक्तः । सुमूर्खैर्मणिकर्ण्यन्तर्योदकनिवासिनः । अहं दिशति ते मन्त्रं तारकं ब्रह्मवाचकम् । श्रीरामरामरामेति एतत्तारकमुच्यते ॥ त्रिस्थली p. 291.

1396. वदमूलं समाश्रित्य यस्तु माणात् परित्यजेत् । स्वर्गलोकानतिक्रम्य रुद्रलोकं स गच्छति ॥ कूर्म. I. 37. 8-9 q. by तीर्थचिं p. 48. The same is पद्म, आदिखण्ड 43. 11 (reads सर्वलोकान्).

led to ¹³⁹⁷ various rewards quoted below (Matsya 106. 34-42, ¹³⁹⁸ Padma, Ādi 43. 34-43, Agni 111. 13, Kūrma I. 37. 26-27); (9) Rnapramocana, on the northern bank of Yamunā and to the south of Prayāga (Kūrma I. 38. 14, Padma, Ādi 44. 20); (10) Mānasa on the north bank of the Ganges (Matsya 107. 9, Padma, Ādi 44. 2, Agni 111. 14); (11) Agnitirtha on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Matsya 108. 27, Kūrma I. 39. 4, Padma, Ādi 45. 27); (12) Viraja on the north bank of Yamunā (Padma, Ādi 45. 29); (13) Anaraka ¹³⁹⁹ to the west of Dharmarāja (Kūrma I. 39. 5).

The Purāṇas lay down that if a man starts on a pilgrimage, but dies on the way to Prayāga he reaps great benefits even without reaching it, provided he dies remembering Prayāga. The Matsyapurāṇa (105. 8-12) asserts: ¹⁴⁰⁰ A man whether in his own country or house or after leaving his country dies in a forest, while remembering Prayāga, he still secures the world of Brahma; he reaches a world where the

1397 उर्वशीपुलिने पुण्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे। परित्यजति यः प्राणांश्च हृष्टं तत्प्रापि
यत्कलम्॥ पटिवर्षसहस्राणि पटिवर्षशतानि च। सेव्यते पितृभिः सार्धं स्वर्गलोके नराधिप ॥
उर्वशीं तु सदा पश्येत्स्वर्गलोके नरोत्तमः। पूज्यते सततं पुत्रं कपिगन्धर्वकिनैः ॥ ततः स्वर्गात्
परिभ्रष्टः क्षीयकर्म दिवश्च्युतः। उर्वशीसहस्रानां तु कल्पानां लभते शतम्॥ सद्ये नारीसहस्राणां
बहूनां च पतिर्भवेत्॥ दशयामसहस्राणां भोक्ता भवति धूमिपः॥ काञ्चिद्विप्राश्च देनं सुतोत्तैः
प्रतिष्ठयते। सुक्त्वा तु विपुलाभोगास्तर्क्षीं लभते पुनः॥ सुहृत्स्वरथरो नित्यं निरतः संयते-
न्द्रियः। एकं कालं तु भुञ्जानो मांसं धूमिपतिर्भवेत्॥ सुवर्णालङ्घनानां तु नारीणां लभते शतम्।

पुथिग्यानासहस्राणां महाधूमिपतिर्भवेत्॥ धनधान्यसमायुक्तो द्राता भवति नित्यशः। सुक्त्वा तु
विपुलाभोगास्तर्क्षीं लभते पुनः ॥ मत्स्य. 105. 34-42 = पद्म, आदिशुक्ल 43. 34-42 with
some variations The first two verses are कूर्म I. 37. 26-27 and all occur नारदीय
(उ) 63. 140-149.

1398. It may be noted that the rewards promised for suicide at Urvāṣipulina are sex pleasures and secular benefits like becoming a king or governor. Even suicide at the Sāṅgama is promised similar pleasures of the flesh and of lingly power and riches in Matsya 105. 1-12.

1399 In मत्स्य. 108. 29 we read तीर्थं निरञ्जनं नाम यत्र देवाः सवासवाः which appears to be a misreading पश्चिमे धर्मराजस्य तीर्थं त्वनरकं स्मृतम्। कूर्म I. 395.; the अग्नि 111. 14 mentions a तीर्थं called वानरक (or वासरक acc. to some mss.) but that seems to be a misreading of त्वनरकं (तु + अनरकं). मत्स्य. 108. 27 तीर्थं तु नरकं स्मृतम् seems to be a misreading for त्वनरकं. Several tirthas called अनरक are known. Vide पद्म, आदि 27.56 and list.

1400. देशस्थो यदि वारण्ये विदेशस्थोऽथवा गृहे। प्रयागं स्मरमाणोऽपि यस्तु प्राणांश्च परित्यजेत्॥ ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति वदन्ति कपिपुङ्गवाः। सर्वकामफला वृक्षा मही यत्र हिरण्यमी। भक्षयो मुनयः सिद्धास्तत्र लोने स गच्छति। स्त्रीसहस्राह्वते रम्ये मन्दारकिंवास्तदे क्षुभे। मोदते कविभिः सार्धं सुहृतेनैव कर्मणा। ततः स्वर्गात्परिभ्रष्टो जम्बूद्वीपपतिर्भवेत्। मत्स्य. 105. 8-11 p. by गङ्गावा p. 310; verses from स्त्रीसहस्रा are quoted from कूर्म by त्रिश्यली p. 25.

trees yield all desires, where the earth is full of gold and where there are sages and *munis* and *siddhas*; he dwells on the bank of the Ganges full of thousands of women and enjoys the company of sages, when he comes down from heaven he becomes the lord of Jambūdvīpa.

At most famous tirthas the pilgrim has to perform śrāddha. The Visnu Dh. S. (chap. 85) mentions about fifty-five sacred places which are fittest for śrāddha. The Kalpataru (on tirtha), the Gangāyākyavali, Tir. C. and other digests quote several verses from the Devipurāna, the gist of which is as follows. Śrāddha should be performed at tirthas, but there is no offering of *aghya* and no *āvāhana* (since pits are deemed to be always present at tirthas, as the Kāśikhaṇḍa says) nor is the entering of the thumb of the invited brāhmana into the food served done, nor is there the question about the brāhmanas being satiated, nor *vikṛa*.¹⁴⁰¹ If one is unable to follow the complete procedure of śrāddha one should merely offer pindas made from barley meal or may offer *sahyāla* (cake of wheat flour fried with ghee and milk), rice boiled in milk, the cake of sesame (after the oil is extracted) or jaggery.¹⁴⁰² It should not be allowed to be seen by dogs, crows and vultures, it may be offered at any time after the pilgrim reaches the holy place. A śrāddha performed at a holy place gives great satisfaction to pītras. Some of the works such as the Tristhaḥśeṭusārasaṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji provide that after performing a pārvanaśrāddha at a tirtha and after making offerings of pindas to one's ancestors one should offer a single pinda to one's other relatives with the following mantra 'Here I offer pinda to deceased persons of my father's family, and of my mother's family and to the deceased relatives of my guru and of my father-in-law, to those men of my family

1401 अर्घ्यमावाहनं चैव द्विजाङ्गुलिनिवेशनम्। वृत्तिपञ्च च विकिरं तीर्थआङ्गे विवर्जयेत्॥ q by त्रि से सा स p. 18, देवाश्च पितरो यस्माद्भूताः सर्वदा स्थिताः। आवाहनं विसर्गं (ऋषयः?) तेषां तत्र ततो न हि॥ काशीखण्ड 28.9, तीर्थे आर्जं प्रकुर्वीत पञ्चाक्षरं विशेषतः। आमाक्षरे हिरण्येन कन्दमूलफलैरपि॥ सुमन्तु q. 12 त्रि से सा स p. 20

1402 सक्तुभिः पिण्डदानं तु सयात्रैः पापसेनं तु। कर्तव्यमुपनिर्दिष्टं पिण्याकेन गृहेन च। आर्जं तत्र तु कर्तव्यमर्घ्यावाहनवर्जितम्। श्वधासृग्धकाकानां नैव ददितं च यत्। आर्जं तत्तैर्धिकां शोक्तं पितृणां शीतिकारकम्। कालेवाप्यथवाऽकाले तीर्थे आर्जं तथा नरैः। मातैरेव सदा कार्यं कर्तव्यं पितृवर्षणम्। पिण्डदानं च तच्छ्रुतं पितृणामतिवद्भयम्। विलम्बो नैव कर्तव्यो न च विलम्बं समाचरेत्। पञ्चपुराण V 29 212-218, q. by पृथ्वीचन्द्रादयः folio 135b and 136a. The same verses are quoted from देवीपुराण by कल्पः on तीर्थ p. 10, तीर्थचिन्त्र. pp. 10-11, गङ्गावा. p. 129. Vide स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6 58-60 for some of the verses and नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 41-42 for last two verses

who were devoid of sons or wives and so who would lose the benefit of the pinda (to be offered by the son or wife) and in the case of whom all rites after death have ceased, those who were blind from birth or were cripples, those who were malformed or died in the womb; to all these, whether known or unknown to me, may this (pinda) reach inexhaustively' (Vāyu 110. 51-52). After this he should offer another pinda for his servants, slaves, friends, dependents, pupils, persons who conferred obligations on him, cattle, trees and those with whom he came in contact in other lives (Vāyu 110. 54-55). If a person is ill or has not the time to go through this elaborate procedure, then he should make a sankalpa that he would perform śrāddha and should offer a single pinda with the mantra (in Vāyu 110 23-24) 'I offer this pinda to my father, grand-father, great-grand-father, to my mother, father's mother, grandfather's mother, to my maternal grandfather and to the latter's father and grandfather. May it reach them inexhaustively'!

The Anuśāsana-parva, the Kūrmapurāṇa, Nāradya (uttara) 63. 19-20 and 36-38 and others highly praise bathing at the *sangama* in the month of Māgha¹⁴⁰³. Men of all castes, women and those born of mixed unions can take this bath; śūdras, women and men of mixed castes should not repeat any mantra but should bathe silently or with the word 'namah' (Tri. S. p 39). Similarly, the Padma, Kūrma, Agni and other Purāṇas wax eloquent over a bath for three days in Māgha saying that it is equal to the gift of three crores of cows.¹⁴⁰⁴ There is great divergence as to exactly what three days are meant, as pointed out by the Tri. S. p 33. The various views are the three days are the passage of the sun into Capricornus, Rathasaptamī and the full moon day of Māgha; the three consecutive days including the 10th of the bright half of Māgha, the first three days of Māgha, the three consecutive days from the 13th day of the bright half of Māgha; any three days in Māgha,

1403. दशतीर्थसहस्राणि पटिकोट्यस्तथापरा । समागच्छन्ति माघ्या तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभा॥
अनुशासन 25 36-37, पटिस्तीर्थसहस्राणि पटिस्तीर्थशतानि च । माघमासे गमिष्यन्ति गङ्गा-
यमुनसङ्गमे ॥ कूर्म I 38 1; मत्स्य 107.7 is very nearly the same

1404 यथा कोटिमद्वानाद्यत् त्र्यहं स्नानस्य तत्फलम् । प्रयागे माघमासे तु एवमाहुर्मनी-
विनः ॥ अग्नि 111 10-11, यथा शतसहस्रस्य सन्ध्यन्तस्तस्य यत्फलम् । प्रयागे माघमासे तु त्र्यहं
स्नानस्य तत्फलम् ॥ पद्म, आदि 44. 8, कूर्म I. 38 2

CHAPTER XIII

KĀŚĪ

There is hardly any city in the world that can claim greater antiquity, greater continuity and greater popular veneration than Banaras. Banaras has been a holy city for at least thirty centuries. No city in India arouses the religious emotions of Hindus as much as Kāśī does. To the Hindu mind it represents great and unbroken traditions of religious sanctity and learning. It is a miniature of Hindu life through the ages in all its great complexities and contradictions. Not only Hinduism with its numerous sects has flourished here for numberless centuries, but the principles of Buddhism, one of the great religions of the world, were first proclaimed here by Śakyamuni after he received Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā under the Bodhi tree. Thousands of verses are found in the epics and purāṇas about Banaras. Several volumes have been written about Banaras during the last hundred years.¹⁴⁰⁵ It would be impossible to do justice here to this vast mass of literature on Banaras. I shall briefly deal with the important topics relating to Banaras. In olden times the name was spelt as Benares, but recently as Banaras, which will be retained here (except in quotations).

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to dwell, however briefly, on the ancient history of Banaras. The Śatapatha Br. quotes ¹⁴⁰⁶ a Gāthā which states that Satānika, son of Satrājī, carried away the sacred sacrificial horse of the Kāśīs, as Bharata did in the case of the Satvats. In Śat. Br. XIV. 3. 1. 22 king Dhrtarastra Vicitravīrya is called Kāśya. In the Gopātha Br. we have ¹⁴⁰⁷ the combination Kāśī-Kośalāh. The

1405. Among modern works in English dealing with Banaras the following may be mentioned 'Benares, a handbook for the visitors' by J. Ewee (Calcutta, 1886), 'The sacred city of the Hindus' by M. A. Sbering with a learned Introduction by Dr. F. E. Hall (London, 1886) and 110 photographs, 'Benares, the sacred city' by E. B. Havell (1905) with many fine illustrations, 'History of Benares' by Prof. A. S. Altekar (1937) with a few diagrams and photographs

1406. तदेतद्वायव्यमिगीतम् । शतानीकं समस्तास्तु मेघ्य सात्राजितो हयम् । अदह यज्ञं काशीना भरत सत्त्वानिवेति । शतपथब्रा XIII 54 21.

1407. विचारी ह वै काशान्वि. कचयस्याथर्वणस्य पुत्रो मेधावी भीमासकोऽब्रूवान् असि । स ह स्वेनातिमानेन सानुप वित्तं नेयाय । तं सतोवाच । त एवैतद्वसवोचरत् इममेव कुरुपथाले । षड्विंशत्यधु काशीकौशल्येषु ..उदीच्येन्द्वसमदन्ति । गोपथ, पूर्वभाग 29.

Cambridge History of India (vol. I p. 117) remarks that in the Brāhmana period Kāśī, the capital of the Kāśis, was situated on the Varanāvati. In the Br. Up. (II. 1. 1) and the Kausītaki¹⁴⁰⁸ Up. (IV. 1) there is the story of the proud Balāki Gārgya going to Ajātasātru, king of Kāśī, with the assurance that the former would expound *brahma* to the latter. In Pānini IV. 2. 116 Kāśī heads a *gana* (Kāśyādibhyas-than-ithau). Under Pānini IV. 2. 113 we get the form 'Kāśiyah.' It is remarkable that in the Sarvānukrama the rsi of Rg. X. 179. 2 is stated to be Prataradana Kāśirāja. In *tarpana*, the Hir. Gr. (II 8. 19. 6) mentions Kāśīśvara along with Viṣṇu and Rudraskanda (S. B. E. vol 30 p. 244). Divodāsa figures frequently in the Rgveda. In Rg I. 130. 7 Indra is said to have conquered ninety cities for Divodāsa, while in Rg. IV. 30. 20 it is stated that Indra gave 100 cities of stone to Divodāsa. From these Vedic references it may be surmised that in later works like the Epics and the Purāṇas Divodāsa was naturally credited with the founding of the most sacred city in India. In the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 4 on Pān. IV. 1. 54 (vol II, p 223) we find the illustration 'Kāśī-Kosalīyāh.' The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II p 413) furnishes the interesting information that there is a difference in the price of cloth manufactured at Kāśī and that manufactured at Mathurā, though the length and breadth of the piece of cloth be the same. This shows that even so early as the 2nd century B. C. Kāśī was famous for the fine qualities of its cloth, as now.¹⁴⁰⁹ From the above passages it is clear that Kāśī was the name of a country long before the Śatapatha Br. was composed and it remained so till the 2nd century B. C. (the date of Patañjali). We have a parallel example. Avanti is the name of a country as shown by Pān IV. 1. 176 (striyām-avanti-kuntī-kurubhyas-ca) and by the Meghadūta (Prāpyāvantīn-udayana—), but Avanti or Avantikā is also the name of Ujjayīni (as in the well-known verse 'Ayodhyā...Avantikā'). Fa Hien (399 to 413 A. D.) is said to have arrived at the city of Vārāṇasī in the kingdom of Kāśī (Legge's tr. p 94). This shows that about 400 A. D. Kāśī was still the name of the district and Vārāṇasī was its capital. But from the reference in the Mahābhāṣya it appears that Kāśī had then become the name of the city (and was also

1408. दृष्टवालाकिर्हान्त्वानो गान्धर्व आस सहोवाचाजातशत्रुं काश्यं ब्रह्म ते ब्रवाणिति । धृष्ट. उप. II 1.1.

1409. ईह समाने आयाने विस्तरे पटस्यान्यार्थो भवति काशीकस्थान्यो माधुरस्यः । मद्रा भाष्य, vol II. p. 413 (on Pān. V. 3.35).

the name of the country) In the Anusāsana-parva (chap 30) it is said that Haryaśva, the grand-father of Divodāsa, was king of the Kāśis ^{1409a} and was harassed and killed by the Viṭahavyas in the *Doab* between the Ganges and Jumna. Haryaśva's son was Sudeva who was crowned king of Kāśi (verse 13, Kāśirājas bhyasicyata) and he also met the same fate as his father did. Then Divodāsa, son of Sudeva, became king of the Kāśis and founded Vārānasi thickly populated with men of all varnas on the northern bank of the Gomati. This legend shows that Kāśi was the ancient name of a kingdom and the ancient belief was that Vārānasi was founded as the capital of the Kāśis by Divodāsa. In the Udyogaparva also Divodāsa is said to be the ruler of Kāśis.¹⁴¹⁰

The Harivamśa (I. chap. 29) has a long but rather confused story about Divodāsa and Vārānasi¹⁴¹¹ It deals with the dynasty of Āyus, one of the sons of Aila. One of the descendants of Āyus was Śunahotra who had three sons, Kāśa, Śala and Grtsamada. From Kāśa arose a branch called Kāsayah. Dhanvantari, a descendant of Kāśa, was king of the Kāśis (verse 22). Divodāsa was great-grandson of Dhanvantari. He killed 100 sons of Bhadrāsrenya, who first was Lord of Vārānasi. Then Śiva sent his *gana* Nikumbha to destroy Vārānasi which had been occupied by Divodāsa. Nikumbha cursed it to be devastated for a thousand years. When it became devastated it came to be called Avimukta and Śiva resided there. It was again re-established (verse 68) by Durdama, a son of Bhadrāsrenya, whom, because he was a child, Divodāsa had not killed. Then Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, took it from Durdama. Alarka, grandson of Divodāsa and king of Kāśis, again established Vārānasi. This legend may contain some germs of truth, viz. that Vārānasi had become devastated several times and had often changed hands. The Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 92) and the Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 11) also contain the same legends of Dhanvantari, Divodāsa, and Alarka and the vicissitudes of Vārānasi.

1409 a. काशिष्वपि द्रुपो राजन् दिवोदासपितामहः । हर्षश्च इति निरुपातो बभूव जयता वरः ॥ अष्टाशतन 30 10.

1410. महावीर्यो महापालः काशीनत्मीश्वरः प्रभुः । दिवोदास इति रुपातो भैमसेनिर्न- राधिपः ॥ उद्योग 117.1.

1411. सौदेवस्तथ काशीसो दिवोदासेभ्यविच्यतः । वाराणसीं महातेजा निर्ममे शकः शासनात् ॥ त्रिपदात्रियसम्बाधा वैश्यशूद्रसमाकुलम् । नैकद्वयोद्वयवर्ती समृद्धविपयापणम् । मङ्गला उत्तरे कूले वसन्ते राजसत्तमः । गोमत्या दक्षिणे कूले शकस्येयामरावतीम् । अष्टाशतन 30. 15-18.

In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali states (vol. I. p. 380,) that Vārāṇasī is alongside of Gangā and on Pān. IV. 3. 84 (vol. II. p. 313) he informs us that traders call Vārāṇasī Jitvari.

Ancient Buddhist works show that Banaras was, in the times of Buddha (5th Century B. C. at the latest), a great and famous city like Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa and Kauśāmbī (vide Mahāparinibbānasutta, S. B. E. vol. XI p. 99 and Mahāśuddhasāsanāsutta, *ibid.* p. 247). The very fact that Buddha attained Enlightenment at Gayā (which was an out of the way place and on the borders, if at all, of Āryāvarta), thought it necessary to travel hundreds of miles from Gayā and preach his doctrines at Banaras in the Deer-park and set rolling the wheel of the kingdom of Dharma at that place, clearly indicates that Banaras had then become a very holy place and was in the centre of all Aryan activities and culture (vide S. B. E. vol. XI p. 153 and vol. XIII p. 90, Mahāvagga, S. B. E. vol. 17 p. 21). King Brahmadatta of Banaras figures in many *jātaka* stories. Hardly any part of the *jātaka* tales can be placed earlier than the 3rd century B. C. But it may be admitted that Banaras was well-known as the capital of Brahmadatta kings several centuries before Christ. The Matsyapurāṇa 273, while enumerating hundreds of kings bearing the same surnames, states that there were 100 Brahmadattas and 100 Kāśīs and Kuśās.¹⁴¹² But the very fact that Brahmadattas are separately mentioned from the Kāśīs largely reduces the value of this piece of information. The ancient Jain works also speak of Banaras and Kāśī. In the Kalpasūtra it is said that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras in the month of Caitra on the 4th day of the dark fortnight (S. B. E. vol. XXII p. 271) and that when Mahāvīra died the 18 confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala along with other kings of the Licchavis and Mallakis instituted an illumination on the day of the New Moon (*ibid.* p. 266). Āśvaghoṣa appears to identify Vārāṇasī with Kāśī when he says in his Buddhacarita 'Having entered Vārāṇasī, the Jina (Buddha) illumining the city with his light filled the minds of all the inhabitants of Kāśī with excessive interest.'¹⁴¹³ The Buddhacarita further speaks of Buddha as having gone under the shadow of a tree near Vanārā (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p.

1412. शतमेक धार्तराष्ट्रं ह्यश्वत्थिर्जनेजयाः। शतं वै ब्रह्मदत्तानां वीराणां कुरवः शतम्। शतं च पञ्चालाः शतं काशिकुशादयः॥ मत्स्य. 273. 72-73.

1413. वाराणसीं प्रविश्याथ भासा सम्भासयञ्जितः। चकार काशीदेशीयान् कीर्तुकां कीर्तयन्तः॥ इज्ज्वलित 15 101.

169), which is probably the Varanā. It is thus clear that Varānasi and Kāśī had become synonyms at least sometime about the first century A. D. In the Vāyupurāṇa 45.110 *Kāśī-kośalāh* figure among the countries of Madhyadeśa.

In the Visnupurāṇa we have the story of Paundraka Vāsudeva who challenged Kṛṣṇa and asked the latter to surrender his *Caltra* and other symbols. He was helped by the king of Kāśī. The combined armies of Paundraka and Kāśīrāja attacked Kṛṣṇa who killed Paundraka and cut off Kāśīrāja's head (with his discus) which fell in the city of Kāśī. His son performed austerities, propitiated Śankara and secured from him a Kṛtyā (ogress) which entered Varānasi. Kṛṣṇa's discus in pursuit of her burnt the whole of Varānasi together with its king, his servants and citizens. In this account from the Visnupurāṇa (V 34) the names Kāśī, Varānasi and Avimukta are employed as synonyms (verses 14, 21, 25, 30, 39). The same legend occurs in the same words in Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 207 and is briefly referred to in Sabhāparva, chap. 14 18-20 and chap. 34. 11.

From the above-mentioned accounts in the Epic and Purāṇas about Kāśī and Mahādeva, various conclusions¹⁴¹⁴ have been drawn by writers, viz. that Mahādeva was a god of the non-Aryans, that Banaras was a centre of non-Aryan worship for a long time after the advent of the Aryans and that the people of Banaras, though they ultimately turned to the Aryan religion, were more interested in the philosophic speculations of the Upanisadic age. I dissent from most of these conclusions. We are on most unsafe ground as regards these conclusions. None of the extant Purāṇas can claim to be older than the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Most people in India lived and even now live a humdrum, placid and unattractive life in which there is nothing to satisfy the ordinary man's appetite for the mysterious, the unusual and the horrible. The purāṇas contain stories that may be divided into several classes and that satisfied the above-mentioned cravings of the common man. Many of the

1414. Vide, for example, Prof. A. S. Altekar's 'History of Banaras,' pp. 2-7. The Nārādiya (uttara, chap. 29)¹ states that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Saiva-ksetra, is there any real historical basis here? If any historical conclusion is to be drawn from this statement of the Nārādiya-purāṇa it would be exactly the opposite of what Prof. Altekar has drawn, viz. that the non-Aryans scored a cultural victory over the Aryans at Banaras.

legends contained in the purāṇas were meant for the entertainment of common people, just as even in these days millions in Western countries read with relish detective stories and crime club fiction. Some *paurāṇic* legends had a serious purpose in view viz emphasizing religious or philosophical dogma or moral values and standards and were clothed in a supernatural garb to make them striking and effective. Only a few legends have some historical basis, but the latter is evidently smothered in a mass of exaggerations and prejudices for or against a hero, or a caste, class, tribe or family. It is hardly fair to draw far-reaching historical conclusions from heterogeneous materials in the purāṇas about the conditions of things that prevailed several hundreds or thousands of years before they were compiled. The purāṇas often speak of the quarrels and bickerings among high gods and sages. For example, the Visṇupurāṇa V. 30.65 speaks of a fight between Indra and Kṛṣṇa. Was Kṛṣṇa a non-Aryan god originally? Ganeśa's left tooth was shattered by the missile of Paraśurāma who comes to fight with Rāma, both being supposed to be *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. The sage Bhṛgu curses Viṣṇu, Gautama curses Indra, Māṇḍavya curses Dharma (vide for all these, Brahṁanda II. 27. 21-25).

In several purāṇas Kāśī or Vārāṇasī has been lauded and described at great length. Vide Matsya 180-185 (411 verses), Kūrma 1.31-35 (verses 226), Lingapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga, chap. 92, verses 190), Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 33-37, verses 170), Agni 112, Skanda, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap 5 ff, Nāradya (uttara, chap. 48-51). The Kāśīkhaṇḍa alone has about 15000 verses¹⁴¹⁵ on Banaras and its sub-tīrthas. In the Padmapurāṇa the sages are said to have asked Bhṛgu five questions, viz what is the greatness of Kāśī, how it is to be understood, who should resort to it, what is its extent (or boundaries) and by what means it (Kāśī) can be secured. In the Skandapurāṇa,

1415. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall (Introduction to Sherring's work p. XXXII n. 3) criticizes Dr Wilson for holding that the greater part of the Kāśīkhaṇḍa is anterior to the first attack on Banaras by Mahmud of Ghazni and holds that it is later than the Ghaznvide invader. Dr. Hall advances hardly any convincing reasons. The work of Alberuni is definite that Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had not spread his depredations as far as Banaras (vide Sachau, vol. 1 p. 22) 'This is the reason why Hindu Sciences ..have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places.' The Kaipataru on Tīrtha quotes about one hundred verses on Vārāṇasī

(Continued on the next page)

A few words must be said about the derivation and significance of these words as gathered from the Purāṇas and other works. And first comes Kāśī. It is derived from the root *kāś* 'to shine.' The Skandapurāṇa¹⁴¹⁸ says that the city of Kāśī became famous by that name because it sheds light on (the way to) nirvāṇa (final release) or because that indescribable refulgence, viz. God Śiva shines forth there. The name Vārāṇasī is derived in several Purāṇas from the names of two streams Varanā¹⁴¹⁹ (modern Bārnā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city. From the passages quoted below from the Skandapurāṇa (Kāśī-khanda) it appears that Asi is the correct form of the name of the river. The names most frequently used in the Purāṇas are Vārāṇasī and Avimukta. In the Jābālopaniṣad¹⁴²⁰ the words Avimukta, Varanā and Nāsī are brought together in an esoteric sense. "Atri asked Yajñavalkya: how is one to know the unmanifested Self? Yajñavalkya explained that he was to be worshipped in Avimukta, since the self is centered in Avimukta. Then a question was asked: in what is Avimukta centered or established? The reply is that Avimukta is established in the midst of Varanā and Nāsī. Varanā is so called because it

1418. काशीतेऽत्र यतो ज्योतिस्तद्गुणेष्वयमीश्वर । अतो नामापरं चास्तु काशीति प्रथितं विभो ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26 67 q by त्रिस्थली० p 88, मायामास तां गङ्गां वैलीपिः पुरतश्चरन् । निर्वाणकाशनायत्र काशीति प्रथिता इति । स्कन्द, काशी० 30 5, काशी ब्रह्मेति विख्यातं तादृशतो जगद्भ्रम । अविमुक्त तदेवाहुः काशीति ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 88.

1419 वरणायास्तथा चास्या मध्ये वाराणसी इती । पञ्च, आदि 33 49, कूर्म I 31 63 (reads हस्या), वरणासी नदी यावत्तावच्छृङ्गनदी (छण्कनदी?) इव वै । मत्स्य 183 62; अस्मिन् वरणा पञ्च क्षेत्रकाकुलौ कृते । वाराणसीति विख्याता तदारभ्य महामते । अस्मैश्च वरणायाश्च सङ्गम माप्य काशिका । स्कन्द, काशी० 30 69-70, वरणा च नदी नासी मध्ये वाराणसी तयो । अग्नि. 112 6 नासी appears to be a misreading for चासी in काशीखण्ड 30 18 there is a pun on the word अस्ति (a sword, the river) 'अस्ति महासिरूपा च माप्य सम्मतिखण्डनीम् ।', दक्षिणोत्तरदिग्भागे कृत्वासिं वरणा इराः । क्षेत्रस्य मोक्ष-निक्षेपक्षानिर्गृतिमायुः ॥ क्षेत्रस्य पश्चादिग्भागे तं देहलिङ्गिनायकम् । काशीखण्ड 30 20-21, वरणा (वरणा?) च असी चापि द्वे नद्यौ सुरवष्टभे । अन्तरालं तयो. क्षेत्रं मध्ये (वध्या?) न विज्ञाते कश्चित् । पञ्च V 14 191 वध्या means हत्या. The धामनपुराण, after stating that काशीक्षेत्र is between वरणा and आसी (3 28 ff) contains a poetic description of वाराणसी with श्लेष quite in the style of Bāna 'तारागणे कुलीनत्वं मेघे वृक्षच्छतिविभो' (v 38).

1420 अथ हैनमत्रि. पञ्च यज्ञवल्क्यम् । य एषोऽनन्तोऽप्येक आत्मा तं कथमहं विजानीयामिति । सहावाच यज्ञवल्क्यः । सोऽविमुक्त उपारय । य एषोऽनन्तोऽप्येक आत्मा सोऽविमुक्तं प्रतिष्ठित इति । सोऽविमुक्त कास्मिन् प्रतिष्ठित इति । वरणाया चास्या च मध्ये प्रतिष्ठित इति । का वै वरणा का च नासीति । सर्वानिन्द्रियकृतान्दोषान्धारयतीति वरणा भवति । सर्वानिन्द्रियकृतान्पापाकाशयतीति तेन नासी भवतीति । कतमच्चारय स्थान भवतीति । भुवो-प्राणस्य च यः सन्धि स एव ब्रह्मोत्तरं परस्य च सन्धिर्भवतीति । जाबालोप० 2nd para;

wards off all faults due to the senses and Nāsi destroys all sins due to the senses. Then a question is asked. what is its location (sthāna)? The reply is that it is the conjunction of the eyebrows and the nose i. e. the upāsana (contemplation) of Avimukta is to be made as located in the span between the eyebrows and the root of the nose." Here it will be seen that Varanā and Nāsi are the names (and not Varana and Asi). The Vāmanapurāṇa employs the form Asi (15.50-53). The same is the case with the Padma.

The name Avimukta has generally been explained as derived from the negative particle 'na' (for which 'a' is substituted) and vimukta (forsaken). Many Purāṇas say that the holy place is so called because it was never forsaken by Śiva (sometimes both Śiva and his consort) ¹⁴²¹ In the Lingapurāṇa another derivation is suggested ¹⁴²² "avi means 'sin'; that holy place is devoid of sin". The Kāśīkhanda (39.74) states that originally the *kṣetra* was called Anandakānana and then Avimukta because though Śiva went to stay on Mandara mountain he did not leave it entirely but left his *liṅga* there

Vārānasi is very dear to Śiva, it gives him joy and therefore it is called Anandavana or Anandakānana. ¹⁴²³ It is also styled Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna for various reasons. As a belief was entertained by all people that death in Banaras freed a man from *samsāra*, and as the thoughts and aspirations of pious Hindus ran in the direction of dying on the sacred soil of Banaras, the old and decrepit crowded therein and persons seriously ill got themselves removed or were removed to the banks of the Ganges when about to die and were cremated there. Cremation of corpses is always seen on the Manikarnika *ghāt* near the Ganges. A śmaśāna (cemetery) is considered impure but Banaras with the sacred Ganges was purest in spite of being always the cremation ground for thousands in a year.

1421. मुने मलयकालेपि न तस्मै कदाचन । शिवो हि शिवस्या यद्विमुक्तं ततो विदुः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी 26.27 q by त्रिस्थली p. 89; लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) 92. 45-46 विमुक्तं न मया यस्मान्मोक्षयते वा कदाचन । मम क्षेत्रमिदं तस्मादपि मुक्तमिति रघुवरः, *Minor's* the same verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 48.24 vide मत्स्य. 180.54 and 181.15, अष्टि. 112.2 and लिङ्ग I. 92. 104

1422. अविशन्वेन वायस्तु वेदोक्तं ऋषयः हिजे. तेन मुक्तं मया श्रुतमपि मुक्तमतो रचनं लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध) 92. 143

1423. यथा प्रियतमा देवि मम त्वं सर्वशुद्धिदहि । तथा प्रियतरं स्वर्गमे मदानन्दानन्दम् ॥ काशीखण्ड 32.111; अविमुक्तं पर क्षेत्रं जन्तूना मुक्तिदं तदा । नैवेन भर्ततं प्रीणा विप्रैः स्मरणान्तिके ॥ लिङ्ग I. 91. 76.

The Skanda says. ¹⁴²⁴ 'sma' means a corpse and 'śāna' means 'lying down'; when the end of the world comes, the great elements lie here as corpses and therefore this place is called Mahāśmaśāna." The Padmapurāna ¹⁴²⁵ makes Śiva say - 'Avimukta is a famous cemetery becoming the Destroyer (or the Time Spirit) I being here destroy the world'. Matsya very frequently speaks of Vārānasi as Śmaśāna. The Kāśikhanda states: if a man after reaching the great cemetery dies there by fate he has never again to lie in the cemetery (i. e. he is not born again).

Although generally Kāśī, Vārānasi and Avimukta are used as synonyms in the Purānas, in some passages a distinction is made between these as to extent. The passages quoted above (in note 1419) show that Vārānasi is bounded by the Varanā and Asi on the north and south, ¹⁴²⁶ the Ganges on the east and the shrine of Vināyaka in the west. Ain. A. (vol II p. 158) remarks that Benares is a large city situated between the rivers Barnā and Asi and that it is built in the form of a bow of which the Ganges forms the string. The Matsyapurāna ¹⁴²⁷ states: 'that ksetra is two *yojanas* and a half east and west and half a *yojana* broad north and south; out of this Vārānasi extends up to the dry river (viz. Asi)'. The first part appears to deal with the entire Kāśīksetra which according to the Padmapurāna ¹⁴²⁸ comprised the tract covered by a circle the radius of which was the line joining Madhyameśvara-linga

1424. इमंश्मशानं शिव भोक्त. ज्ञानं ज्ञायनलुच्यते। निर्वचान्ति इमंज्ञानार्थं सुने शब्दार्थ-
कोविदा। महान्पयि च भूतानि मलये सङ्गपस्थिते। ईरतेच शवा भूत्वा इमंज्ञानं तु ततो महद्।
स्कन्द, काशी 30 103-4; वाराणसीति काशीति शब्दावात् इति हिज। महाइमंज्ञानमित्येवं
भोक्तमानन्दकानन्द। Ibid 30 111.

1425. इमंज्ञानमेतद्विख्यातमविमुक्तमिति श्रुतम्। कालो भूत्वा जगदिदं सहराभ्यञ्ज
सुन्दरि॥ पद्म. I. 33 14, परं ग्रह्य सनाख्यातं इमंज्ञानमिति संज्ञितम्। मत्स्य. 184 5, इमंज्ञान-
मिति विख्यातमविमुक्तं शिवालयात्। मत्स्य. 184.19, क्षेत्राणामुत्तमं चैव इमंज्ञानानां तथैव च।
मत्स्य 184.26, vide also मत्स्य 182 5, महाइमंज्ञानमासाद्य यदि देवादिपृच्छते। पुनः
इमंज्ञानं ज्ञायनं न कापि लभते पुमान्। काशीखण्ड 31.130.

1426 दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्नद्यो वरणासिच पूर्वतः। जाह्नवी पश्चिमे चापि पाशापाणिर्गणेश्वरः॥
पद्म, पातालखण्ड p. 100, तीर्थम. p. 175.

1427. द्विपोजनमपार्थं च तत्क्षेत्रं पूर्वपश्चिमम्। अर्धपोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरम्।
स्मृतम्। वाराणसी तदीया च यावच्छुक्लनदी (शुक्लनदी?) तु वै। एष क्षेत्रत्रय विस्तारः भोक्तो
क्षेत्रं धीमता॥ मत्स्य 184 50-52

1428. मध्यनेश्वरमारभ्य यावदेहलिबिधनयम्। सूत्रं संस्थाप्य तद्विधु आमयेभ्यःश्रद्धालुति।
तत्र या जायते रेखा तन्मध्ये क्षेत्रमुत्तमम्। काशीति पश्चिदुर्वेदास्तत्र मुक्तिः भतिष्ठिता॥ काशीयां तु
परम क्षेत्रं विशेषफलसाधनम्। वाराणसीति विख्यातं तन्मानं निर्गदामि व.॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड p.
by चिरपत्नी p 100, तीर्थम. p 175

with the shrine of Dehali-Ganeśa. The Matsyapurāṇa (in chap. 183.61-62) makes it two yojanas in extent Agn 112 6 also does the same But that is only approximate The actual distance covered by a yojana varied Vide H. of Dh vol III pp. 145-146 n. 185 Rhys Davids in 'Numismata Orientalia' (London, 1877) after examining 30 passages from Pali texts comes to the conclusion that a yojana was equal to about 7 or 8 miles Avimukta is said to be that part of the holy place which is represented by a radius of 200 *dhanus* (1 s. 800 *hasas* or about 1200 feet) in all four directions from the shrine of Viśveśvara.¹⁴²⁹ There was no unanimity on the extent of Avimukta. In Kāśikhaṇḍa Avimukta^{1429a} is said to be five *kośas* in extent But there Avimukta appears to stand for Kāśī. The innermost¹⁴³⁰ circle in the holy Kāśiksetra is defined as that between Gokarnesvara to the west, the mid stream of the Ganges to the east, Bhārabhūta to the north and Brahmesvara to the south. A few more passages on the extent of the sacred place of Banaras may be cited here in one place. The Līngapurāṇa¹⁴³¹ says 'this ksetra is declared to be four *kośas* (in extent) in the four directions and also one yojana'. The Nāradyapurāṇa¹⁴³² puts the extent thus '(The ksetra) extends over two yojanas and a half from east to west and is half a yojana wide from north to south, god Sambhu declared the extent of the ksetra between the rivers Varuṇā and Asī (which latter is) a dried-up stream' In the Padmapurāṇa¹⁴³³

1429. विश्वेश्वरास्तद्विष्णुं धनुः शतयुगोन्मितम् । अविसृक्ताभिर्धेः क्षेत्रं दृक्कितस्त्रयं न संशयः । पक्षः पातालखण्डं च by विरघलीः p. 101, तीर्थचं p. 175. A धनुः is equal to four हस्तः Vide note 1337 above

1429 a अविसृक्त महाक्षेत्रं पञ्चकोशपरिमितम् । उद्योतिर्लिङ्गं तदेकं हि क्षेत्रं विश्वेश्वराभिधम् ॥ काशीखण्ड 26. 31

1430 गोकर्णेशो पश्चिमे पूर्वतश्च गङ्गामध्यस्तत्तरे भारभूतः । ब्रह्मेशानो दक्षिणे संघट्टितस्तु प्रोक्तं भवनं विश्वमर्तुः । पक्षः पातालखण्डं च by विरघलीः p. 101, काशीखण्ड (74 45-46) is similar 'पूर्वतो मणिकर्णेशो ब्रह्मेशो दक्षिणे स्थितः । पश्चिमे चैव गोकर्णं भारभूतस्त्वथोत्तरे' इत्येतदुत्तम क्षेत्रमविसृक्तं महाफलम् ।

1431 चतुःकोणो चतुर्दिक्षु क्षेत्रमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम् । योजनं त्रिंशद्विंशत्युत्तमं सप्तशतं । लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध, 92 99-100 तीर्थचं. p. 340 and विरघलीः p. 103 quote this verse as from स्कन्द

1432 द्वियोजनमथार्धं च पूर्वपश्चिमतः स्थितम् । अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः स्थितम् ॥ वरुणासी नदी यावदस्तिः । सुष्कनदी छेदे । एष क्षेत्रस्य विस्तारः प्रोक्तो देवेन शम्भुना ॥ भारदीय (उत्तर chap 48 18-19).

1433. पञ्चकोशममाणेन क्षेत्रं दत्तं मया तव । क्षेत्रमध्याध्या गङ्गा गमिष्यति सरिदरा । तेन सा महती पुण्या पुरी रुद्र भविष्यति । पुण्या चोदकस्ती गङ्गा यच्च याची सरस्वती । उदकस्ती योजने द्वे गच्छन्ती जाह्नवी नदी ॥ पक्षः (सुष्टिखण्ड 14. 194-196).

Brahmā is supposed to have said to Rudra 'I have given you a ksetra of the extent of five krośas; when the best of rivers, Gangā, will flow through this ksetra, the city will be great and holy, the Ganges, as it flows northwards (in Banaras) for two yojanas, will be holy'. If in any texts there be any differences between the extents of Avimukta, it must be supposed that there is an option, ¹⁴³⁴ (or, as the Tir. C. suggests, the differences refer to different *kalpas* i. e. ages). It is clear that Vārānasi was that strip of land, the four boundaries of which were the Ganges to the east, Asi to the south, the shrine of Dehali-Vinayaka to the west and the river Varanā to the north. In the 7th century Hiouen T'sang, the Chinese pilgrim, notes that Banaras was 18 *lis* (about 3½ miles) in length and about 5 or 6 *lis* (a little more than a mile) in breadth. This makes it clear that the city was then bounded as now by the Varanā and Asi. Vide Beal's B. R. W. W. (vol II p. 44).

Verses laudatory of the greatness and uniqueness of Vārānasi literally run into thousands. All that can be done here is to set out a few characteristic verses. The Vanaparva observes, ¹⁴³⁵ a person coming to Avimukta and resorting to the sacred place becomes free from the sin of brāhmana-murder by merely seeing the (image of the) Lord of gods (i. e. Viśveśvara) and if he dies there he secures *moksa*. The Matsyapurāṇa ¹⁴³⁶ contains many striking passages about the unique greatness of Banaras "Vārānasi is always my most secret place; it is always the cause of moksa for all beings. Moksa may be effected in Prayāga or in this city because I have taken it under my protection, this place is greater than even Prayāga, the foremost among tīrthas. All the sins ¹⁴³⁷ that a man may have

1434. अत्र लैङ्गस्कान्दालोचनया कृत्स्नबाह्वन्धनैः श्वरपोश्वतुर्विधु योजनमितम्-
विमुक्तम् । पासे तु विश्वेश्वरात्सर्वतो धनुःशतद्वयमितम् । तथा चात्र परिमाणविकल्पः ।
त्रिस्थली p. 103.

1435. अविमुक्त समासाद्य तीर्थसिन्धो कुरुद्वह । दर्शनाद्देवदेवस्य मुच्यते ब्रह्महत्याया ॥
प्राणान्मुह्यत्य तत्रैव मोक्ष प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ वनपर्व 84 79-80.

1436. इह श्रद्धातम क्षेत्र सदा वाराणसी मनः । सर्वेषामिव भूतानां हेतुर्नैकस्य सर्वदा ॥
मत्स्य 180. 47 q. by तीर्थकल्पः p. 12 (reads जन्तूनां for भूतानाम्) This is the
same as लिङ्ग, पूर्वार्ध 92. 38, प्रयागे च भवेन्मोक्ष इह वा मत्पतिगृहात् । प्रयागादपि तीर्थ-
न्यादिदमेव महत् स्मृतम् ॥ मत्स्य 180. 56-57 quoted by तीर्थकल्प p. 13 with some
additions. It explains 'इदमेव महत्स्मृतमित्यल्पापासेनैवात्र मोक्षप्राप्तेः'. This is also
लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 92. 48.

1437. जन्मान्तरसहस्रेण यत्पार्ष पूर्वसाञ्चितम् । अविमुक्त भविष्य तत्सर्वं व्रजति क्षयम् ।
... ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैद्या. शूद्रा वै वर्णसङ्कराः । कुमिल्लच्छात्र ये चान्ये सङ्कीर्णाः पापयोनयः ।
फालेन निधन प्राप्ता अविमुक्ते कष्टं यिये । चन्द्रार्धनौलिनः सर्वे ललाटाक्षा वृषध्वजाः । शिवे
मम हुरे देवि मोदन्ते तत्र मानवाः ॥ मत्स्य 181 17-21 = पद्म I 33 17-20, q. by तीर्थकल्पः
p. 15. The verse ब्राह्मणाः occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर 48 51-52).

accumulated in thousands of past lives are destroyed the moment he enters *Avimukta*, *brāhmanas*, *ksatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *sūdras*, persons born of mixed marriages, worms, *mlecchas* and others born of low mixed unions, insects, ants, birds and beasts, when they succumb to death in course of time all find happiness in my auspicious city, all being endowed with a crescent of the moon on their heads, with a (third) eye on their forehead and have a bull as their conveyance." A person,¹⁴³⁸ even though his mind may be addicted to pleasures of sense and though he may have given up devotion to *dharma*, if he dies in this place (*Banaras*) he does not again enter upon the path of *samsāra* (the cycle of births and deaths); a man concentrating his mind for thousands of past lives may secure *Yoga*; but by dying (in *Banaras*) he secures the highest *moksa* in this very life. Even if a man be a sinner¹⁴³⁹ or a rogue or irreligious he becomes free from all sins if he goes to *Avimukta*. Other women,¹⁴⁴⁰ that act as they like and are intently devoted to enjoyments, when they die here by lapse of time secure the highest worlds. In this world *moksa*¹⁴⁴¹ cannot be secured by men without the (practice of) *Yoga*; but in the case of those who reside in *Avimukta* *Yoga* and *moksa* are both secured. For planets,¹⁴⁴² lunar mansions and stars there is the danger of falling (from the sky) in course of time but there is no fall for those who die in *Avimukta*. Whatever¹⁴⁴³ evil actions may have been committed by an evil-minded man or woman, knowingly or unknow-

1438 विषयासक्तचित्तोऽपि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः। इह क्षेत्रे मृत सोऽपि सत्तारं न पुन-
र्विज्ञेत् ॥ जन्मान्तरसहस्रेषु दुष्कृतं योगमवाप्नुयात्। तस्मिन्नेव परं मोक्षं मरणादधिगच्छति॥
मत्स्य. 180, 71 and 74. इह क्षेत्रे—refer to Banaras and इह means अस्मिन् जन्मनि
These two verses occur in लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्धे 92 63 and 65 and काशीखण्ड 86. 122
is similar to the first verse.

1439. यदि पापो यदि ऋढो यदि वाऽधार्मिको नरः। मृच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो ऽविमुक्तं
ब्रजेद्यदि॥ मत्स्य 183. 11. q. by तीर्थकल्प p 18 पर (I. 33. 38) has the first half
and reads the second half as वाराणसीं समासाद्य मुनाति सकलं कुलम्।

1440. अस्या याः कामच्चारिण्याः स्त्रियो भोगपरायणाः। कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता मृच्छन्ति
परमां गतिम्॥ मत्स्य 184. 36.

1441. न हि योगादते मोक्षः प्राप्यते ह्यविमानवैः। अविमुक्ते निवसता योगो मोक्षश्च
सिध्यति॥ मत्स्य 185. 15-16 q by तीर्थकल्प p. 17.

1442. ब्रह्मक्षत्रवताराणां कालेन यतनाद्भयम्। अविमुक्ते मृतानां तु पतनं नैव विद्यते॥
मत्स्य 185. 61 = काशीखण्ड 64.96 (reads कालेन पतनं भुवम्).

1443. अज्ञानाज्ज्ञानतो वापि स्त्रिया वा दुश्चरेण वा। यत्किञ्चिदुद्भवं कर्म कृतं चैव
कुञ्चिन्ना॥ अविमुक्तं प्रविष्टस्य तत्सर्वं भस्मसाद्भवेत्॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 33-34; परं
काशीपुरीवासी म्लेच्छोऽपि हि शुभायतिः। नाम्यत्रयो दीक्षितोपि स हि मुक्तिर्भाजनम्॥ काशी-
85.15.

ingly—all those are reduced to ashes when he enters Avimukta. Even a *mleccha* resident in Kāśī is better, since his future will be blissful, but not one residing elsewhere, though he may be a *dikṣita*, because he will not be a recipient of *mukti*."

In some passages a mystic flavour is imparted to Vārānasi and the rivers. For example, the Kāśīkhanda says that Asi is the Idā nādi, Varanā is the Pingalā nādi, Avimukta is susumnā and Vārānasi is all the three.¹⁴⁴⁴ The Lingapurāna, however, puts the matter somewhat differently. It holds that Asi (the dried-up river), Varanā and Matsyodarī (i. e. Ganges) are respectively the Pingalā, Idā and Susumnā.

It is time now to turn to the individual sacred spots in Banaras. It is stated in some of the Purānas¹⁴⁴⁵ that at every step in the Kāśīksetra there is a holy place and that there is not even as much space as a sesamum seed in Kāśī which has not a *līṅga* (emblem of Śiva). As a matter of fact the Kāśīkhanda names 64 līngas in chap. 10 alone. But one must look to the tīrthas that are specifically named. Hiouen T'sang says that there were one hundred temples at Banaras in his day and he speaks of a temple where the copper image of Deva Maheśvara was a little less than 100 feet high (vide Beal's B R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 44-45). Unfortunately, the fanatical zeal and ruthlessness of Moslem rulers demolished almost all Hindu temples at different times from 1194 to about 1670 A. D. Mosques and mausoleums were erected on their sites, and the materials of the temples thus razed were used in constructing mosques and for serving as breakwaters &c. Kutubdin Aibak destroyed about 1000 temples in 1194 A. D (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol. II p. 222) Alauddin Khilji boasted that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Banaras alone (vide Sherring p. 31, Havell p. 76). About 1585 A. D. Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa re-established the temple of Viśvanātha with the help

1444 सद्योवाचेति जावालिराकण्डसिरिढा नता। वरणा पिङ्गला नादी तदन्तरव-
चिदुक्तम्॥ सा सुपुण्या परा नादी त्रयं वाराणसी त्वसौ॥ स्कन्द, काशी- 5 25, compare
नारदीय (उत्तर) 47 22-23; पिङ्गला नाम या नादी आग्नेयी सा प्रकीर्तिता। शुक्ला सरिञ्च
सा ज्ञेया लोलाको यत्र तिष्ठति॥ इडानाम्नी च या नादी सा सौम्या संप्रकीर्तिता। वरणा नाम
सा ज्ञेया केशवो यत्र संस्थितः॥ आभ्यां नद्ये तु या नादी सुपुण्या सा प्रकीर्तिता॥ मत्स्योदरी
च सा ज्ञेया विपुव तत्प्रकीर्तितम्॥ लिङ्गपुराण p. by तीर्थचि p. 341, त्रिस्थली- pp.
78-79.

1445. तीर्थानि सन्ति भूषांसि काव्यामत्र पदे पदे। न पञ्चनदतीर्थस्य कोट्यंशेन सना-
न्यपि॥ स्कन्द, काशी- 59 118, तिलान्तरापि नो काव्यां भूमिलिङ्गं विना कचिद्। काशी-
खण्ड 10. 103

of Rājā Todarmal¹⁴⁴⁶. Even this temple was desecrated. The following passage from the Ma-A'sir-i-A'lamgiri quoted by Elliot and Dowson ('History of India,' vol. VII, p. 184) is instructive: "It reached the ears of his Majesty, the protector of the faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Mulkān and Benares, but especially in the latter foolish brāhmanas were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools and that students and learners, Musalmāns as well as Hindus, went there even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. 'The Director of the Faith' consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels, and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship. On the 15th Rabiū-lākhīr (i. e. December 1669) it was reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the Unitarians, that in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnath at Benares."

A mosque, which still exists, was built on the site of the Viśveśvara temple by Aurangzeb, who even changed the name of Banaras to Muhammadabad. The result is that, as stated by Sherring (p. 32), it would be difficult to find twenty temples in the whole of Banaras of the age of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A. D.). Many of the temples were built by the Maratha Chiefs and *Sardars* and during the British occupation many more were built. Prinsep calculated in about 1828 that there were in the Banaras city proper 1000 Hindu temples and 333 mosques; a more recent estimate puts the figures at 1454 temples and 272 mosques (Sherring¹⁴⁴⁷ pp. 41-42).

Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal and most holy temple in it (vide n. 1429 a). It is prescribed that every resident of Kāśī must every day bathe in the Ganges and visit the temple of Viśveśvara (vide Tri S. p. 214). After Aurangzeb pulled down the temple of Viśvanātha, there was no shrine of Viśvanātha in Benares for over a hundred years. The *linga* was probably removed from place

1446. Vide Altakar pp. 47-48 and Introduction to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha p. VIII (Poona, 1926), where I cite a verse from the Dānabhāvalī-prakāśa of Divākarabhāta, a daughter's son of Nīlakantha, who was the grandson of Nārāyanabhāta

1447. Havell (p. 76) remarks that there are 1500 temples and that smaller shrines or images in niches of walls or the like are countless.

to place as the vicissitudes of the times required and the pilgrims performed parts of the worship (such as *namaskāra* and circumambulation) at the site of the image, but they could not perform other portions of the worship such as bathing the image with Ganges water¹⁴⁴⁸. The present temple of Viśvanātha was built in the last quarter of the 18th century by *Devī Akalyābāi* Holkar (Aitekar, p. 57). The Tri. S. p. 183, while on the question of the appearance (*prādurbhāva*) of Viśveśvara, observes that there is no blemish in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga due to the touch of the untouchable, that every day Viśveśvara removes it by a bath in Manikarnikā at dawn and the worship offered by Himself and quotes a verse of the Sanat-kumāra-saṁhitā in support¹⁴⁴⁹. What the Tri. S. means is: Generally great care is taken about *lingas*. All and sundry are not allowed to touch them but in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga any one, even a great sinner, may worship it and pour Ganges water over it. Whether Nārāyanabhatta meant that even the so-called untouchables might touch it is not clear.

It appears that Vācaspati^{1449a} holds that Avimukteśvara linga is the same as Viśvanātha, but both the Tristhali-setu (p. 296) and Tir. Pr. (p. 187) reject this idea. The Skandapurāṇa (Kāśī, 10. 93) mentions Viśveśvara and Avimukteśvara as separate *lingas*. Besides worshipping Viśvanātha, every pilgrim to Benares has to visit the five tīrthas¹⁴⁵⁰ (Pañcatīrthi). According to the Matsyapurāṇa the five essential tīrthas in the Ānandakānana of Viśveśvara are Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka,^{1450a}

1448. अत्र यद्यपि विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गं किञ्चिदपनीयतेऽन्यदानीयते च कालवशात्पुरुषै-
स्तथापि तत्स्थानस्थिते यस्मिन्कस्मिंश्चित्पूजादि कार्यम् । .. यद्यपि स्लेष्छादिदुष्टरामवशा-
त्कस्मिन्स्थाने किञ्चिदपि लिङ्गं कदाचित् स्यात् तदापि प्रदक्षिणानमस्काराद्याः स्थानधर्म-
भवन्त्येव । तावदेव च नित्ययात्रासिद्धिः । स्नापनादयस्तु साधिष्ठाना न भवन्तीति निर्णयः ।
त्रिरथलीः p. 208, vide also तीर्थयत्नाः p. 219 (which states that there is no
Śāstric authority for this, but only usage of śāstras).

1449. विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गेऽस्त्युत्पत्त्यर्थानिबन्धनो दोषो नास्ति यस्यहं तेनैव पूजया तस्मिन्-
कारणात् । तदुक्तं तत्रैव (सनत्कुमारसंहितायां) । ब्रह्मे मुहूर्ते मणिकर्णिकायां स्नाना समाराधयति
स्वमेव । अस्त्युत्पत्त्यर्थानिबन्धनाय कलौ नराणां कृपया हिताय ॥

1449 a. आविष्टकस्मशानोभयसंज्ञके क्षेत्रे शिवस्थापितमविस्तुकेश्वरं लिङ्गं विश्वनाथ-
नाम्ना लोकप्रसिद्धम् । तीर्थचि. p. 360

1450 The Pañcatīrthi has received the highest judicial notice in
Maharani Hemanta Kumari v. Gauṛī Shankar 68 I A 53 at p. 57.

1450 a. Lolārka is only one of the shrines of the Sun in Kāśī, vide
Kāśīkhaṇḍa 10 83 (Lolārka-mukhya-sūryāśmāca pranamya ca punah punah)
and 46 45-46, where the shrines of the twelve *Arkas* in Kāśī are enumerated
as Lolārka, Uctārka, Sāmbhāditya &c.

Keśava, Bindumādhava and Manikarnikā.¹⁴⁵¹ In modern times the five essential tirthas called Pañcatirtha are the confluence of the Asi with the Ganges, the Daśāśvamedha ghāt, Manikarnikā, the Pañcagangā ghāt and the confluence of the river Varanā (called Bārṇā by the common people) with the Ganges. This is based on the Kāśikhanda.¹⁴⁵² The shrine of Lolārka is situated at the confluence of the Asi (the southern boundary of Banaras) with the Ganges. The Kāśikhanda¹⁴⁵³ furnishes a popular etymology for the name Lolārka, viz. that the mind of the Sun on seeing Kāśī became agitated. The Asi is a tolerably wide stream (about 40 feet) in the rainy season, but is dry at other times. The several gigantic ghats with their flights of stone steps are a grand sight at Banaras. The Ganges while passing by Banaras takes a great sweep so that its mighty current flows in a northerly direction (that is towards the Himalaya) and is therefore held to be peculiarly holy here. The Daśāśvamedha-ghāt has been famed for centuries. Jayaswal's interpretation of the epithets applied to the Bhāraśivas in Vākātaka grants should be accepted viz. the Bhāraśivas were an imperial dynasty, were crowned with the holy waters of the Ganges and took their ceremonial baths on the Ganges at the end of ten Āśvamedha sacrifices, on account of which the Daśāśvamedha-ghāt¹⁴⁵⁴ at Banaras was so named (Jayaswal's 'History of India' 150 A. D.-350 A. D. p. 5). In order to realize the grandeur of Banaras on the side of the river one must be at

1451. तीर्थानां पञ्चकं सारं विम्बेशानन्दकानने। दशश्वमेध लोलार्कः केसोपि चिन्तु-
माधवः। पञ्चमी तु महाश्रेष्ठा मोक्षयेति मणिकर्णिका। एभिस्तु तीर्थैर्वैश्वं वर्णयेत् त्रिविभुक्तकम् ॥
मन्व्यं 185. 68-69.

1452. प्रथमं चासिसम्मेद तीर्थानां प्रवरं परम् । ततो दशश्वमेधाय सर्वतीर्थनिदे-
वितम् । ततः पादोदकं तीर्थमादिकेशवसन्निधौ । ततः पञ्चनदं गुण्यं स्नानमात्रादयौपदम् ।
एतेषां पञ्चवीर्थानां चतुर्णामपि सत्तमः । पञ्चत मणिकर्णार्थं मनोवपवद्वाङ्मिदम् । पञ्चतीर्थी
नरः स्नात्वा न देहं पाञ्चभौतिकम् । गृह्णाति जातुचित्वाद्या पञ्चार्यो बाभिमजायते । काशीं
106 110 and 114 q. by चिरस्थली p 261, which explains 'यदि देवप्रदणं ददा
पञ्चार्यः शिव एव भवति कर्मनिबन्धनो देहो नास्तीति भावः ।

1453. वर्यार्कस्य मनो लोलं यदासीत्काशिसन्निधौ । अतो लोलार्कं हृत्पुरुषा काश्यं
जाता विवस्वतः ॥ लोलार्कस्त्वसिसम्मेदे दक्षिणस्या दिशि स्थितः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी 46. 18-19.
The shrine of Lolārka is referred to in E. I. vol. V, p. 117 of Vikrama era
1208 (1151 A. D.), a grant of गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kanauj.

1454. 'असंभारसंनिविशितशिवलिङ्गोद्भवशिवसुपरितुष्टसुखत्वादितराजसंज्ञानां पराक्रमा-
धिगतभागीरथयमलजलधूर्धामिदिकानां दशश्वमेधवभूयस्नानानां भारसिगतां महाराजश्रीमय
नागदीहिचरय... । E. I. vol. III, p. 258 (Dudhia plates of प्रवरसेन II) and Fleet's
Gupta Inscriptions (Chammak plate of प्रवरसेन II) p. 236 and p. 245
(Sivan plate of the same king).

the Daśāśvamedhaghāt at dawn. For the eulogy of Daśāśvamedha, vide Kāśikhanda 52. 83 ff and Tri. S. p. 159. The Kāśikhanda says that formerly the tīrtha was called Rudrasaras, but as Brahmā performed ten Āśvamedhas there it came to be called Daśāśvamedha (chap 52. 66-68). The Manikarnikā (also called Mukti-ksetra) pool is the very centre of the religious life of Banaras and ¹⁴⁵⁵ is the most holy among all the Banaras tīrthas. The Kāśikhanda gives a phantastic story of its origin (in chapter 26 verses 51-63 quoted in Tri. S. pp. 145-146): Visnu dug with his discus a puskarini, filled it with the perspiration from his own body and performed severe austerities on its bank for 1050 (or 50000) years. Śiva came there and being pleased shook his head and an ear-ornament studded with jewels fell into the pool, which thenceforward came to be called Manikarnikā. The word is ¹⁴⁵⁶ derived in two ways in the Kāśikhanda. Śiva who is like the wish-yielding jewel whispers in the ear (karnikā) of good men the Taraka mantra at the time of death. The extent of Manikarnikā north to south is said to be 105 *hastas* i. e. about 160 feet (Kāśikhanda 99. 54). In modern times the waters of the Manikarnikā pool become foul and fetid because it is shallow (two or three feet deep), because hundreds of pilgrims cast into it flowers and money by way of worship and because the priests stir the waters with their hands and feet to find the coins dropped by pilgrims. Our methods of worship must be changed. The flowers and gifts should be placed on the banks of the pool and then taken away by the priests. The Tri. S. p. 147 mentions several mantras (two of which are set out below) to be recited when contemplating on Manikarnikā ¹⁴⁵⁷. Near the Manikarnikā pool is the temple of Tārakesvara so named from the belief that Śiva will whisper the mantra called *tāraka* in the ear of

1455. तत्र तावत्सकलतीर्थवरिष्ठाय श्रीमन्मणिकर्णिकाया महिमा। त्रिस्थली p. 142; तथापि सर्वतीर्थानामुत्तमा मणिकर्णिका। नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 66.

1456. सुक्ताकुण्डलपातेन तवाद्रितनयामिव। तीर्थानां परमे तीर्थं सुकिक्षेत्रमिहास्तु वै॥ काशी 26. 66, q. in त्रिस्थली p. 146; ससारिचिन्तामणिरत्र यस्मात् तारकं सज्जनं कर्णिकायाम्। शिवोभिषेते सहस्रान्तकाले तद्दीयतेसौ मणिकर्णिकेति॥ सुकिलस्मीमहापीठं मणिसत्त्वरणाञ्जयोः। कर्णिकेयं तत प्रादुर्या जना मणिकर्णिकाम्॥ काशीखण्ड 7. 79-80 q. by त्रिस्थली p. 148. In the 2nd verse मणि means श्रेष्ठ and the compound is dissolved as मणिश्वात्तौ कर्णिका च, the meaning being that मणिकर्णिका is the jewel among सुकिक्षेत्रs and it is as it were the कर्णिका of the lotus-like feet of मोक्षलक्ष्मी

1457. तथा चैवं मन्त्रः। ओं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं ह्रीं ओं मं मणिकर्णिके नमः। शोम्। इति; तथा चैवं मन्त्रः। ओं मं मणिकर्णिके प्रणवात्मिके नमः। इति। त्रिस्थली p. 147. The second मन्त्र is based on काशीखण्ड 61, 97

the dying man brought to the sacred pool^{1457a} (vide Kāśīkhanda 7.78, 25, 72-73 and 32, 115-116). The Pañcagangā *ghāt* is so called because it is supposed that five rivers, viz the Kiranā,¹⁴⁵⁸ Dhūtāpāpā, Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, meet here (though four of them are invisible) This is very highly eulogised and it is said in the Nāradyapurāṇa and the Kāśīkhanda (59, 118-133) that when a man takes a bath in the Pañcanada he is not born again in a body made up of the five elements. It is said that this confluence of five rivers had different names viz, Dharmanada, Dhūtāpātaka, Bindutīrtha and Pañcanada in Kṛta and the following Yugas respectively The Kāśīkhanda in chap. 59 deals with the confluence of five rivers and gives phantastic legends as to why the rivers were called Kiranā (59, 108-113) and Dhūtāpāpā (59 101-106). The river Varanā is the northern boundary of Vārāṇasī and the end of the *ghāts* on the northern side is reached at the confluence of the Varanā with the Ganges. That the *ghāts* have been there for at least a thousand years can be proved from copperplates and inscriptions. The Gāhadvāla rulers of Kanoy (of whose times at least 55 copperplates and 3 inscriptions on stone were issued during the period 1097 to 1187 A. D.), being devotees of Viṣṇu, several times made grants at the Ādi-Keśava *ghāt*. Vide J. R. A. S. for 1896 p. 787 (king Madanapāla's grant on the occasion of a Sun-eclipse after Mahārājāi Prthivīrīkā took a bath), I. A. vol. 19 p. 249 (grant of Govindacandra in *saṃvat* 1188 i. e. 1131 A. D.), E I 14 p. 197 (Candrādityadeva, who having bathed at Ādikeśava-ghāta¹⁴⁵⁹ at the confluence of the rivers Gangā

1457 a. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नाप्यथा जन्तव. कश्चित् ब्रह्मज्ञानमये केदे प्रयागे वा तदुत्पन्नः ॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाह काशीसंस्थितिभागिनान् । विशोभं तारक ग्रन्थे मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्त्वभात् ॥ काशीखण्ड 32 115-116, vide also काशीखण्ड 86 48 and नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 56, 59-62

1458 किरणा धूतपापा च मुच्यन्तो वा सरस्वती. गङ्गा च यमुना चैव पञ्च नद्यः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ अतः पञ्चनदं नाम तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् । तत्रापुतो न पुनरीयादेहिता पाञ्चभौतीतीर्थम् ॥ अस्मिन्पञ्चनदीनां तु सङ्गमेऽप्यभेदने । स्नानमात्राकरो याति भिक्षा ब्रह्मण्डमण्डपम् ॥ कृते धर्ममव नाम त्रेतायां धूतपापकम् । ह्यपरे विन्दुतीर्थे च कलौ पञ्चनदं स्मृतम् ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 51, 15-18 and 35-36 and काशीखण्ड 59, 115-117 (reads देह ना पाञ्चभौतिकम्) and 136.

1459 देवश्रीमदादिकेशवक्षिणमूर्ति ... अद्यास्ततृतीयायां युगाविषर्गणि .. आदिः केशवधदे स्नात्वा... वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय . पितृपिण्डवर्जं निर्वश्य उपरि लिखितयामा... कोकणकुक्षीवृत्तकतलोदकपूर्व- मन्त्राः । E I 14 p. 197 at p. 198 For अक्षयतृतीया as one of the four युगादेतिथिः vide n. 841 above. That there were several images of Keśava is expressly stated by the काशीखण्ड 10 32 (आदिकेशवमुख्याश्च केशव-श्वरिसौख्य च) Prof. Altekar observes (p. 28) that the Ādikeśava-ghāt, once a royal favourite, is now in a dilapidated condition and is rarely visited by pilgrims.

and Varanā bestowed on 500 brāhmanas 30 villages on the Aksayya-tṛtiyā of *saṃvat* 1156). Those rulers made grants at other ghāts and sacred spots also. For example, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 97 ff (21 copperplates of Gāhadvālas, of which H in *saṃvat* 1178 speaks of the grant of a village after a bath at the Kapāla-mocana-ghatta at Banaras where the Ganges flows towards the north, grant L p 114 of *saṃvat* 1197 made on a queen taking a bath at the ghatta of god Vedeśvara in Avimuktaksetra; grant S. mentions god Kṛtīvāsa; grant U. is made to the temple of Lolārka by Jayacandra in *saṃvat* 1233), E. I. vol. VIII p. 149 (five copperplate grants of Govindacandra in *saṃvat* 1207 i. e. 1156 A. D. after a bath at Kotitirtha on Uttarāyana-sankrānti). The Kāśī-khanda promises Varuna-loka to those charitable people that build stone ghāts on the sacred rivers ¹⁴⁶⁰.

One of the most meritorious of all pilgrimages is the Pañcakrośī by road. Lakṣmīdhara in his section on Tirthas in the Kṛtyakalpataru apparently takes no notice of it. The length of the Pañcakrośī road is about 50 miles and there are hundreds of shrines on the road. Taking Manikarnikā as the centre the whole road describes an irregular semicircle round the city of Banaras with a radius of five krośas (about ten miles) and hence it is called pañcakrośī. The word 'pañcakrośī' occurs very often in the Kāśīkhanda (as in chap 26, verses 80 and 114, chap 55 44). This pilgrimage may be very briefly described as follows.—The pilgrim starts from the Manikarnikā-ghat and going along the bank of the Ganges arrives at the confluence of the river Asi with the Ganges and halts for the day at a village called Khāndava about six miles from Manikarnikā. The 2nd day's march (for eight or ten miles) ends at the village called Dhūpacandī where he offers worship to the goddess of that name. On the 3rd day the pilgrim walks 14 miles to the village Rameśvara. On the 4th day he walks eight miles and reaches the village Śivapura. On the 5th day he walks 6 miles and reaches the village Kapiladhārā, where the pilgrim offers oblations to his pitrs. On the 6th day he walks from Kapiladhārā to Varanāsangama and thence to Manikarnikā, a distance of six miles. It is the practice for pilgrims to scatter grains of barley from Kapiladhārā to Manikarnikā. The pilgrim bathes, pays *dakṣiṇā* to the priest and then goes to the temple of Saksi-Vināyaka who is supposed to bear witness to the pilgrim's having performed the Pañcakrośī-yātrā.

¹⁴⁶⁰. घटान्दुष्यन्ति न्यपादेर्वन्धयन्ति शिलादिभिः । सोयार्थिस्तुलसिद्धयर्थं ये नरास्तेन भोगिनः॥ स्कन्द, काशी. 12. 59.

There are numerous other sub-tirthas in Banaras, some of which may be briefly noticed here. The Jñānavāpi may be mentioned first. The story of its origin is narrated in the Kāśikhanda, chap. 33. The Tri. S (pp. 148-150) refers to it. It is said that when Śiva (Īśāna) saw the Viśveśvara-linga a desire arose in him to bathe with its cool water. He dug a *kunda* with his trident to the south of the temple of Viśveśvara and with the water therefrom he bathed Viśveśvara-linga and Viśveśvara granted the boon that the tirtha would be superior to all tirthas and that, as Śiva is knowledge (verse 32), the tirtha would be called Jñānoda or Jñānavāpi. One of the most popular and the most frequented temple is that of Durgā. In chap. 72 (verses 37-65) of the Kāśikhanda there is a Durgāstotra called Vajra-pañjara which is referred to in Tri. S. p. 161. There is a temple of Bhairavanātha about a mile to the north of the temple of Viśveśvara. He is the *Kotwal* or police Magistrate of Kāśī and wields a stone cudgel (of enormous thickness). His *vāhana* is a dog. Vide Kāśikhanda, chap. 30, for Bhairava. There are many temples of Ganeśa. The Tri. S. (pp. 198-199) names 56 Ganeśas and indicates their locations, following Kāśikhanda, chap. 57 59-115 (*sat-pañcāśad-Gajamukhān-etan-yah samsmarisyati*). In Kāśikhanda (57.33) the name Dhundhi applied to Ganeśa is derived from the root 'dhudhi' in the sense of 'searching' (anvesane dhudhir-nyam prathitostī dhātuh). Compare the Marathī verb dhundane.

The Tri. S. discusses at some length (pp. 98-100) the question whether sins committed in all past lives are destroyed by entering Kāśī or whether it is only the sins committed during the present life that are destroyed. Some hold the view that sins committed in this life only are destroyed by visiting Kāśī and by bath in the various sacred spots the sins of previous lives are destroyed. Others hold that by entering Kāśī the sins of all past lives are destroyed, but bath at various sacred spots brings about only the cessation of the tendency to sin in different lives. Nārāyanabhatta puts forward several other views and says that wise men should hold the view that appears proper.

Many of the purāṇas lay down rules about how one dwelling in Kāśī should act. The injunction is that in Kāśī one should not commit the slightest sin, since the punishment is far more heavy. The Matsya (chap. 185. 17-45) and Kāśī-khanda, chap. 96, narrate the story of Vyāsa, who while wandering about for alms in Kāśī, did not secure alms and

being hungry and angry was on the point of cursing Kāśī in the words quoted below ¹⁴⁶¹ when Śiva coming to know his mind assumed the form of a householder, gave him the best of food and ordered Vyāsa not to enter Kāśīkaśetra as he was an irritable man, but allowed him to do so on the 8th and 14th *tithis* only. The Kāśīkhanda 96. 12-80 and 119-180 speak at great length about how one residing in Kāśī should conduct himself.

Some miscellaneous matters in connection with Banaras may be set out here. Vārānasi being a great tirtha, śrāddha for the benefit of ancestors should be performed there and if it is not possible to perform a śrāddha with all details, at least offerings of pindas should be made.¹⁴⁶² The construction of *mathas* for those who practise penance there and endowing them with means for their maintenance are highly eulogized.¹⁴⁶³

In the 12th century A. D. there was a Kapālamocanaghāt¹⁴⁶⁴ situated on the Ganges. In a grant published in E. I. vol. IV p. 110 dated *samvat* 1178 (1122 A. D.) the Emperor Govindacandra bestowed a village on a brāhmana named Vyāsa after bathing at the Kapāla-mocanaghāta in Banaras where the Ganges flows to the north. The story of Kapālamocana-tirtha is narrated in the Matsya-purāṇa, chap. 183. 84-103 and a reference is made to it in Kāśīkhanda 33. 116.

It may be noted that in the Lingapurāṇa, pūrvārdha, chap. 92 verses 67-100, in Padma,^{1464a} Ādikhanda, chap. 34-37,

1461 तीर्थं चालीर्यता यादु नगरं ज्ञापयाम्यहम् ॥ मा भूत्त्रिपौरुषी विद्या मा भूत्त्रि-
पौरुष धनम् । मा भूत्त्रिपौरुषं सख्यं प्पासी वाराणसीं ज्ञापय ॥ अविशुक्ते निवसतां जनानां
शुण्यकर्मणाम् । विष्णुं ह्यजानि सर्वेषां येन सिद्धिर्न विद्यते ॥ मत्स्य 185. 21-23, q. by कल्प-
on तीर्थ (p 28) The verse मा भूत् is Kāśīkhaṇḍ 96 125.

1462. मनुष्यैः पिण्डदानादि कार्यमन्नागतैः सदा । पिण्डदानं च तत्रैव ह्युच्यते
कार्यमादरात् । ह्युच्यतेऽस्ते पितॄणां तु भवन्ति सुखदायकाः । q. by विस्थली p 129.

1463. मठानपि तत्प्रतिष्ठः कारयित्वात्र योऽर्पयेत् । जीवनोपायसंयुक्तान् सोऽपि
सर्वफलाश्रयः ॥ q. by विस्थली. p. 133.

1464. Dr Altschkar (pp 28-29) notes that at present a *ghāt* and a tank near the Rajaghat station is known by the name Kapālamocanaghāt, that there exists a temple near this tank dedicated to Kapālamocanesvara and that the god must have been removed from the original place to the present habitation at some time during the last 700 years.

1464 a. Kūrma I. 32 3-29 about Omkāra and other Lingas are the same as Padma I 34 1-25 (with some half verses omitted) and Kūrma I. 33 is taken over bodily in Padma I. 35 and Kūrma I 34. 2-16 are the same as Padma I 37. 1-19 (with a few additions)

Kūrma I. 32, 1-12 and I. 35, 1-15 (tirthas) and in the Kāśīkhanda, chap. 10, 86-97, chap. 33, chap. 53, 27 ff., chapters 55, 58 and 61 numerous lingas and tirthas of Banaras are named. The Kāśīkhanda, chap. 73, 32-36 (quoted by Tri. S. pp. 264-265) mentions 14 of these as Mahālingas, viz. Omkāra, Trilocana, Mahādeva, Kṛttivāsa, Ratneśa, Candreśvara, Kedāra, Dharmēśa, Viśeśvara, Kameśa, Viśvakarmēśvara, Manikarnīśa, Avimukta, Viśveśvara. It is provided in Kāśīkhanda 73 39 that yātrās of these main lingas should be celebrated every month from the 1st tithi onwards. In Kāśīkhanda 73, 45-48 there is another series of fourteen great lingas different from those in chap. 73, 32-36. Fourteen āyatana are named in Kāśīkhanda 73, 60-62.^{1464b} Twelve out of these are specified as lingas in Lingapurāna I, 92, 67-107. In Kāśīkhanda chapters 83 and 84 are enumerated about 125 tirthas of Banaras. In chap. 94, 36 of the Kāśīkhanda 36 principal lingas are referred to (14 Omkāraśādi, 8 Dakṣeśvaraśādi and 14 Śaileśādi). From considerations of space the other lingas and tirthas are not mentioned here. But out of all these Viśveśvara is said to give quick results.

It is laid down that every one residing in Kāśī must repair every day to the Ganges, take a bath in the Manikarnikā and visit Viśveśvara.¹⁴⁶⁵

What happens if a person commits sins outside Kāśī, comes to Kāśī and then dies, or if a resident of Kāśī commits sins in Kāśī but dies either at Kāśī or outside it? The Tri. S. after quoting several verses from the Kāśīkhanda, Padmapurāna and Brahmayāvarta states the following conclusions (p. 268). Sins committed elsewhere are destroyed by coming to Kāśī.¹⁴⁶⁶ He who residing in Kāśī is always addicted to sins becomes a *piśāca* (goblin) for thirty thousand years, again dwells in Kāśī, secures highest knowledge and then obtains

1464 b शैलेषा सद्यमेकाश्च स्वर्लीनो मध्यमेश्वरः । हिरण्यगर्भ ईशानो गोमिश्रो पुष्पभञ्जनः । उपशान्तिशिवो ज्येष्ठो निवासेश्वर एव च । छुकेशो व्याघ्रलिङ्गः च जम्बुकेशः चतुर्दशम् ।
मुने चतुर्दशैवानि महान्त्यायतनानि वै ॥ काशी ७३. ६०-६३ q by त्रिस्थली ७ p. 263.

1465. यात्राद्वयं प्रयत्नेन कर्तव्यं प्रतिवासरम् । एका स्वर्गतरङ्गिण्यास्ततो विश्वेसितुः परा ॥ काश्या लिङ्गान्यनेकानि काश्या तीर्थान्यनेकशः । तथापि सेषो विश्वेशः स्नातव्या भणिकार्यका ॥ काशीखण्ड 100 101 q in त्रिस्थली ७ p. 266

1466 अन्यत्र विहितं पाप नश्येत्काशीनिरीक्षणात् ॥ काश्या कृतानां पापानां दारुणेयं तु यातना ॥ काशीखण्ड 33.115, Vide also काशी ७३.22 'काश्या तु पर्यटनं पापं त्वयैवाचमयदमम् ।'.

mokṣa. Those who being residents of Kāśī commit sins have not to undergo the tortures of Yama whether they die in Kāśī or elsewhere. Those who after committing sins in Kāśī die there will be punished by Kālabhairava. Those who die elsewhere (after committing sins in Kāśī) first undergo torments inflicted by the *ganas* of Śiva called Yāma, then undergo torments inflicted by Kālabhairava for thirty thousand years, are then born as mortal men, then die in Kāśī and secure release (from *samsāra*) at the end.

It is remarkable that the *Kāśīkhanda*¹⁴⁶⁷ states that a little to the north of Kāśī, Viṣṇu assigned a place for his residence called Dharmakṣetra and that there Viṣṇu assumed the form of Buddha. This is a clear reference to Śārnath about five miles by road to the north of Banaras, where Buddha delivered his first sermon. The general rule for ascetics is that for eight months they must move from place to place and may spend the four months of the rainy season or two months in one place; but this rule is abrogated where ascetics enter Banaras and it is laid down that they should not leave Kāśī at all.^{1467a}

The *Kāśīkhanda* remarks 'For devotees of Śiva who are full of faith there is, even in great calamities, no other remedy except the water of the feet of the image of God. Incurable diseases even, whether affecting the body outside or inside, are got rid of by the touch with faith of the water of (washing the image of) the deity.' This reminds one of the miraculous cures believed to have been effected by the water of a pool at Lourdes in the first years of this century.^{1467b}

It would be far beyond the scope of this section to dilate upon the great traditions of learning associated with the name of Banaras. It is sufficient to refer to Alberuni (vol. I. p. 173) who observed that Banaras and Kashmir were the

1467. किञ्चित्काश्मीरसुदीर्घा च गत्वा देवेन चक्रिणा । स्वस्थिरयै कल्पितं स्थानं धर्मक्षेत्रमिवीरितम् ॥ ततस्तु सौमत्वं रूपं शिवाय श्रियति. स्वयम् ॥ ch. 58 71-72.

1467 a. अद्य मासा विहारस्य यतीना संयतात्मनाम् । एकत्र चतुरो मासात् मासौ वा निवसेद्युतः । अविमुक्ते प्रविष्टानां विहारस्तु न विद्यते । मोक्षो ह्यसंशयस्तत्र पञ्चत्वं तु गतस्य वै ॥ मत्स्य 184. 32-34 q. by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p 24. The same verses (with slight variations) are स्कन्द, काशी. 86. 112-113. The general rule for an ascetic is stated in विष्णुपुराण III. 9. 28 'एकरात्रस्थितिर्यामि पञ्चरात्रस्थितिः शुभे'.

1467 b अद्भुतवर्ता स्वभक्तानामुपसर्गे महत्यपि । नोपायास्तरमस्त्येव विनेशचरणोत्सकम् ॥ ये स्पाद्यपोऽपि दुःसास्या बहिरन्तः शरीरगाः । अद्भुतेशोदकस्पर्शान्ति नश्यन्त्येव नापथा ॥ काशीखण्ड 67. 82-83.

'high schools of Hindu Sciences,' to *Ain. A.* vol. II, p. 158 'from time immemorial it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan' and to *Kāśikhanda*, chap. 96. 121 that states that Kāśī is the home of learning (*vidyānām sadanam Kāśī*). Vide Prof. Altakar's 'History of Benares' pp. 23-24 and *I. A.* vol. 41 pp. 7-13 and 245-253 for some learned families of Banaras

CHAPTER XIV

GAYĀ

Gayā occupies a unique place in the hearts of all pious Hindus even in these days. Hundreds of pages have been written about the history, the antiquities, the architectural remains of Gayā, the sacred places in and round about Gayā, the śrāddha rites performed in Gayā and about *Gayāwāls* (the priests of Gayā). It is not possible to deal with this vast mass in this work. But it is impossible not to say a few words about the many conflicting views on certain important matters put forward by scholars for about three quarters of a century. Those who are deeply interested in the history and antiquities of Gayā should carefully read the following books and papers; Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's 'Buddha-Gayā' with 51 plates (1878); General Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' with 31 plates at the end (1892); L. S. S. O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Gayā, vol. XII and J. A. S. B. for 1903 LXXII, No. 3, pp. 1-11 on 'Gayāśrāddha and Gayāwāls'; Indian Antiquary, vol. X pp. 339-340 for a Chinese Inscription at Buddha Gayā dated in a Chinese date corresponding to 1033 A. D. and pp. 341-347 for Inscriptions at Gayā, one of which is engraved in a temple of the Sun near a tank 'Dakṣinamānasa' near the Viṣṇupada, dated 1813 years after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa; Indian Antiquary, vol. 16 pp. 63 ff Inscription of Yaksapāla, son of Viśvāditya, which records the building of a temple for certain images in the 15th regnal year of the Pāla king Nayapāladeva who died in 1045 A. D., edited by Kielhorn; Dr. Benimādhav Barua's 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' in two volumes (1934) with plates; Journal of Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 24 (for 1938) pp. 89-111 where Dr. J. C. Ghose deals with 'the antiquity of Gayā.' Some of the remarks of Dr. Ghose are most unwarranted and cannot be accepted, such as holding 'maganda' in 'Pramagandasya' in Rg. III. 53. 14 as identical with Magadha and the explanation of 'udantyaḥ' in the Ait. Br. as 'people of sunrise'. Among medieval digests Gayā is dealt with in Kalpataru on Tīrthas pp. 163-174, Tīrthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati pp. 268-328, Tristhaḷisetu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa pp. 316-379, Tīrthaprakāśa pp. 384-452, Tīrthenduśekhara pp. 54-59, Tristhaḷisetu-sāra-saṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji pp. 56-58.

The most important work on Gayā relied upon in such works as the *Tristhali-setu* and in modern times is the *Gayā-māhātmya* that occurs at the end of the *Vāyupurāṇa* (chapters 105-112 of the *Ānandāśrama* ed.). Scholars differ about the antiquity of these chapters. *Rajendralal Mitra* assigned the *Gayā-māhātmya* to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. *O'Malley* was inclined to hold that the legend of *Gayāsura* was invented in the 14th or 15th century, principally on the ground that the *Gayāwals* profess the *Vaiṣṇava* faith established by *Madhvācārya*¹⁴⁶⁸ and acknowledge as their spiritual head the *mahant* of *Hari Narasimhapura*; vide *J. A. S. B.* vol. LXXII (1903) p. 4. To my mind there is hardly anything in this. The *Gayāwals* are notorious for their indolence, dissoluteness and ignorance and they are a dying race. *O'Malley* himself notes in the paper mentioned above (at p. 8) that originally the families of *Gayāwals* were 1484, that in *Buchanan Hamilton's* time they numbered about 1000, that in 1893 a *Gayāwal* counted 128 families, that in the census of 1901 there existed only 168 males (as pure *Gayāwals*) and 153 females. *Gayā* is a place sacred to *Viṣṇu* and if the *Gayāwals* had to turn in medieval times for support to some great *ācārya* they would naturally choose to align themselves with the *Vaiṣṇava ācārya Madhva* rather than with *Śaṅkara*. *Dr. Barua*, after an elaborate examination of the several items of evidence, holds 'that' the *Gayā-māhātmya* is not earlier than the 13th or 14th century A. D. (vol. I, p. 64 of '*Gayā and Buddha Gayā*'). From considerations of the space at my disposal I cannot examine in detail his arguments. His conclusion is vitiated mainly for two reasons. He relies too much on the dubious and unconvincing argument from silence. He examines the account of *Gayā* that appears in the *Vanaparva* and compares it with the fuller account in the *Gayā-māhātmya* and arrives at the rather startling conclusion 'The *Gayā* proper as known to the Epic (the *Mahābhārata*) is essentially a place sacred to *Yama*, *Dharmarāja*, *Brahmā* and *Śivaśūlin*, and *Viṣṇu* and *Vaiṣṇavism* has no place in it either as a name or as an idea. Except

¹⁴⁶⁸ There is conflict about the dates of *Madhvācārya's* birth and death. The *Uttarādi-maṭha* records give śaka 1040 (1118 A. D.) and śaka 1120 (1198 A. D.) as the dates of his birth and death respectively. This is said to conflict with the date given in *Madhva's* महाभारतार्थनिर्णय viz. that he was born in वनकलि 4300. In a paper published in the *Journal of the Annamalai University*, vol. III for 1934 pp. 245 ff. the correct dates are said to be 1238 A. D.-1317 A. D.

Brahmayūpa, Śivalīṅga and Vṛsabha there is no reference to any structural erection nor any iconic suggestion'. In order to show how this conclusion is not at all justified the references to Gayā in the Epic and other Sanskrit works will have to be set out and compared with each other and with the Gayāmāhātmya. The second reason that vitiates Dr. Barua's conclusion is the wrong interpretation that he puts on verse 12 of the Inscription edited by Kielhorn in I. A. vol 16.

I shall now turn to the name Gayā and references to it or similar names from the Rgveda downwards. A Gaya, son of Plati, is the reputed author of two hymns of the Rgveda (X. 63 and X. 64). In Rg X. 63. 17 and X. 64. 17 we have the words 'astāvī jano divyo Gayena' (the divine host was praised by Gaya). So Gaya was a proper name applied to a composer of Rgvedic hymns. In the Rg, the word Gaya has several other senses, which are not material here. In the Atharvaveda (I. 14.4) Gaya appears to be a wonder-worker or a sorcerer along with Asita and Kasyapa. Even in the Vedic Samhitās Asuras, Dasas and Raksasas are credited with tricks and magic. Vide Rg VII 99.4, VII. 104.24-25 and Atharva IV. 23. 5. It is not difficult to imagine how a sorcerer Gaya could have been transformed into Gayāsura later on. Proceeding further, the Nirukta¹⁴⁶⁹ while explaining 'idam Viṣṇu-vi cakrame tredhā nidadhe padam' (Rg. I 22. 17) gives two very interesting interpretations, one explaining the verse as a natural phenomenon and the other explaining it from geographical or legendary points of view 'He (Viṣṇu) puts down his foot in three ways. According to Śakapūni, Viṣṇu plants his foot on the earth, in mid air (sky) and heaven; according to Aurnavābha, on Samārohana, on Viṣṇu-pada and on Gayāsiras.' Whatever the Vedic verse may mean, it is clear that two interpretations had arisen several centuries before Christ and if the usual dates about Buddha's *nirvāna* are accepted Aurnavābha and Yāska both flourished before Buddha. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII pp. XXII-XXIII for Buddha's *nirvāna* being placed at 483 B. C. according to Ceylonese chronicle, while some western scholars would place it between 429-400 B. C.¹⁴⁷⁰ Gayāsiras is named in the Vanaparva (87.

1469 त्रैधा निधत्ते पदम् । पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शक्यपुणिः । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयसिरसि-इति और्णवामः । निरुक्त 12 19.

1470. The Nirukta is placed not later than at least 500 B. C. by most Sanskrit scholars. Aurnavābha is earlier than the Nirukta. Vide History of

11, 95, 9), in the Visnudharma-sūtra 85.4 (in the form Gayāśīrsa), Vāmanapurāṇa (22,20 as the eastern *vedi* of Brahmā), Skanda I, 2, 13.21 and even in the Buddhist books such as the Mahāvagga (I 21, 1, S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134) in which last it is said that after having dwelt at Uruvelā, Buddha accompanied by a thousand *bhikkhus* went to Gayāśīrsa (which is the Pali equivalent of Gayāśīrsa). Traditions of Gaya as a king of the territories round about Gayā are mentioned in Jaina and Buddhist works. The Uttarādhyayanasūtra (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 86 and note 3 there) states that he was son of king Samudravijaya of Rājagṛha and became the 11th Cakravartin. The Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosa states that Buddha visited the hermitage called a city of the royal sage Gaya, that the saint (future Buddha) fixed his dwelling on the pure bank of the Nairajānā river (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 132, Canto XII, 87-88) and p. 193 (chap. XVII, 8 of the same work) and that Buddha went to the hermitage of Kāśyapa at Gayā called Uruvilvā. The same work (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 192) speaks of Dharmatāpī where dwelt 700 ascetics whom Buddha helped to enter *nirvāṇa*. Visnupada occurs in the Visnudharmasūtra 85.40 as a holy place very fit for śrāddha. In my opinion at least Aurnavābha held that in a particular region there were three places on which according to the legends current in his day the foot-prints of Viṣṇu's foot could be seen¹⁴⁷¹. Two of

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Sanskrit literature by Winternitz, vol. I p. 69 (English tr.). Scholars are not agreed about the exact location and extent of Gayāśīrsa. Rajendralal in 'Buddha-gayā' p. 19 says 'Gayāśīrsa is not the Brahmayoni hill but a low spur of it to the north-east about a mile in area forming the site of the old town of Gayā. This Gayāśīrsa is the most sacred spot in Gayā.' Dr. Barna (vol. I p. 246) 'Gayā proper is still sandwiched between the Phalgu and a small set of hills containing some 25 hill-tops with Gayāśīra or Gayāśīra (Brahmayoni) in the south-west &c'. Both are, however, agreed that Gayāśīrsa is part of the ancient Gayā region. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134 n. 1 about Cunningham's view that गयसीस is the ब्रह्मयानि hill near Gayā.

1471. I am not unmindful of the fact that in the Iron Pillar Inscription of a king called Candrar at Meherauli (nine miles south of Delhi) the last verse reads *देवाय प्रणिवाय धूमिपतिना . . . अश्वविष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजस्थापितः* (Gupta Inscriptions, No 32 at p. 141). This shows that near Delhi there was a hill called विष्णुपद. But there is nothing to show that there was a place called गयशिरस् near it. Hence विष्णुपद and गयशिरस् being taken together point out to Gayā. The Inscription is undated but looking to the characters it would not be far wrong to assign it to a period near Samudra-

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these, Viṣṇupada and Gayāśiras are well-known; hence it would not be unreasonable to hold that 'Samārohana' is a place and has to be located somewhere near the other two. Samārohana means 'mounting up' or 'ascending'. This word probably refers to the ascent of the hill that rises up from the river Phalgu. It is also possible that it is the same as the Udyanta hill echoing with the warbling (of birds) ¹⁴⁷² I therefore hold that at least 600 years before Christ (and hence even before Buddha) there was a tradition about Viṣṇu's footprints in at least two well-known places viz. Viṣṇupada and Gayāśiras (both in Gayā). Even if some other work does not mention any one of these it does not follow from mere non-mention that that spot was not so named or did not exist.

Let us now turn to the Vanaparva. Dr. Barua mainly relies on Vanaparva 84. 82-103 and 95. 9-29. But some preliminary remarks must be made before the two passages are examined.

The Nārādiya-purāṇa (uttara, 46. 16) states that Gayāśiras extends from Krauñcapada to Phalgutirtha.

Vanaparva chapter 82 sets out Puṣṭya's replies to Bṛiṣma's question about tīrthas. First comes Puṣṭya (verses 20-40), then Jambumārga, Tandulikaśrama, Agastyaśarah, Mahākālā, Kotitīrtha, Bhadravata (Sthānutīrtha), Narmadā, Prabhāsa and several other tīrthas (not in any particular order but selected at random). In chap. 83 Kurukṣetra is described at some length.

Before discussing the most important passage of the Vanaparva (viz. 84. 82-103) we must see what precedes the description of Gayā. Dr. Barua and many of those that have written on this passage have not carefully considered the implications of verses 1-81 of chapter 84 and also of the following chapters. In Vanaparva 84. 1-81 the author makes Dhaumya name

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gupta. Therefore Viṣṇu's footprint existed on a hill near Delhi in the 4th century A. D. There is no sound reason advanced why it could not have existed at Gayā about the same time or even earlier. Besides in the Rām. 11. 68. 19 a विष्णुपद south of the river विपाशा is mentioned.

¹⁴⁷² Dr. Barua regards गीतनादित in Vanaparva 84. 93 as the name of a peak (vol I p. 246). But this appears to be wrong. It is an adjective of उद्यन्त (पर्वत) that immediately precedes. I have not come across any peak called गीतनादित in any other work and Dr. Barua does not cite any other text in support of his view. उद्यन्त would mean 'the hill of sunrise,' not necessarily for the whole of Āryāvarta but in the place where both विष्णुपद and गयशिरस् were situated.

about 57 holy places (including such famous ones as Naimisa, Sakambhari, Gangādvāra, Kanakhala, the confluence of Gangā and Yamunā, Kubjāmraka) and then comes to speak of the sacred spots in Gayā¹⁴⁷³ It is therefore clear that the intention of the author is not to speak exhaustively about any tirtha. For this reason some tirthas are described twice in the Vanaparva. For example Naimisa is very highly praised in chap. 84, 59-64 and again in chap. 87, 6-7. The same happens with regard to Gayā in 85.82-103 and 87.8-12. We cannot at all presume

1473. The verses relating to गया in वनपर्व 84 are set out in full here. ततो गयां समासाद्य ब्रह्मचारी समाहितः । अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति कुलं चैव सङ्गृह्येत् ॥ तत्राप्यवधौ नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः । तत्र दत्तं पितृभ्यस्तु भवत्पक्षपशुच्यते ॥ महानद्यामुपसृज्य तपेद्द्विपितृदेवताः । अक्षयान्मामुपात्तं लोकाच्च कुलं चैव सङ्गृह्येत् ॥ ततो ब्रह्मसरो गत्वा धर्मारण्येषो- भितम् । ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति प्रभातमेव शर्वरीम् ॥ ब्रह्मणा तत्र सरासिं यूपमेष्ट. सङ्गृह्येत् । यूपं प्रक्षिणीकृत्वा वाजयेयफलं लभेत् ॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्रं धेनुकं लोकविश्रुतम् । एकराशो- वितो राजन् प्रपच्छेत् तिलधेनुकाय ॥ सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा सोमलोकं ब्रजेद् ध्रुवम् । तत्र चिद्वं महद्वाजस्यैवापि सुमहद् भुवम् । कपिलायाः सवत्सायाश्चरन्त्याः पर्यन्ते कृतम् । सवत्सायाः पदानि स्म हव्यन्तेऽपि भारत ॥ तेनपशुच्य राजेन्द्रं पदेषु ह्यपसत्तमः । यत्किंचिद्वज्रं कर्म तत्प्रणव्यति भारत ॥ ततो युध्नवदं गच्छेत्स्थानं देवेषु धीमतः । ज्ञापीतं अस्मना तत्र अभिगम्य वृषध्वजम् । ब्राह्मणेन भवेद्धीर्णं व्रतं द्वादशवार्षिकम् । इतरेषां तु वर्णानां सर्वेषां प्रणयति ॥ उद्यन्तं च ततो गच्छेत् पर्वतं शीतनादितम् । सावित्र्यास्तु पदं तत्र हव्यते भरतर्षभ ॥ तत्र सङ्ख्याहृपासीत ब्राह्मणः सक्षिप्ततः । तेन ह्यपास्ता भवति सङ्ख्या द्वादशवार्षिकी ॥ योनि- ह्वारं च तत्रैव विश्रुतं भरतर्षभ । तत्राभिगम्य ध्रुवेषु ध्रुवो योनिस्तद्वदात् ॥ कृष्णलुङ्गाडुभौ पक्षौ गवायां यो वत्सेजः । हुनात्यासत्तमं राजन् कुलं नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ एष्टव्या... ह्यपशुच्येत् ॥ ततः फल्गुं ब्रजेद्वाजन् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप । अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति सिद्धिं च महतीं ब्रजेत् ॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्रं धर्मप्रसंगं समाहितः । तत्र धर्मो महाराज नित्यमास्ते सुविष्टिरः । तत्र कूपोदकं कृत्वा तेन स्नानं श्रुत्वितथा । पितृदेवास्तु सन्तर्प्यं शुक्रपायो दिव ब्रजेत् ॥ पतङ्गस्याश्रमस्तत्र महर्षेर्भावितस्मनः । तं प्रविश्याश्रमं श्रीमच्छ्रमश्लोकचिन्तनम् ॥ गवामयनयज्ञस्य फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः । धर्मं तत्राभिर्हस्युच्य वाजिमेधमामुपात् ॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्रं ब्रह्मस्थानमनुत्तमम् । तत्राभिगम्य राजेन्द्रं ब्रह्मणं ध्रुवर्षभ ॥ राजसूयाश्वमेधायां फलं विन्दति मानवः । ततो राजपुत्रं गच्छेत् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप ॥ वनपर्व 84, 82-104. These verses are q. in the तीर्थचिन्. pp. 275-277 (except three), त्रिस्थलीसिंह pp 321-323. It may be noted that the Padmapurāṇa, Ādikhaṇḍa, chap 38 (verses 2-19) contains verbatim and in the same order the verses about Gayā in the Vanaparva 84, 82-99 except that a word is changed here and there. There is hardly any doubt that one borrows from the other. Good grounds have been advanced by Mr. M. V. Vaidya in his paper 'Tīrthayātrā in the Āranyakaparvan and the Padmapurāṇa' in the Kane Festschrift pp 530-537. Dr. S. K. Belkalkar in the volume of Indian and Eastern studies presented to Prof. F. W. Thomas pp. 19-28 in his paper on 'Cosmographical episode in the Mahābhārata and the Padmapurāṇa' has shown that chapters 80-83 of the Vanaparva are taken over by the author of the Padmapurāṇa in chapters 10, 5 to chapter 39, 120.

from the manner in which tirthas in Gayā are named and described that the writer of Vanaparva (chap. 84. 82-103) meant to be exhaustive as regards the holy spots in Gayā or the legends about Gayā. This conclusion is very much strengthened by the fact that in the Anuśāsanaparva three sacred spots in Gayā are mentioned which do not occur in Vanaparva 84. 82-103 viz. 'In Gayā a man becomes purified in Āsmaprstha (the same as Pretasīla), on the hill Niravinda and of even a third brāhmaṇa murder in Krauñcapadī'.¹⁴⁷⁴ These three, Āsmaprstha, Niravinda and Krauñcapadī, are in addition to those sacred spots that are mentioned in Vanaparva 84. In Vāyu 109. 15 a hill Aravindaka is said to be a peak of the Śīlaparvata and Nāradya (uttara 47. 83), Vāyu 108. 75 and Nāradya (uttara 46. 16) mention the hill Krauñcapada (Munda-prstha was so called) Therefore it is clear that three important sites in the Gayāmāhātmya are mentioned by the Anuśāsanaparva.

It was unfortunate that Dr. Barua confined his attention on the question of the antiquity of Gayā to merely three works viz. the Vanaparva chapters 84 and 95, the Agnipurāṇa chap. 114-116 and the Vāyupurāṇa chapters 105-112. He did not care to investigate all the other Purāṇas nor did it strike him that the explanation of three *padas* of Visṇu furnished by Aurnavābha probably referred to spots around Gayā alone. Other Purāṇas such as Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 2-21), Garuda I chapters 82-86, and the Nāradya (uttara chap. 44-47) contain much that concerns Gayā and all of them have many verses in common. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata (published by the B. O. R. I., Poona) reads 'sāvitrām padam' (chap. 82.81) for 'sāvitrīyastu padam' of the Bombay edition. The reading of the critical edition is supported by numerous and ancient Mss. Further, the printed Padmapurāṇa (in Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 13) reads 'Sāvitrām padam' and thus lends support to the reading adopted in the critical edition. The words 'sāvitrām padam' may be taken to mean the foot-print of Visṇu (Savitrī). Dr. Barua goes very much further than the facts warrant when he says that there is no reference in the Vanaparva to any structural erection or iconic suggestion. It is clear that there must have been an image of Dharma, since the Vanaparva speaks of

1474 अश्मपृष्ठे गयाया च निरविन्दे च पर्वते । तृतीयां क्रौञ्चपदां च ब्रह्महत्यां विष्णुपदे ॥ अद्वैताक्षर 25. 42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'अश्मपृष्ठे प्रेतशिलाया एकां ब्रह्महत्यां पयोध निरविन्दे सुखगन्धहीने द्वितीयां क्रौञ्चपदां निरस्य क्रौञ्चपदीति सर्वेषां विष्णुपदा-दीनामुपलक्षणं तेषु तृतीयां ब्रह्महत्यां सकृद्गयां गत एव विष्णुपदे प्रती भवति'.

the pilgrim to Gayā having to touch Dharma (Dharmam tatrā-bhi-samsprśya). Besides, there is a reference to the footprints of a cow with a calf and to 'Sāvitra pada'. All these would surely be things that have an 'iconic suggestion'. Moreover, Dr. Barua forgets for the moment that, according to the Chinese traveller Fa Hien who visited India between 399-413 A. D., the Gayā of the Hindu faith was 'all emptiness and desolation' (vide Legge's translation p. 87). It is possible that Gayā might have suffered from earthquakes before 400 A. D. (as it is a region that is liable to severe earthquakes even in modern times) and therefore no structural erection of the ancient city of Gayā (to which ancient Pāli works and the Lalitavistara p. 311 refer) might have been left in Fa Hien's day. Gayā appears to have passed through several vicissitudes. Some centuries before the Christian era it was in existence and was a flourishing town. By 400 A. D. it had been reduced to desolation. But in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen T'sang notes that the Hindu Gayā was a town with 1000 brāhmana families (vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II p. 113). Later on when Buddhism waned and vanished, Gayā came to comprehend even Buddhist remnants, since the Vāyupurāṇa speaks of Gayā as extending from Pretasīla to Mahābodhi tree (a distance of about 13 miles, according to Mitra p. 19).

Dr. Barua has also misunderstood verse 12 of the inscription at Gayā edited by Dr. Kielhorn in I A. vol. 16 p. 63 ff. The verse¹⁴⁷⁵ set out below may be translated as follows. That wise (prince Yaksapāla) caused to be constructed a temple for the images of Maunāditya and the other gods (mentioned in it), he dug up the famous Utlaramūnasa lake and established a sattrā (charity house for food) near the Akaya (vaṭa)'. This inscription of the reign of Nayaṭāla was

1475. मीनादित्यसहस्रलिङ्गकमहापार्श्वीणिनायपण्डितो मे श्वरकृत्युनाथविनायकविपाक-
यानां कृती । स मासादमचीनरद् दिव्यिदा केदारदेव्य च यानयनमनमय
खनन सत्रं तथा चाक्षये ॥ verse 12 of the inscription of prince (Nayapala)
यक्षपाल son of विश्वादिप्य edited in I A. 16 at p. 63. Kielhorn translates 'That
wise (prince) caused to be built a temple of the inhabitants of heaven
called Maunaditya .. He likewise had the famous Utlaramūnasa tank dug and
established a sattrā (hall of charity) to last forever'. Dr. Kielhorn is
wrong in his translation 'to last forever'. Dr. Barua read मनासद् as one
word and connects that one word with दिव्यिदा (vol I p. 62). One fails
to understand how दिव्यिदा (genitive plural) is to be connected with नामद्
which according to Dr. Barua's construction is only part of a compound
word.

engraved about 1040 A.D. Dr. Barua thought that Uttaramānasa was dug up at that time and therefore Uttaramānasa tank is taken to be not older than 1040 A. D. and that it and many of the sacred spots must have been later and the Gayā-māhātmya which speaks of Uttarmānasa must be much later than the 11th century A. D. But Dr Barua is entirely mistaken in this. If a tank was dug up for the first time at the time of the inscription, it is impossible that it should have been called 'khyāta' (famous). The tank can become famous some centuries after it was dug. Uttarmānasa tank is mentioned as a sacred spot in Vāyupurāṇa 77. 108 (which verse is quoted about 1110 A. D. in the Kalpataru on tirtha at p. 168), Vāyu 82. 21, Agni 115. 10. Therefore Uttaramānasa tank was well known at least in the 8th or 9th century A. D. What the inscription means is either that the famous tank had silted up and so it was dug up or that it was made longer, broader and deeper in about 1040. That is all.

In my opinion the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyu, chap. 105-112), though possibly later than the main text of the Vāyupurāṇa, cannot be placed so late as the 13th or 14th century A. D. It is really a patch-work from many sources of earlier times such as the Vanaparva, Anusāsanaparva, Padma I 38, the Nārādīya (uttara) chap. 44-47. Several verses and half verses of it are repetitions (such as the half verse 'Gayāyām aksayam śrāddham japahomatapāmsi ca' Vāyu 108 35 and Vāyu 82.43 quoted as from Vāyu in Kalpataru on tirtha p. 167, and Vāyu 110. 29-30 are the same as Vāyu 105.37-38. So also Vāyu 82. 31-33 are the same as Vāyu 110. 51-53. Dr. Barua does not notice that in chap. 82 of the Vāyu (20-24) several sub-tirthas of Gayā are expressly mentioned viz. Brahmakundā, Prabhāsa, Pretapārvata, Uttaramānasa, Udici, Kanakhala, Dakṣināmānasa, Dharmāranya, Gadādhara, Matanga; so also chap 77. 97-108 mention Grdhrakūta, hermitage of Bharata, Matangapada, Munda-prstha and Uttaramānasa. Many of the verses occurring in the Gayāmāhātmya are found quoted in the Smṛticandrikā 1476

1476 Vide H. of Dh vol. 1. p. 346 for the date of the Smṛticandrikā.

The verses ब्रह्मज्ञान .. चतुर्विधा (vide note 1484) and ब्रह्महत्या... द्विनश्यति (चतु. 105.13) are नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 44. 20 and 22; Vāyu 110 63-64 are equal to नारदीय, उत्तर, 45 64-66, Vāyu 110. 63-64 are the same as Nārādīya (uttara) 45.64-66, Vāyu 108.13-16 are the same as नारदीय (उत्तर); 45. 2-4. Vāyu 110 4-5 are the same as Vanaparva 82.9-10.. षष्ठपुराण (I

(Continued on the next page)

(about 1150-1225 A. D.) on Śrāddha and Āsauca (without name) as briefly exemplified below. I think that the Gayāmāhātmya is to be assigned to some date between the 7th and 10th centuries A. D.

Having disposed of the question of the date of the Gayāmāhātmya and the references to the sacred spots in Gayā in Vanaparva chap. 84, it is necessary to see how Gayā is spoken of in the other parts of the Mahābhārata and the smṛtis. In the Vanaparva itself references to Gayā occur in chap. 87 and chap. 95. Vanaparva, chap. 87, starts by saying that going towards the east (from Kāmyaka-vana where the Pāndavas dwelt for some time) the pilgrim would come to the Naimiṣa forest and the Gomati river. Thus it is said that in the east there is a holy hill called after Gayā and a holy pool called Brahmaśaras; then comes a famous verse¹⁴⁷⁷ 'one should desire to have many sons if even

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85, 2-22) contains most of the verses of Vāyu 110, 34-60. The notes below in this Gayā section will show that the Nārādīya and the Gayāmāhātmya contain scores of verses in common

The स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (University of Mysore edition) on अशीच has towards the end a section on गयामाहृत्य, several verses of which occur in वायु A few verses are cited by way of illustration. The first two verses (स्मृतिच. p 194) though ascribed to आदित्यराज are almost the same as वायु 110 2-3; the verses गोमचार .. बभूव (in स्मृतिच. on अशीच p. 199) are almost the same as वायु 111. 35 and 37, स्मृतिच. p 197 the verse वसुदेवो वसुदेवो वसुदेवो वसुदेवो (in स्मृतिच. p 199 the verse वा सा वैतरणी नाम is वायु 105 44

The Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati quotes many verses from the Gayāmāhātmya of the Vāyupurāṇa. Vācaspati's literary activity lies between 1450 to 1480 (or 1500 AD at the latest) He treats the Gayāmāhātmya as on the same level as the other purāṇas. This position could not have been attained by the Gayāmāhātmya in a century or two Therefore it must be much earlier than 1300 AD. A few examples of the citations of the Gayāmāhātmya by Vācaspati may be indicated here On pp. 285-286 the स्मृतिच. expressly quotes from the वायव्य verses 18, 19, 26 of वायु. 105, वायु 110, 2-3 are quoted as from वायु in स्मृतिच. p. 7, on pp. 280-283 numerous verses are quoted from वायुपुराण which are (with slight variations) the same as वायु 108, 13-23, 28-30; on pp 284-285 from वायुपुराण are cited वायु 110 9-15 and 19-20, 56-59, स्मृतिच. pp. 285-293 quote from the वायुपुराण 110, 17, 21-24, 30-32, 34-55, स्मृतिच. pp. 298-301 quote वायु. 111, 1-22 (with additions and variant readings); similarly the पूजनीयश्रीधर on भाद्र and त्रिष्वलीनेतु quote about 300 verses from गयामाहृत्य and the त्रिष्वलीनेतु (pp. 356-359 &c) several times refers to the explanations of verses from गयामाहृत्य given by his predecessors But space does not allow me to go into this subject at greater length

1477. एतस्या पदम्. उक्ता पद्येकेषां गयामाहृत्य। एतत् वाचस्पतेः श्रुतिं वा
वृद्धत्वेन। महानदी च तत्रैव तथा गयामाहृत्य। गयामाहृत्यं त्रिष्वलीनेतुः
(Continued on the next page)

one (of whom) goes to Gayā, or performs the Āśvamedha sacrifice or lets loose a *nīla* bull' (the pītr̥s may be gratified). Then Vanaparva chap. 87 goes on to refer to the holy river (mahā-nadī) Phalgu, the hill Gayaśīras, the Aksayya Vata, where food offered to pītr̥s becomes inexhaustible. In Vanaparva 95 mention is made of Brahmasaras (where Agastya went to Dharmarāja i. e. Yama, verse 12), of Aksayavata (v. 14) which is an imperishable place of worship and where the fruit (of offerings made) is inexhaustible; it further states that king Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas,^{1477a} performed a sacrifice in which food and fees in plenty were distributed (verses 18-19). Vas. (XI 42) states: when a man goes to Gayā and offers food his ancestors become delighted like agriculturists that rejoice when there is good rain and pītr̥s become (really) *putr̥in* (having a son) on account of such a son. The Visnudharmasūtra, chapter 85,¹⁴⁷⁸ mentions by name about 55 holy places that are most proper for śrāddha among which those connected with Gayā are Gayaśīrasa, Aksayavata, Phalgu, Uttaramānasa, Matangavāpi, Viṣṇupada, and winds up by quoting three verses as *gāthās* sung by pītr̥s. Yaj. I. 261 states that whatever a man gives while in Gayā leads to inexhaustible rewards. Atri-smṛti (55-58) refers to a son's going to Gayā for the benefit of the pītr̥s, to a bath in Phalgu and *tarpana* of pītr̥s in the river, to seeing Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) at Gayā and to Gayaśīrasā. Śāṅkha (14 27-28) refers¹⁴⁷⁹ to several tīrthas (one being Gayā) the offerings made at which

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यत्र दत्तं पितृभ्योऽन्नमक्षयं भवति ममो। सा च पुण्यजला तत्र कल्युषानामा महानदी॥ वनपर्व 87. 10-12; राजर्षिणा पुण्यकृता गयेनाद्भुतमयुते। नगो गयक्षिरो यत्र पुण्या चैव महानदी॥ .. क्षयियज्ञेन महता यन्नाक्षयवदो महान्। अक्षये देवयजने अक्षयं यत्र वै फलम्॥ वनपर्व 95. 9-14. The verse एष्टव्या occurs in numerous works such as the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85 (last verse), the मत्स्य. 22, 6, वायु. 105, 10, कूर्म II. 35, 12, पद्म. I. 38, 17 and V 11. 68, नारदीय (उत्तर 44. 5-6).

1477 a. It is to be noted that the Rāmāyana I. 32 7 states that Dharmarānya was founded by Asūrtarayas (probably a variant of Amūrtarayas), a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.

1478 कुलेऽस्माकं स जन्तुः स्याद् यो न दद्याज्जलाञ्जलीन्। नदीषु बहुतोवाहुः शीतलासु विशेषतः॥ अपि जायेत सोऽस्माक कुले कश्चिन्नरोत्तम। गयाक्षीर्यं वटे आर्द्धं यो नः कुर्यात् समाहितः॥ एष्टव्या .. सूत्रेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 65-67. The verse अपि जायेत is quoted in कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 173.

1479 It is somewhat strange that Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Bhuddh' gayā' vol. I p 66) read तीर्थे वामरकण्टके in Śāṅkha and thought that Vāmara-kantala was a holy place (instead separating as वा अमरकण्टके).

become inexhaustible. The Likhita-Smṛti speaks¹⁴⁸⁰ of the importance of Gayā as follows: In whosoever name a pinda is offered at Gayāśiras, whether for oneself or for another, that person, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven that man secures release (from *samsāra*). The Kūmapurāṇa remarks that one should desire to have many sons so that if one out of them goes to Gayā on some other business and offers śrāddha, he thereby saves his pitrs and himself reaches the highest goal. The Matsyapurāṇa (22. 4-6) quoted by the Kalpataru (on tīrtha p. 163) speaks of Gayā as pitrtīrtha and as the best among tīrthas where Brahmā himself dwells and also has the verse 'estavyā bahavah putrah'.

In the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyupurāṇa, chapters 105-112) there are about 560 verses. An attempt will be made here to give a brief summary of it and some of the important verses will be quoted. Chapter 105 is general and briefly indicates some of the main topics dealt with in the following chapters. It states that in Śvetavārāṇhakalpa Gaya performed a sacrifice and Gayā was named after him¹⁴⁸¹, that *pitrs* hanker after sons because the son that goes to Gayā saves the *pitrs* from hell¹⁴⁸². At Gayā a man should offer *pinda*s to his father and others and even to himself but without sesame; all the five mortal sins like brāhmaṇa-murder are removed by the performance of śrāddha at Gayā. A pinda offered after uttering the name and gotra of the recipient by the son or any other person in Gayā leads that person to the imperishable *brahma*¹⁴⁸³. Mokṣa is fourfold (i. e. results in four ways) viz. by knowledge of *brahma*, śrāddha at Gayā, death in (a fight for preventing) the seizure of cows and residence in Kurukṣetra and śrāddha at

1480. गयाशिरे दु यस्मिन्निजासा पिण्डं दु निर्वपेत् । नरकरथा दिव यासि स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुयुः॥ आत्मनो वा परस्यापि गयाकूपे यत्तत्तत् । यस्मान्मा पातयेत्पिण्डं त जयेद् ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् ॥ लिखितस्मृति verses 12-13, compare अग्नि 115. 46-47 इमीपञ्च-प्रमाणेन पिण्डं दत्त्वा गयाशिरे । नरकरथाः.. माप्नुयुः॥

1481. वायु 105 7-8, अग्नि 114. 41 'गयेति चाकरोयानं बद्ध्वा बहुदक्षिणम् । गयापुरी तेन नाम्ना' । Both are quoted by त्रिस्थली० pp. 340-341.

1482. Here occurs the well-known verse एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्रा' (वायु 105.10) q in n. 1477. A verse is quoted by the त्रिस्थली० p. 319 which defines what makes a son worthy of being so called: 'जीवतो वाक्यकरणत्वा ... त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता ॥' (quoted above in note 832).

1483. आत्मजोऽप्यजो वापि गयाक्ष्मी यदा यदा । यस्मान्मा पातयेत्पिण्डं तजयेद् ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् । नाम्नीत्रे सद्युच्चार्य पिण्डपातनमिष्यते । वायु. 105.14-15; the half verse यस्मान्मा शाश्वतम् ॥ अग्नि 116.29.

Gayā renders the others unnecessary¹⁴⁶¹. Śrāddha may be performed at Gayā at all times, even in an intercalary month, on the anniversary of one's birthday, or even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or when Jupiter is in Leo. One should honour the brāhmanas (of Gayā) that were established there by Brahmā; when they are gratified all deities together with the pitrs are gratified. Tonsure¹⁴⁸⁵ and fast are to be observed at all tirthas except in Kuruksetra, Viśālā, Virajā and Gayā. An ascetic¹⁴⁸⁶ (sannyāsin) should not offer pindas (at Gayā) but should merely exhibit (hold up) his staff and should put it down on Viśnupada. The (whole) Gayāksetra is five krośas in extent and Gayāśiras is one krośa and all the tirthas of the three worlds are centered in these two¹⁴⁸⁷. At Gayā one may offer (to pitrs) pindas by means of *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), boiled rice, barley flour, fruits and roots, the cake of sesame (after oil is extracted), sweetmeats or jaggery with ghee or with curds alone or with invigorating honey. In a śrāddha at Gayā, the procedure consists in preparing¹⁴⁸⁸ a seat for the pindas, the offering of pindas, the sprinkling of water again (on the kuśa grass), giving fees and declaration of dinner (to brāhmanas); but there is no invocation of pitrs, no curtains for privacy and no blemish due to śrāddha being seen (by undesirable persons or animals). Those who desire to reap the full fruit of śrāddha performed at a tirtha (like Gayā) must give up passionate longings, anger and

1484 ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयाआर्द्धं गोमये नरणं तथा । वासः पुसां कुकक्षेत्रे सुकिरेया चतुर्विधा ॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानेन किं कार्यं .. यदि पुत्री गयां व्रजेत् ॥ गयायां सर्वकालेषु पिण्ड दद्याद्विचक्षणः । बापु 105. 16-18, compare न कालादि गयातीर्थे दद्यात्पिण्डाश्च नित्यहा । अग्नि. 115.8. ब्रह्मज्ञानं .चतुर्विधा ॥—is also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.20 Both occur in अग्नि. 115. 3-4 and 5-6 (in reverse order) and the verse ब्रह्मज्ञानं occurs in वामनपुराण 33. 8.

1485. हुण्डन चोपवासश्च .. विरजा गयाम् ॥ बापु 105 25, q in n 1301 above where various readings also are noted.

1486 दण्डं प्रदर्शयेद्विशुर्गया गत्वा न पिण्डदः । दण्डं न्यस्य विष्णुपदे पितृभिः सह हृष्यते ॥ बापु 105. 26 and नारदीय II. 45. 31 q. by ती. p 390.

1487. पञ्चकोशं गयाक्षेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गयाक्षिरः । तन्मध्ये सर्वतीर्थानि त्रैलोक्ये यानि सन्ति वै । 105.29-30 and 106. 65 q by विस्थलीः p 335, ती म p 391; अग्नि 115. 42 has the half verse पञ्चकोशं and also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.16. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tirthas as five krośas in extent.

1488. पिण्डासन पिण्डदानं पुनः प्रत्यवनेजनम् । दक्षिणा चाक्षसङ्कल्पस्तीर्थश्चाद्धेध्वयं विधिः ॥ नावाहनं न दिग्वन्धो न दोषो हृदिसम्भवः ।.. अन्यत्रावाहिता काले पितरो यान्मरुं मतिः । तीर्थे सदा वसन्त्येते तस्मादावाहनं न हि ॥ 105. 37-39. The verses नावाहनं ... हृदिसम्भवः, पिण्डासनं...विधिः are repeated in बापु 110. 28-29.

avarice, observe celibacy, eat only one meal a day, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot), should speak the truth, should be pure and intent on the good of all beings. The famous river Vaitarani has come down to Gayā; one taking a bath in it and donating a cow saves 21 generations in his family. One should go to the Aksayavata and gratify the (Gayā) brāhmanas. There is no spot in Gayā which is not a sacred place.¹⁴⁸⁹

Chap. 106 narrates the story of Gayāsura. Gayāsura, a very powerful *asura* 125 *yojanas* in height and 60 *yojanas* in girth, performed severe austerities for thousands of years on the mountain called Kolāhala. The gods, anxious and tormented by his austerities, went to Brahmā for protection. Brahmā took them to Śiva who proposed to go to Viṣṇu. Brahmā, Śiva and the gods praised Viṣṇu, who appeared to them and said that they should, riding their respective conveyances, go to Gayāsura. Viṣṇu asked him why he practised severe austerities and said that the boon he would ask would be granted. He asked the boon that he should be purer than all the gods, sages, mantras, ascetics &c. The gods said 'let it be so' and left for heaven. All people who saw or touched Gayāsura's holy body went to heaven. The capital of Yama became deserted and so he went to Brahmā who took him to Viṣṇu who asked Brahmā to request Gayāsura to give his pure body for the purpose of a sacrifice. Gayāsura agreed and fell down on the earth towards the southwest with his head on the north on Kolāhala mountain and feet to the south. Brahmā collected materials and mind-born *ritviks* (about 40 are named) and performed a sacrifice on the body of Gayāsura. That body, however, was not stable but moved and hence Brahmā asked Yama to place on Gayāsura's head a *śilā* (stone slab) that was in Yama's house. Yama did so; yet Gayāsura's body together with the *śilā* still moved. Brahmā asked Śiva and other gods to stand immovable on the *śilā*. They did so and yet the body moved. Hence Brahmā went to Viṣṇu and requested him to make the body and *śilā* stable. Viṣṇu gave his own *mūrti* and though it was placed on the *śilā* it still moved. Then Viṣṇu sat on the *śilā* in three forms viz Janārdana, Pundarika and Ādi-Gaḍādhara, Brahmā in five forms (Prapitāmaha, Pītāmaha, Phalgviśa, Kedāra and Kanakesvara), Vināyaka in the form of an elephant, the Sun in three forms, the Goddesses Lakṣmī (as Sītā), Gaurī (as Mangalā), Gāyatrī

and Sarasvatī. As Gayāsura was made stable by the first Gada (mace) wielded by Hari, therefore Hari was called Ādigadadhara.¹⁴⁹⁰ Gayāsura complained 'why am I deceived? I have given my pure body to Brahmā for the latter's sacrifice. Would I not have become stable at the mere word of Visnu (why torment me with the mace?).' Then the gods asked him to choose a boon. He chose 'As long as the earth, mountains, the Sun, Moon and stars last, may Brahmā, Visnu and Śiva and the other gods remain on the śilā' Let this sacred spot be known by my name. Let all tirthas be centered in the midst of Gayā which is five krośas in extent and in Gayāsiras which is one krośa and do good to people. May all the gods remain here in manifest forms (images &c) and unmanifest forms (such as footprints &c) ! Those to whom śrāddha with pindas is offered may go to the world of Brahmā and all grave sins like brāhmana-murder be destroyed at once.' The gods said 'Let it be so.' Then Brahmā gave to the brāhmanas Gayā (with its extent of five krośas), 55 villages, well-furnished houses, desire-yielding cow and trees, a river flowing with milk, golden wells, heaps of food, but enjoined on them not to beg from any one else. But the brāhmanas, greedy as they were, performed a sacrifice for Dharma in Dharmāranya and begged him for fees. Then Brahmā came, cursed them and took away everything from them. When the brāhmanas bewailed that they had been deprived of everything and their livelihood should be provided for, Brahmā said that they would live on the charity of pilgrims to Gayā and those who would honour them would be honouring Brahmā.

Chap. 107 deals with the story of the śilā¹⁴⁹¹ that was placed on the head of Gayāsura for making it stable. Dharma had a daughter called Dharmavratā. Dharma could not find a bridegroom worthy of her virtues and accomplishments and asked her to perform *tapas* for the purpose. She performed severe austerities (subsisting only on air) for ten thousand years. Marici, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, once saw her and asked her to become his wife. Dharmavratā asked him to request her father Dharma. Marici approached Dharma who

1490. वायु 105 60 mentions why Viṣṇu is called आदिगदाधर 'आद्यया गदया भीतो यस्माद्धैत्य स्थिरीकृतः । स्थित इत्येव हरिणा तस्मादादिगदाधर ॥' q. by त्रिशुली p. 338 In वायु 109. 13 also a similar derivation is given.

1491. The story of the Śilā is briefly narrated in the Agnipurāṇa also (chap 114. 8-22), often using the very words that occur in the Vāyupurāṇa.

gave her in marriage to Marici, who took her to his hermitage and had one hundred sons from her. Once Marici being tired lay down for sleep and asked Dharmavratā to shampoo his feet. While she shampooed his feet Brahmā (her father-in-law) came there. She left off shampooing her husband's feet and got up to receive with honour her husband's father. In the meanwhile Marici awoke and not seeing his wife cursed her to be a śilā (stone slab) as she disobeyed his order by giving up the shampooing of his feet. She being innocent of any fault got angry and was about to curse Marici but said 'Mahadeva will curse you'. She, standing in the midst of Gārhapatya fire, performed *tapas* and Marici also did the same. The gods led by Indra got anxious as usual and went to Visnu who asked her to choose a boon. She prayed that the curse pronounced by her husband be annulled. The gods said that Marici being a great sage the curse could not be annulled and asked her to choose some other boon. She said that she should be a śilā more holy than all rivers, sages and gods and that all tirthas should stand in the slab of stone, that those who would bathe in the tirthas on the śilā and offer pindas and śraddha should be able to go to *brahmaloka*, that all holy rivers like the Ganges should always remain in her. The gods conceded what she prayed for and said that when she would become stable on the head of Gayāsura, they would all stand on the śilā.

Chap. 108 presents numerous divergences in the *Mss*. In the *Ānandāśrama* edition its contents briefly are: The śilā was placed on the head of Gayāsura and therefore there was union of two very holy objects, on which Brahmā performed *Āśvamedha* and when the gods came to receive their share of the sacrificial offerings the śilā said to Visnu and others 'promise that you would remain on the śilā and would bring about the release of pitrs'. The gods agreed and they stayed on the śilā in the form of images and foot-prints. As the śilā was placed on the back of the head of the asura the hill was called *Mundaprstha* (lit. the back of the head) which gave *Brahmaloka* to pitrs. Then the chapter speaks of a hill called *Prabhāsa*, of *Rāmatirtha* near the place where the great river (Phaigu) and *Prabhāsa* hill meet, the hermitage of *Bharata*, of *Matangapada*, of the *bak* to be offered to *Yamarāja* and *Dharmarāja* and to the dogs of *Yama*, viz. *Śyāma* and *Śabala*, of the *Udyantaka* hill near the left of *Śilā*, of *Agastya-kunda*, and numerous other holy places such as *Grdhrakūta* hill, the her-

mitage of Cyavana, the river Punahpunā, Krauñca-pada, Janārdana on Bhasmakūta.

The story of Gayāsura has puzzled Mitra and subsequent writers. Mitra holds that nothing appears more absurd or stupid than the story of Gayāsura who, he emphasizes, is not a demon or a vicious monster, but a devout Vaisnava ('Bodh-Gaya' pp. 15-16). The story of Gayāsura is not unique. The Purāṇas abound in stories that appear to modern minds absurd and puerile. Besides, there were several asuras like Prahlāda, Bāna (devotee of Śiva) and Bali (who was an exemplary and pious king and a worshipper of Viṣṇu) that were not monsters but good and devout persons, and yet fought with gods. For example, Kūrmapurāṇa (I. 16. 59-60 and 91-92) narrates that Prahlāda fought with Nṛsiṃha; the Padma (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 1.8) calls him a Mahābhāgavata but states that he first fought with Viṣṇu and entered Vaiṣṇavitanu; while Vāmanapurāṇa (chap. 7-8) speaks of his fight with Naranārāyaṇa. In Pali works (e. g. Anguttara-nikāya, part IV pp. 197-204) he is called Pahārāda and *asuraṇḍa* (asurendra). Vide Anguttara-nikāya (text) vol. IV p. 197. For Bali who was grandson of Prahlāda, a good king and a devotee of Viṣṇu, vide Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 73, Kūrma I. 17, Vāmana (chapters 77 and 92). For Bāna, son of Bali and the fight of Bāna helped by Śiva with Kṛṣṇa, vide Brahma chap. 205-206 and Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 33. 37-38.

According to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra (in 'Bodh-Gaya' pp. 14-18) the story of Gayāsura is an allegory of the vanquishing of Buddhism by Brahmanism. O' Malley thought (J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII part 3 p. 7 for 1904) that the Gayāsura legend represents an amalgamation or compromise of Brahmanism with the popular demonolatry which preceded Brahmanism. Dr. Barua criticizes both theories and appears to hold (vol. I. pp. 40-41) that the idea underlying the legend is to impress on people's minds the high sanctity of the Gayā range of hills along the western bank of the river Phalgu, that Gayā figures nowhere in Buddhism, that Gayā¹⁴⁹² or Namuci or Vrtra is represented as a demon of darkness and as an enemy of Indra and that the Vedic word Trivikṛāṇa and the interpretation of Aurnavābha are the nucleus of the legend of Gayāsura. From considerations of space it is not possible to discuss these

¹⁴⁹² It is not clear whence Dr. Barua derived his information that in the Veda Gayā is represented as a demon like Vrtra. In the Rg. at least Gayā is not a demon like Vrtra.

theories here. To my mind it appears that Gayā had become a famous *pīṭhīrtha* centuries before Christ and that the legend of Gayāsura is a *post facto* attempt to account for the sanctity of the place and the numerous shrines and holy places that had sprung up round Gayā.

Chap. 109 deals with the questions how Ādi-Gadādhara abided in manifest and unmanifest forms, how his *gadā* (mace) was produced and how the tīrtha called Gadālola became a destroyer of all sins. There was a powerful Asura called Gada, who, when Brahmā requested, gave up his bones to Brahmā. Viśvakarmā, at the desire of Brahmā, fashioned a wonderful mace out of the bones. In the times of Svāyambhuva Manu an Asura named Heti, son of Brahmā, performed severe austerities for thousands of divine years. He secured from Brahmā and other gods the boon that he could not be killed by gods, *dātyas*, men or with such weapons as the discus of Kṛṣṇa and others. Heti conquered the gods and became Indra. The gods went to Hari and requested him to kill Heti. He asked for a powerful weapon and the gods gave him the mace manufactured from the bones of Gada and Viṣṇu killed Heti with the Gada. This story about demon Heti is mentioned in Agni 114 26-27 and Nāradiya (uttara) 47, 9-11. Hari is called Ādi-Gadādhara because^{1492a} he was the first to wield that mace and stood on the *śilā* on the head of Gayāsura, supported by the Gada, in order to make (the head of Gayāsura) stable. He shows himself in the form of hills viz. the Muṇḍaprstha hill, the Prabhāsa and other hills. These and Akṣayavatā, Phalgu and other rivers are the non-manifest forms of Ādigadādhara. The Viṣṇupada, Rudrapada, Brahma-pada and other padas are the non-manifest and manifest forms of Gadādhara.^{1492b} The image of Gadādhara is purely a mani-

1492a Vide note 1490

1492b. The principal rivers, hills, padas are enumerated here in one place. Unless otherwise expressly mentioned the chapters and verses in this note refer to the वायुपुराण. The holy rivers are: कस्तुरी called महानदी (अग्नि. 115, 25), वृषकुण्डपा, मधुकुण्डपा (these two, वायु 109, 17), मधुव्रता (106, 75), अग्निघाता (from उद्यन्त hill, 108, 59), कापिला (108, 55), वैतरणी (105, 44 and 109, 17), देविका (112, 30), आस्तामगद्वी (अग्नि. 116 5). Some of these are mere streams. The sacred hills and peaks are: पयस्विता (109, 36, अग्नि. 115 26 and 44), सुन्दरपर्व (108, 12, 109, 14), ममास (108, 13 and 16, 109, 14), उद्यन्त (वनपर्व 84, 93, वायु 108, 59, 109, 15), मत्स्यकूट (109, 15), अतिसम्बक (109, 15), नागकूट (111 22, अग्नि 115, 25), सुप्रकूट (109, 15), देवकूट (109, 15),

(Continued on the next page)

fest form. Asura Heti was killed by Visnu and went to Visnuloka. When the body of Gayāsura was made stable Brahmā sang a hymn of praise to Visnu who asked Brahmā to choose a boon. Brahmā said 'we (gods) shall not abide in the silā without you, but shall remain therein together with you if you have a manifest form.'¹¹⁹⁴ Visnu said 'be it so' and Visnu stood on Gayāśiras in the Adigadādhara form and as Janārdana and Pundarikākṣa. Śiva also praised Visnu (Vāyu 109. 43-50). The Vāyu speaks at several places of 'vyaktāvyakta' symbols of the deity (chap. 109. 20 and 43-45). What is meant is Visnu is non-manifest in Phalgu, vyaktāvyakta in Visnupada and manifest in images and statues (vide Tristhalisetu p. 365, pratimāsvarūpi vyaktah).

Chap. 110 deals with Gayāyātrā. To the east of Gayā is a great river (Phalgu). (If it is dry) one should dig a pit for water and take a bath, should perform *tarpana* and *śrāddha* according to one's own recension of the Veda, but without *arghya* (water for showing respect) and *āvāhana* (invoking) In the after-

(Continued from the last page)

आदिपाल (109 15), कौशपाद (109 16), रामशिला, प्रेतशिला (110 15, 108 67), नग (108 28), ब्रह्मयोनि (नारदीय II 47 54) The principal bathing places are, फल्गुतीर्थ (111. 13, अग्नि 115 25-26 and 44), रामतीर्थ (108 16-18), शिलातीर्थ (108 2), गदालोल (111 75-76, अग्नि 115. 69), वैतरणी (105 44), ब्रह्मसरः (वनपर्व 84 85, वायु 111. 30), ब्रह्मकुण्ड, (110 8), उत्तरमानस (111 2 and 22), दक्षिणमानस (111 6 and 8), रुक्मिणीकुण्ड, प्रेतकुण्ड, नि शारा (नि, शीरा) युष्करिणी (108.84), मतङ्गवापी (111. 24). The sacred sites are पञ्चलोक, सप्तलोक, वैकुण्ठ, लोहदण्डक (all four, in 109 16), गोमन्चर (111. 35-37 where there were mango trees established by ब्रह्मा), धर्मारण्य (111. 23), ब्रह्मरूप (अग्नि 115. 39 and वनपर्व 84. 86). The sacred trees are, अक्षयवट (वनपर्व 84. 83, 95. 14, वायु 105 45, 111 79-81, अग्नि 115. 70-73), आम्र near गोमन्चर (111 35-37), युष्कूटवट (108. 63), महाबोधितरु (111 26-27, अग्नि 115 37). The verse about the mango tree is famous 'एको ह्यनि. कुम्भकुशाग्रहस्त आम्रस्य मूले सलिलं ददानः। आम्रश्च सिक. पितरश्च वृषा एका क्रिया द्वयार्थकरी मसिद्धा॥' वायु. 111 37, अग्नि. 115 40, नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 7, पद्म, सुदिव्यवट 11 77 There are several other तीर्थस, such as फल्गुशिला, फल्गुचण्डी, अङ्गारकेश्वर (all in अग्नि 116. 29) which are not mentioned here.

The पद (stone slabs with foot prints thereon) are, वायु. 111. 46-58 mention 16 by name and refer to others generally अग्नि. 115. 48-53 mentions at least 13. The पद mentioned by वायु. are विष्णु, रुद्र, ब्रह्मा, कश्यप, दक्षिणाग्नि, गार्हपत्य, आहवनीय, सम्य, आवसथ्य, शक्र, अगस्त्य, कौश, मातङ्ग, सूर्य, कार्तिकेय and गणेश. वायु. 111. 56 states that four out of these are most eminent viz. of कश्यप, विष्णु, रुद्र and ब्रह्मा नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 27 states that विष्णुपद and रुद्रपद are superior, but ब्रह्मपद is superior to all.

1494. Verses 2-3 and 4-5 of Vāyu 110 are quoted above in notes 1295 and 1261 respectively.

noon the pilgrim should go to the Pretasīlā, take a bath in the Brahmakunda, offer tarpana to the gods and perform śrāddha of his sapindas on the Pretasīlā with the mantras set out in Vāyu (110. 10-12) and offer pindas to his ancestors. In Astakās, in Vṛddhiśrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of death, one may offer a śrāddha separately to one's mother but on all other occasions with her husband.¹⁴⁹⁵ To the sapindas other than one's paternal ancestors he should offer śrāddha to the south (of the place where he offers to his father &c.) viz. should spread kuśas and once offer water mixed with sesame and should offer them a pinda made of barley flour and repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21-22). The pindas to be offered at Gayāśīras may be in size as¹⁴⁹⁶ big as one's closed hand, or an undried āmalaka (myrobalan) fruit or of the size of śami leaves. By means of these he saves seven gotras viz. that of his father, of his mother, of his wife, sister, daughter, paternal aunt and maternal aunt. Water mixed with sesame and pindas are offered to all persons on the maternal grandfather's side, to all bandhus, to all infants, to persons cremated or not cremated, to persons that were killed by lightning or robbers or that committed suicide in various ways and, to those who may be undergoing torments of Hells of various kinds and those who have become beasts or birds or insects or trees owing to evil deeds (Vāyu 110, verses 30-55). The verses of most comprehensive character about offering water have been cited in n. 1237 p. 550 and on pp. 616-617 above.

Chap. 111 deals with the order in which the several tīrthas are to be visited. The full pilgrimage lasts for seven days. In chap. 110 it has been stated as shown above that on entering Gayā, a pilgrim takes a bath in the Phalgu water, performs tarpana and śrāddha, then on the same day he goes to the Pretasīlā (which is a part of the Śīlā as stated in Vāyu 108 15) and performs a śrāddha there and offers pindas with boiled rice and ghee (Vāyu 110.15). On doing

1495. अष्टकां च दृष्ट्वा च गयाया च हृतेहनि । मातुः श्राद्धं पृथक् कुप्याद्वन्ध्र पतिना सह ॥ वायु. ॥ 110. 17 q 13. तीर्थेय. p 389 (reads अन्वष्टकां), तीर्थेयि. p. 298.

1496. सुहिमात्रममाणं च आर्द्रमलकमात्रकम् । क्षमीपत्रममाणं वा पिण्ड इद्या-
द्वयाक्षरे ॥ उज्जरेत्सप्त गोत्राणि कुलानि शतमुद्धरेत् ॥ पितृमहिः स्वभार्याया भगिन्या बुद्धिस्तथा ।
पितृव्यसुर्मातृव्यसुः सप्त गोत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ वायु 110 25-26. The त्रिस्थली. p 327
explains 'अत्र मातृगोत्रं मातृमहगोत्रम् । भार्यागोत्रं स्वसुरगोत्रम् । भगिनीबुद्धिपितृव्यम्'
मातृव्यसुर्मातृगोत्राणि यत्कुले सा दत्तास्त्वदीयानि । एतेषामेव गोत्राणामिकोत्तरं शतं कुल
लक्षणया तत्तथाः पुरुषाः ॥'

this the persons for whom this is done become free from the position of *pretā*. It is stated (in Vāyu 108. 17-22) that one should bathe in the Rāmatīrtha which is near the place where Phalgu meets the Prabhāsa hill. By bath in Rāmatīrtha and offering of śrāddha and pinda there the persons for whom this is done become *pitrs* (being already free from *pretatva* by the śrāddha on *pretasīlā*). On a hill on the south of Pretasīlā one should offer a *bali* (food offered with kuśa, sesame and water) to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the two dogs Śyāma and Śābala. On the next day after entering Gayā (i. e. the 2nd day), the pilgrim should proceed to the Pretaparvata¹⁴⁹⁷ (Vāyu 110.8) and take a bath in the Brahmakunda and perform tarpana, śrāddha and giving of pindas mixed with sesame, ghee, curds and honey to his ancestors (father, grandfather &c.) with the mantras 'pitā pitāmahaścalva' (Vāyu 110. 23-24). Then the pilgrim should offer on kuśas, water, sesame and pindas to persons related in various ways with the mantras 'asmat-kule mrtā ye ca &c., (Vāyu 110. 34-55). He should then invoke the gods to be witnesses to the fact of his having come to Gayā and become free from the debt to the ancestors (Vāyu 110. 59-60). It is stated in Vāyu 110.61 that at all sacred spots in Gayā the offering of pindas should be done in the same way as at Pretaparvata¹⁴⁹⁸.

On the third day of entering Gaya one has to perform Pañcatīrthī rites¹⁴⁹⁹ (Vāyu 111. 1 ff.). The pilgrim first bathes in Uttaramānasa, offers tarpana to gods, gives water and śrāddha and pindas to his ancestors with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21-24). The fruit of this rite is the inexhaustible gratification of the *pitrs*. Then the pilgrim goes to the three tīrthas which constitute Dakṣinamānasa, viz. Udicitīrtha (on the north), Kanakhala (in the middle) and Dakṣinamānasa

1497. On मृतपर्वत and ब्रह्मकुण्ड, the विस्थली= p. 355 remarks 'मृतपर्वते गयावायव्यादिषु गयातो गन्धर्व्यधिकद्वैत्ये.। ब्रह्मकुण्डे मृतपर्वतमूल ईशानभागे'।

1498. सर्वस्यानेषु चैवं स्यात्पिण्डदानं तु नारदः। मृतपर्वतमारभ्य कुर्यात्तीर्थेषु च क्रमात् ॥ वायु. 110. 61.

1499. The five तीर्थ are उत्तरमानस, उदीचीतीर्थ, कनखल, दक्षिणमानस and अस्त्यु. The विस्थली= says (p. 360) that one has not to take a bath in each of these i. e. there are not five baths on this day. Phalgutīrtha is the same as Gayāśrās and is defined in वायु 111. 22 'नागकूटानुब्रह्मकूटायुपादुत्तरमानसात्'।

एतद्रथाक्षिरः प्रोक्तं फल्यतीर्थं तदुच्यते ॥. The अग्निषु. (115. 25-26) differs 'नागाज्जनादनात्कूपादुत्तरमानसात्'। एत ... च्यते ॥. गरुड. I. 83. 4 is 'नागाज्जना ... तदुच्यते ॥. The विस्थली= p. 359 reads शुण्डकूटाक्षगाधस्ताफल्यतीर्थमनुत्तरम् ।

(on the south). At each of these three there is a śrāddha. Then the pilgrim goes to the Phalgutīrtha, which is the best of all (Gayā) tīrthas. The pilgrim performs tarpana and śrāddha with pinḍas on Phalgu. This śrāddha at Phalgu results in *mukti* for the performer and also for those for whose benefit it is performed (*muktir-bhavati kartṛnām pītrnām śrāddhataḥ sada, Vāyu 110. 13*). It is stated that Phalgu is Ādi-Gadādhara himself in a fluid form.¹⁵⁰⁰ By bath in Phalgu and seeing Gadādhara a man saves himself, ten ancestors and ten descendants. Then he worships Gadādhara by a bath with *pañcāmṛta* after bowing^{1500a} to Vāsudeva, Sankarsana, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Viṣṇu, Śrīdhara. On the 2nd day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. 4th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should repair to Dharmāranya which is so-called because Dharma performed a sacrifice there. Then the pilgrim should bathe in the Matangavāpi (which is situated in Dharmāranya), then he should perform *tarpana*, śrāddha and *pinḍadāna* at the well called Brahmatīrtha and also in the space between Brahma-tīrtha and Brahmayūpa; then bow to Brahmā and Dharmasvara¹⁵⁰¹. He should bow to the Mahābodhi tree (i. e. the sacred *pippala*) and perform śrāddha also underneath it. Agni 115, 34-37 and Nāradya (uttara) 45, 104 refer to these tīrthas. On the third day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. on 5th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should bathe in Brahmasaras and perform śrāddha with pinḍas between the Brahmakūpa and the Yūpa (sacrificial post) raised by Brahmā when he performed a sacrifice. By this śrāddha the pilgrim saves his pītra.¹⁵⁰² He should go round the Brahma-yūpa and bow

1500. गङ्गापद्मोदकं विष्णोः कल्यणोद्दिगदाधरः। स्वयं हि ब्रह्मरूपेण तस्माद्ब्रह्मविक
विदुः॥ वायु. 111. 16.

1500 a. Pañcāmṛta consists of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar. With these the image of Gadādhara is to be bathed. Vide नारद [उत्तर] 43 53 'पञ्चामृतेन च स्नानमर्चयामि तु विशिष्टयते'

1501. Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' vol I p 22 note) holds that Dharma and Dharmesvara refer to Buddha, while O'Malley (in J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII for 1904 part 3, p. 5) takes Dharma to mean Yama. I am inclined to agree with O'Malley. Padma, Sṛstihanda 11. 73, states that there are three aranyas for pinḍadāna viz. Puskarāranya, Naimisāranya and Dharmāranya.

1502. It may be noted that the three verses (Vāyu 111, 27-29) addressed to महावीरिणश्च do not occur in त्रिस्थली p 361, which gives two other verses instead viz. चतुर्दशाय वृक्षाय सर्वदा चतुर्विण्णवे। बोधितत्वाय यज्ञाय अश्वत्थाय नमो नमः॥ एकादशेति रुद्राणां वस्त्रमष्टमस्तथा। नारायणोसि देवानां पुष्करजोसि विष्णवे। The त्रिस्थली remarks that in some mss. even these two are not to be found.

to Brahmā. There are mango trees near Gopracāra established by Brahmā. By watering a mango with water from the Brahmasaras the pitrs attain *moksa*. Here follows the verse ('eko munih' &c.) quoted above (n 1493). Then a *bali* should be offered to Yama and Dharmarāja, then to the two dogs of Yama, then he should offer a *bali* to crows and then bathe (in Brahmasaras). This is briefly a summary of Vāyu 111 30-40. Some of these details are mentioned by Agni 115. 34-40 and Nāradiya (uttara) 46. Then on the 4th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. 6th day from entrance into Gayā) the pilgrim should take an ordinary bath in the Phalgu and should then perform śrāddhas at the several *padas* on Gayāsīras which is near Phalgutīrtha. Gayāsīras extends from Krauñcapāda up to Phalgutīrtha. Śrāddha offered here (on Gayāsīras) becomes inexhaustible.¹⁵⁰³ Here Ādi-Gadādhara abides in the form of Visnupada. By performing a śrāddha with *pinḍas* on Visnupada (which is a footprint on a slab deemed to be of Viṣṇu) the pilgrim saves one thousand families and takes them and himself to the blissful, inexhaustible and never-ending world of Viṣṇu. Then Vāyu 111. 47-56 deal with the rewards of śrāddhas performed at Rudrapada, Brahmapada and 14 other *padas* expressly named by it.¹⁵⁰⁴ 'For whosoever by name a pilgrim offers a *pinḍa* on Gayāsīras, that man, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven he secures *moksa*.'

On the 5th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. the 7th day from entering Gayā), the pilgrim should bathe in the sacred place called Gadālola.¹⁵⁰⁵ By performing śrāddha with *pinḍas* at Gadālola he takes his pitrs and himself to the world of Brahmā. Then at the Aksayavata he should perform a śrāddha

1503. कौञ्जपादात्कल्मषीर्थं यावत्साक्षादुयाशिरः। बाहु. 111. 44 कौञ्जपाद is the hill कुण्डपट्ट as stated in बाहु. 108. 75 'कौञ्जरूपेण हि मुनिर्मुण्डपट्टे तपोऽकरोत्। तस्य पादाङ्गितो यस्मात्कौञ्जपादस्ततः स्मृतः ॥'

1504. The त्रिरथली p 366 remarks that there is no separate śrāddha on Gayāsīras apart from the śrāddhas on Visnupada and the other *padas* गयाशिरसि यः पिण्डान्येषां नात्मा तु निर्वपेत्। नरकस्था दिवं याति स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुय ॥ बाहु 111 73. Agni. 115. 47 has the latter half Gayāsīras is the centre of Gayā and the most holy spot in it

1505. This tīrtha was so called because Ādi-Gadādhara washed his mace in the water there after smashing the head of demon Heti with it दैत्यहृत्तरय यच्छीर्षं गदया तद् द्विधा कुतम्। ततः प्रक्षालिता यस्मात्तीर्थं तच्च विमुक्तये। गदालोलमिति ख्यातं सर्वेयामुत्तमोत्तमम्। बाहु 111, 75 गदालोल is in the stream of the river Phalgu.

and honour the (Gayā) brāhmanas established by Brahmā with offerings and food. When they are gratified gods together with pitrs become gratified.¹⁵⁰⁶ Then the pilgrim should bow to the Aksayavata and worship it with a mantra and also bow to worship Prapitamaha. Agni 115. 69-73 and Nāradiya (uttara) chap. 47 also refer to these.

The Tristhalīsetu (p 368) remarks that the above are the fixed rites for seven days in Gayā, that other tīrthas may be visited according to one's convenience if one stays in Gayā for half a month or a month; that the śrāddha at the Pretaśīla is to be the first and that at the Aksayavata is to be performed at the end,¹⁵⁰⁷ and that although there is variation between the order in which tīrthas are to be visited on the several days according to the Vāyupurāṇa, the Agnipurāṇa and other purāṇas, yet as the Vāyupurāṇa is most detailed as regards Gayā rites, the order therein should be followed and that one not knowing the order may visit the tīrthas in any order¹⁵⁰⁸ except Pretaśīla and Aksayavata. Gayāyātra, chapter 112 of the Vāyupurāṇa, refers to king Gaya who performed a *yajña* and who got two boons, one about the restoration of the Gayā brāhmanas to favour and the other that Gayāpurī be named after him and who then went to Viśnuloka. Then it narrates the story of king Viśālā (verses 7-15) who being sonless performed pindadāna on Gayāśīrṣa and thereby saved his three ancestors, got a son and also himself went to heaven. Then another story is told (verses 16-20) of a deceased person, who was in the condition of a *preta*, offering one-sixth of his property to a trader and asking him to perform Gayāśrāddha with the rest of his wealth and who on account of śrāddha at Gayā became free from the condition of *preta*.¹⁵⁰⁹ Then verses 20-60 mention several other tīrthas of Gayā such as Gayātrī-tīrtha, Prāci-sarasvatī-tīrtha, Viśālā, Leliḥāna, the

1506. Compare 'ये शुभान्पूजयिष्यन्ति गययामगता नराः। हयक्रयैर्वर्ते. आर्क्षे-स्तेषां कुलशतं ब्रजेत्। नरकात्स्वर्गलोकाप स्वर्गलोकात्परा गतिम्।' अग्नि. 114, 39-40.

1507. संसारवृक्षसाम्राज्यशेषपायक्षयाय च। अक्षयवतादत्रे च ननोक्षयप्रदाय वै॥ कलौ माहेश्वरा लोका येन तस्माद्भूदाधरा। तिष्ठन्त्वोऽभवत् च वन्दे श्रीमपितामहम्॥ पाशु 111. 83-84; आर्क्षे वदन्ते कुर्याद् ब्राह्मणानां च भोजनम्। एकस्मिन् भोजिते विश्वे कोटिभ्यो गति भोजिताः किं पुनर्ब्रह्मभिर्भुजैः पितॄणां दत्तमक्षयम्।... वदं वदेश्वरं नत्वा पूजयेत् श्रुतिमहम्। अग्नि. 115. 71-73.

1508. क्रमतोऽक्रमतो वापि गययात्रा महाफलः। अग्नि. 115 74 q by त्रिष्यद्दीः p. 368.

1509. Both the stories occur in अग्निपुराण 115. 54-63, नारदीय (उत्तर) 44, 26-50, गरुड 1 84, 34-43, and the first about King विशाल in वराहपुराण 7.12ff.

hermitage of Bharata, Mundaprstha, Akāśagangā, Vaitarani and other rivers and sacred places. It winds up by saying that six Gayās confer *mukti* (by worship and pindādāna at them), viz. Gayāgaja, Gayāditya, Gayatṛī (tirtha), Gadādhara, Gayā and Gayāsīras.^{1509a}

The Agnipurāṇa (chap 116. 1-34) has a long list of tirthas at Gayā that is quoted by the Tristhalīsetu pp. 376-378, which are passed over here.

Though the number of tirthas at Gayā is very large, the majority of pilgrims do not visit them all. Visits to three places are absolutely necessary for every pilgrim to Gayā, viz. Phalgu river, Visnupada and Aksayavata, at all of which worship has to be done with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood paste, *tāmbūla*, lighted lamp and pindas to ancestors have to be offered. The Visnupada temple is built over the footprint of Visnu on the rock to the west of the river Phalgu. The old town of Gayā was built round Visnupada and it is the largest and most important temple in Gayā. The footprint (about 16 inches in length) deemed to be God Visnu's is inside an octagonal basin plated with silver. Pilgrims of all castes (except untouchables) surround the basin and cast their offerings inside the basin, though for a substantial payment the priests clear out all people, shut the door for a minute or two and allow a very orthodox or a rich person to make his offerings without being disturbed by anyone else. There are 45 *vedīs* (or sacred places) at which the leisured pilgrim may offer pindas in the Gayāksetra which extends from about five miles to the north-west of Old Gayā town to about 7 miles south of it. Though the ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien and Hiouen T'sang make a distinction between Gayā and Uruvilvā or Uruvelā where Buddha attained Enlightenment after six years of severe *tapas*, the Bodhi tree (*Mahābodhitaru*) was recognized by the Gayāmāhātmya as one of the sacred places which Hindu pilgrims should visit and is so regarded even now. When the Hindus appropriated Buddhist sacred places to themselves it is difficult to say. The Bodhi tree is the oldest historical tree in the world. A branch of it is said to have been transplanted to Ceylon in the times of the great Emperor Aśoka (about 250 B.C.)

1509 a गयामञ्जरी गथादित्यो गायत्री च नदीधरः । गया गयामिहश्चैव षड् गया मुक्तिदायिका ॥ वाङ् 112. 60 q. by तीर्थचि p 328 (reads षड्गयम् मुक्तिदायकी), त्रिस्थली p 372 This occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 39-40 गयामञ्जरी—probably refers to the pillar with the figure of an elephant near the Gadādhara temple at Gayā.

and at Kandy in Ceylon a *pippala* tree is even now shown as that transplanted tree or the successor of that branch. The *Gayāśīra*¹⁵¹⁰ is a set of rocky hills such as *Gayāśīra*, *Munda-prsthā*, *Prabhāsa*, *Grdhrakūṭa*, *Nāgakūṭa*, ranging over one *krośa* (about two miles).

It has been already stated above (p. 666) that the rites at the *Aksayavata* are the last in the pilgrimage to *Gayā*. The *Gayā*-wal priest binds the thumbs or hands of the pilgrim with a garland of flowers and receives his fees. He gives sweetmeats to the pilgrim as *prasāda*, applies *tilaka* to the pilgrim's forehead, touches the pilgrim on his back, pronounces the word '*suphala*' (the pilgrimage has been fruitful or successful), declares that the pilgrim's ancestors have gone to heaven and blesses the pilgrim. It must be noted that there is a special class of priests called *Dhāmin* who alone (and not the ordinary *Gayāwals*) have the right of officiating at five *vedis* viz. at *Pretasīla*, *Rāmasīla*, *Rāmakunda*, *Brahmakunda* and *Kakabali*, that are situated on or about the two hills *Rāmasīla* and *Pretasīla* (vide Bengal District Gazetteers, vol. 12 for *Gayā* p. 66). They are regarded as inferior in status to the regular *Gayāwals*.

One important question on which there is great divergence of views among the medieval digests is about the ancestors to whom *śrāddha* is to be offered at *Gayā*. In the *Vāyu* and other *Purāṇas* it is frequently said that he who performs *śrāddha* at *Gayā* becomes free from the debt due to the *pitr*¹⁵¹¹ or that what is offered to the *pitr* at *Gayā*, *Dharmaprsthā*, *Brahmasaras*, or on the *Gayāśīra* and under the imperishable *Vata* tree becomes inexhaustible. In most of these passages the plural of the word '*pitr*' is used. Therefore it follows that *śrāddha* is to be offered in *Gayā* to three paternal ancestors. And on account of a verse attributed to *Gautama*,¹⁵¹² the three male maternal ancestors also are to be offered *śrāddha*. The difference arises with

1510. *Gayāśīras* and *Gayā* were according to Buddhist works well-known places in Buddha's days. Vide the *Mahāvagga* I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 13 p. 134) cited above (on p. 646) and *Anguttara Nikāya* (text) vol. IV, p. 302 'एक समर्थ भगवा ययायं विहरति गयासीसे'.

1511. आल्लुक्थो गयासीसे पितृणामृणो हि सः। वायु 105, 30; vide also वायु 108, 60 and 90, 109, 41; 'गयायां धर्मपूते च सरसि ब्रह्मणस्तथा। गयासीसे कटे चैव पितृणां दत्तमक्षयम्॥' वारदीय (उत्तर) 44, 54, गरुड I. 83 42-43. This last is ascribed to बृहस्पति by कल्पतरु (on सीर्थ) p. 167.

1512. पितरो यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा अपि। अविशेषेण कर्तव्यं विशेषाधरत्न चजेत्। इति गौतमोक्तेः। त्रिशत्यं p. 349, quoted also in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 56.

reference to the wives of these six male paternal and maternal ancestors. The Agnipurāṇa proposes an option (115 10) that the *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha are nine or twelve. When they are to be nine, the śrāddha is for three paternal ancestors, three male ancestors of the mother and the wives of the latter three male ancestors, while there is a separate śrāddha for the mother, paternal grand-mother and paternal great-grandmother. If there are to be twelve *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha, then all the wives of the paternal ancestors and of maternal ancestors would be included in one śrāddha. Aparārka allowed an option (as in Agni) in Gayā-śrāddha.¹⁵¹³ According to the Smṛtyarthasāra¹⁵¹⁴ and Hemādri the Anvataka-śrāddha and Gayāśrāddha for the paternal ancestors and that for the wives of these (i. e. mother, paternal grandmother &c.) must always be separate, but the śrāddha for the mother's paternal ancestors and their wives should be one (and therefore the *devatās* will be nine). Yama (verse 80) appears to hold that the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother are always to be associated with their respective husbands in śrāddha. Some held that the *devatās* of Gayāśrāddha were only six viz the three male paternal ancestors and three male maternal ancestors.¹⁵¹⁵ The Tri. S ultimately remarks that the usage of the country should be the deciding principle. The Prajāpati-smṛti (183-184) has some rather contradictory views as to when there would be 12 or 9 or 6 *devatās* in a śrāddha. When there are twelve *devatās*, the *saṅkalpa* at the Pretaśilā-śrāddha which is the model of all the śrāddhas at the other sacred spots in Gayā (with suitable modifications) will be as noted below.¹⁵¹⁶

It should be noted that there are certain special characteristics of Gayāśrāddha. There is no tonsure (Vāyu 83. 18

1513 तत्स्थान्त्वष्टकादित्रये स्त्रीणां आहुं पृथगेव । गयामहालयामौ तु पृथक् सह वा भर्तृभिरिति सिद्धम् । अपरार्क p 432, गृह्य I 84. 24 18 'आहुं तु नवदेवत्वं कुर्याद् द्वादश-देवतम् । अन्वष्टकाहुं पुत्रैश्च गयया सूतवासरे ॥'

1514. तत्र मातृआहुं पृथक् प्रशस्तम् । मातामहानां सपत्नीकमेव । स्मृत्यर्थसार pp 59-60, vide विश्वली p. 349 for the view of Hemādri.

1515 अत्र केचित्पितृवर्गमातामहवर्गेरूपतया षड्देवत्वमेवेत्याहुः ।... अत्र सर्वत्र मूल-वचनानि देशाचारतश्च व्यवस्थेति सामान्यविधिवैकीकम् । विश्वली p 349. रघुनन्दन in his तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व notes that this is the good view.

1516 ओम् । अद्याहुकगोत्राणां पितृपितामहपितामहानामसुकासुकदेवशर्मणाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातृ-पितामही-पितामहीनामसुकासुकदेवीनाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातामह-प्रमातामह-पुत्रप्रमातामहानामसुकासुकदेवशर्मणाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातामही-प्रमातामही-पुत्र-प्रमातामहीनामसुकासुकदेवीनां मेतत्त्वविमुक्तिकामः मेतशिलाया आहुमहं करिष्ये । तीर्थञ्चि. p. 287 These twelve are specified in गृह्यपुराण I. 84 45-47.

and note 1485 above). One must honour the Gayāwals alone, and not other brāhmanas, however learned they may be; one should not consider the family or character or learning of Gayā brāhmanas (vide p. 579 above and note 1313). But it has to be remembered that Nārāyanabhatta¹⁵¹⁷ did not accept this for all śrāddhas t Gayā, but only as to the śrāddha under the Aksaya-vata, since the Vāyu (111. 79-80) again refers under Aksaya-vata to the worship of Gayā brāhmanas and since following the maxim of 'caturdhākarana' laid down in Jai. III. 1 26-27 the later specific provision narrows down the wide words used in the earlier passage. At Gayā one could offer pinda to oneself but without sesame.¹⁵¹⁸ The Tri S. (p. 350) observes (relying on Vāyu) that when a man offers a pinda to 'himself, it should be in the hands of the image of Janārdana on Bhasmakūta¹⁵¹⁹ and that the pilgrim to Gayā can offer a pinda to himself only when it is certain that he has no son or other *adhikārī* for offering śrāddha. Further, any one related or unrelated, could offer a pinda¹⁵²⁰ to anybody, as laid down in Vāyu 'Whether it is one's own son or the son of another (who offers), in whosoever name a pinda is let fall at Gayā, that man attains everlasting *Brahma*. It is desired that anyone may offer a pinda to anybody after uttering that person's name and gotra and the latter reaches the highest goal'

There are several works, printed and in mss., that deal with the procedure of Gayāśrāddha. There is the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Vācaspati printed at the Chandraprabha press, Benares city, the Tīrtha-yātrā-tattva of Raghunandana (which contains a Gayā-

1517. गवायां तु निर्घ्ना अपि तत्रत्या एव द्विजा भोग्या इति तु हेमाद्रिः। वयं तु ब्रह्म-प्रकल्पितान् विनाम्नोजयेत्पूजयेद्ध इत्यक्षयवदमकरणे पुनः अण्णाद्यहोकारणोपसंहारन्याये-नाक्षययदभ्राह्मणिवदो न गवाभ्राह्मणवे। एवं च क्षिप्वाचारोप्यहृत इति। त्रिषली० p. 352.

1518. आत्मनस्तु महासुखे गवायां तु तिलैर्विना। पिण्डनिर्घर्षणं कुर्यात्तथा चारुष्व
भोजजा॥ वायु. 83. 34 q by त्रिषली० p 350 from स्मृतिरत्नावली. vide also वायु.
105. 12 and अग्नि 115 68 'पिण्डो देयस्तु सर्वेषु कुलतारकैः। आत्मनस्तु तथा
देवो ह्यक्षयं लोकमिच्छता॥'

1519. जनार्दनो भस्मकूटे तस्य हस्ते तु पिण्डस्तु। आत्मनोऽथवा न्येदा सन्नेनापि
'तिलैर्विना॥ जीवतां दधिर्समिश्रं सर्वे ते विष्णुलोकगाः॥ वायु. 108. 85; vide
शब्दशुषण 'जनार्दनस्य हस्ते तु पिण्डं दद्यात्स्वक नरः। एष पिण्डो मया दत्तो तव हस्ते
जनार्दन। परलोकवर्तते महानक्षत्र्यमुपतिष्ठताम्॥', compare नारद (उत्तर) 47. 62-63 for
very similar verses.

1520. आत्मनोऽप्यन्यजी वापि गवाधूनी यदा तदा। यस्मान्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं ते नयेद्
ब्रह्म शाश्वतम्॥ नामगोत्रे समुच्चार्य पिण्डपातनाभिप्रेते। येन केनापि कस्मैचित्स याति परमां
शान्तिम्॥ वायु 105. 14-15. Vide also वायु. 83. 36.

paddhati) published in Bengali characters. Then I consulted two mss. viz the Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati of Raghunātha son of Mādhava (D. C. ms. No. 93 of 1891-95) and the Gayāśrāddha-vidhi of Vācaspati (D. C. No 245 of 1887-91). The procedure in the Tirthayātrā-tattva of Raghunandana is set out here briefly without actually citing in full the Vāyupurāṇa passages which it quotes profusely. Raghunandana appears to follow the Tirtha-cintāmaṇi closely as some of the notes will show. After the pilgrim enters Gayā he should first make an appropriate saṅkalpa¹⁵²¹ for a bath in Phalgu, take the clay from the river, apply it to his body and bathe. Then he should perform *tarpaṇa*¹⁵²² to the twelve male and female ancestors (specified in note 1516 above). Then he should declare a saṅkalpa that he would perform Gayāśrāddha with the words 'Om! adyetyādi Gayātirtha-prāpti-nimittaka-śrāddhamaham karisyē'. Then he should perform a *pūrvana-śrāddha* (described above pp. 485-505) excepting the *āvāhana* and *arghya* rites. If the pilgrim be unable to perform all the details of śrāddha, he may offer only pindas. Then on the same day he should go to the Pretaśilā which adjoins the west bank of the river Phalgu and is to the north of Gayā and perform śrāddha there as follows: he should perform the purification of the ground, sit down on it, perform *ācamana*, face the south, wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, recite the verses (Vāyu 110 10-12 'Kavyavālo...śrāddhenānena śāśvatīm'), contemplate on his pīṭra, perform *prāṇāyāma*, sprinkle water on the materials for śrāddha after remembering Pundarikākṣa (Viṣṇu), make the saṅkalpa (set out in note 1516). He should go through the whole procedure of śrāddha up to the payment of dakṣiṇā to brāhmanas. After this he should sit to the south of the altar (where he performed the śrāddha), should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, face the south, place on the ground three kuśas and after reciting the *mantra* (Vāyu 110. 10-12) should make an invocation once in the form of offering an *aṅgālī* of water mixed with sesame, then honour the father with *pādyā* (water for washing the feet), recite the two verses

1521 ओम् । अद्येत्यादि अश्वमेधसहस्रजन्यफलविलक्षणफलपासिकाम फल्युतीर्थे रत्नानमहं करिष्ये । This is the सङ्कल्प in तीर्थचि p 286 and तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p 2

1522 रघुनन्दन sets out the formulas of *tarpaṇa* for Sāmavedins and Yajurvedins 'तत्रामुकगोत्रोऽस्मत्पिता अमुकदेवशर्मा तृप्यतामिदं तीर्थोदिकं तस्मै स्वधा पितरं भीषयामिनि सामनः । यजुर्वेदोक्तम् । ओ अमुकगोत्रपितरमुकदेवशर्मेस्तृप्यस्वैतत्ते तीर्थोदिकं स्वधा पितरं भीषयामिनि । तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p 3. The first is set out by तीर्थचि. p. 286 also.

(Vāyu 110. 20-21 'a brahma.. tilodakam' with *om* prefixed), perform invocation as before of the father and others with water in folded hands and should offer a pinda to his father of *pūyasa* or other material mixed with sesame, water and honey with the words 'Om, adya amuka-gotraṃ pitar-amukadevaśarman, esa te pindaḥ svadhā'. In this way he should offer pinda to the remaining eleven devatās, viz. paternal grandfather and others (or eight or five according to usage). He should donate a fee according to his means. Then he should sit to the south of the place he so far occupied, spread on the ground kuśas having roots but with tips turned to the south, should repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110 10-12), perform on those kuśas once an invocation in the form of an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame, repeat the two verses (Vāyu 110. 22-23 'Pitā pitāmaha...mupatisthatām' with *om* prefixed^{1522a}) and should offer one pinda made of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, ghee, curds, water and honey to all the twelve devatās (ancestors) together. Then follows what is called *Śoḍaśīkarma*, which is as follows. Nineteen spots for pindas should be made (each to the south of the preceding) and should be smeared with *pañcagavya* one after another; then he should spread over each kuśas with their tips to the south, should invoke on the kuśas the persons intended with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 30-32 'asmat-kule mṛta... tilodakāḥ'), should worship them by offering sandalwood paste and the rest, (and if he is performing the rite of *sodaśī* on a spot sacred to a specific deity then worship that deity also with an appropriate mantra), should then offer once as before an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame and offer pindas beginning from the first spot, each pinda being offered after reciting each of the 19 mantras (Vāyu 110. 34-55, omitting 110.44 'asipatra o', 110.46 'anekayātana-samsthāḥ ye nītā o', and treating 52-53 as one mantra and 54-55 as one mantra)^{1522b}. He should offer 19 pindas

1522 a It should be noted that *om* is to be recited before each verse intended as mantra here and below.

1522 b. The Tīr C. (pp 290-292) slightly differs. It does include Vāyu 110. 46 and treats the three verses (Vāyu 110 51-53) as one mantra. It is difficult to understand why the writers of digests did not say that the *śrāddhasodaśī* should be performed with only 18 mantras from out of the 21 or 22 verses with option to the reciter. Where the mantras exceed the number required, Jaimini X. 5 14 states 'अपूर्वास्तु तु सख्यास्तु विकल्पे स्थत्सवस्तिमर्षव्यात्.' Raghunandana reads the five verses (51-55) somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāṇa, though the sense is not much affected.

of the size already stated and made of the material already mentioned with the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form. Raghu-nandana explains that although there are nineteen pindas still this is called *śrāddhasodaśī* as a technical term.¹⁵²³ It would be noticed that all the mantras refer to males in the words 'ye', 'te', 'tebhyaḥ'. So this is 'Pum-sodaśī.' There is a 'strī-sodaśī' also which only involves changing the words of the mantras in the masculine to words in the feminine gender as indicated in the *Vāyupurāṇa* itself.¹⁵²⁴ Otherwise there is no difference between the two (pumsodaśī and strīsodaśī). The note below states the mode in which both males and females are to be invoked and gratified.

Water should be sprinkled over all pindas three times with a vessel full of water mixed with sesame. The mantras repeated at the time are quoted below in the note.¹⁵²⁵ Then he prostrates himself on the ground and should dismiss (send away) them (the persons invoked) with the words 'O father and others! forgive me.' Then wearing the sacred thread in the *savya* form, he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) and recite with his face to the east the two mantras (*Vāyu* 110. 59-60 'saksinaḥ santu,' and 'āgatosmi Gayām'). If a pilgrim is unable to carry out all this lengthy procedure, he should at least offer pindas on Pretasīla, by making a *saukalpa* (like the one in note 1516 saying 'pindadānam' for *śrāddham*). He should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode and repeat the verses in *Vāyu* (110. 10-12 and 110. 59-60) and should perform according to his *sūtra* the various items such as drawing lines on the altar meant for placing pindas, spreading kuśas, sprinkling down water on the pindas, the offering of pindas, re-sprinkling

1523. ऊनविंशतौ षोडशसु पारिभाषिकं पञ्चात्रवत् । तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 8. When a person inquires of another how many mango trees or fruit the latter has got the latter may reply they are five, even if actually they may be six or seven.

1524. एतेश्च सर्वमन्त्रैस्तु स्त्रीलिङ्गानां समुह्य च । पिण्डान् दद्याद्यथापूर्वं स्त्रीणां नात्रा-
दिकाक्रमात् । वायु. 110 56 q. in त्रिस्थली० p. 356 स्त्रीषोडश्या तु—अस्मत्कुले मृता ये
चेत्यावाहनमन्त्रादारभ्य तिन्नाणि सख्य इति पर्यन्तं सम्भवत्स्त्रीलिङ्गपूजनीयम्, अन्यस्तु शृणो-
शीवत् सर्वम् । तिथिचि p. 292. So instead of the मन्त्र 'अस्मत्कुले मृता ये च गतिर्येषां
न विद्यते' (वायु. 110. 34), in the स्त्रीषोडशी the मन्त्र will be अस्मत्कुले मृता याश्च गति-
र्यसा न विद्यते । तासांमुद्धरणार्थाय इमं पिण्डं ददाम्यहम् ॥ त्रिस्थली० p. 357 refers to
this स्त्रीषोडशी

1525. ओम् । ये च वो येचास्मास्मासन् याश्च वो याश्चास्मास्मासन् ते चावाह्यन्तां तांश्वा-
वाह्यन्ताम् । तृप्यन्तु भवन्तस्तृप्यन्तु भवन्तस्तृप्यन्तु गोत्रान् पुत्रानभितर्पयन्तीरापो मधुमतीरिमाः ।
स्वपा पितृभ्योऽर्घ्यं दुहान्ना आपो देवीरभयास्तृप्यन्तु । तृप्यन्तु तृप्यन्तु तृप्यन्तेति । तीर्थचि. p. 293,
तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व pp. 10-11.

water, holding one's breath, loosening the knot of one's garment, offering a thread and sandalwood paste.

Then the pilgrim should descend from the hill (Pretaśilā) to the ground below and should bathe in the deep pool well-known as Rāmātirtha ¹⁵²⁶ (which is in the form of Prabhāsa-hrada) at the meeting place of the great river (Phalgu) with the Prabhāsa hill after making a sankalpa (as given in the footnote) and after repeating the mantra 'janmāntarasatam' (Vāyu 108.18). He should then perform *tarpana* and perform śrāddha or (if unable to offer śrāddha) offer only pindas according to the procedure of his own grhyasūtra. He should offer as done in the Pretaśilā śrāddha twelve pindas to the father and the others, the single inexhaustible pinda and the sodasi-pindas. If he cannot go through all these, he may perform any one of them. Then he should make a sankalpa and should offer obeisance to Rāma with the mantra 'Rāma Rāma' (Vāyu 108.20). When a pilgrim performs this bath, śrāddha and pindadāna his pitrs become free from the condition of being *preta* (Vāyu 108.21). Then he should perform obeisance to the refulgent Prabhāseśa (Śiva). He should offer obeisance to both Rāma and Prabhāseśa with the mantra 'āpastvamasi' (Vāyu 108.22). Then he should offer a *bali* of boiled rice to Yama with the words 'this is a bali, om! bow to Yama.' Then on a hill called Naga situated to the south of Prabhāsa hill and on the middle of Pretaśilā he should recite the verse 'dvau śvānau' (Vāyu 108.30) and offer a bali made up of some kind of cooked food with the words 'this is a bali to Yamarāja and Bhramarāja (Dharmarāja?); salutation'. This offering of bali is obligatory (on every pilgrim); the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites on the first day (i. e. the day of entering Gayā).

On the 2nd day of entering Gayā the pilgrim should bathe in Phalgu, perform his daily duty of tarpana and worship of gods and then in the afternoon bathe in Brahmakunda ¹⁵²⁷ situated in the north-east corner which touches the root of Pretapārvata, that is at the distance of a gavyūti from Gayā and that (Brahmakunda) is situated to the north-west of Gayā.

¹⁵²⁶ ओम् । अथेत्यादि सायणस्मृत्यन्तरकृतकुतुम्भकतविलयनामेऽस्मिन्नामनीर्थं गानं मद् करिष्ये । तीर्थान्च p. 294, तीर्थयात्रातन्त्र pp 11-12 The मन्त्र 'जन्मान्तः' (वायु. 108. 18) is quoted by both.

¹⁵²⁷ The सङ्कल्प at ब्रह्मकुण्डज्ञान is ओम् अथेत्यादि पित्रादीनां पुनरावृत्तिरिति ब्रह्मलोकाभिषेकिका प्रेतपर्वते आज्ञमद् करिष्ये । तीर्थयात्रातन्त्र p. 13.

The śrāddha performed here is believed to be performed on the altar of Brahmā (i. e. where Brahmā performed his Asvamedha). Then he should with the face to the south throw on Pretapārvata barley grains mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ye kecit' (Vāyu 110 63 q both by Tir. C. p. 297 and by Raghunandana) and offer an añjali of water mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ā-brahma' (Vāyu 110.64).¹⁵²⁸

On the third day after entering Gayā come the rites of Pañcatīrthi described above (pp. 663-666). The pilgrim bathes¹⁵²⁹ in the Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'uttare mānase snānam' (Vāyu 111. 2-3). He should offer one añjali with the verses (Vāyu 110. 20-21) and perform śrāddha. After this śrāddha he sits to the south of Uttara-mānasa, spreads *kusās* with tips towards the south, offers water with sesame and offers to all together one pinda of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, *kusās*, honey, curds and water. Then he bows to and worships the Sun's image on Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'namostu bhānave' (Vāyu 111 5). Then he repairs to Dakṣinamānasa in silence and there takes a bath in Udīcī tīrtha, in Kanakhala and then in Dakṣinamānasa with the mantra (Vāyu 111 9-10) and then performs salutation and worship to Dakṣinārka, then makes a bow to Maunārka, then goes to Phalgu tīrtha situated to the east of Gadādhara and takes a bath and performs tarpana and śrāddha there; then he worships Pitāmaha (with Vāyu 111. 19), visits Gadādhara and worships (with Vāyu 111.21), then again goes to the five tīrthas, at each of which he bathes and performs tarpana. Then he bathes the image of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta. Raghunandana notes that the bathing of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta is obligatory, while the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites of pañcatīrthi.

The various tīrthas to be visited after Pañcatīrthi have been mentioned above. It is not necessary to repeat them here. The special mantras from the Vāyupurāṇa cited by Raghunandana

1528 It may be stated once for all that there is a saṅkalpa appropriate to each bath, that a bath in a sacred place is followed by tarpana, that śrāddha is performed as on *Prtaśilā* with all details beginning from invocation and ending with making the gods bear witness. Therefore these items will not be repeated hereafter and only the special provisions in each case will be pointed out.

1529 The स्कृत्प is ओ अयेत्यादि पापक्षयपूर्वक-सूर्यलोकादिभूमिर्ज्ञापितुं इति नाम उत्तरमन्त्रे स्नानमहं करिष्ये

nandana will alone be specified here. After bath and śrāddha at Matangavāpi, the pilgrim should go to Matangesa to the north of Matangavāpi and recite Vāyu 111. 25 (pramānam devatāh santū &c.). When pouring water at the root of the mango tree established by Brahmā the pilgrim repeats Vāyu 111. 36 (āmram brahma-sarodhbhūtam &c.). When bowing to Brahmā, the mantra is Vāyu 111. 34 (namo brahmāne &c.). The bali to Yama is offered with Vāyu 111. 38 (Yamarāja-dharmarājau &c.). The bali to the two dogs is to be given with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 39) and that to the crows with Vāyu 111. 40 (Aindra-vāruna-vāyavya &c.). As regards the *padas* the pilgrim should begin with Rudrapada and perform śrāddha there and then proceed to Visnupada and worship Viṣṇu with five upacāras¹⁵³⁰ with the mantra 'Idam Viṣṇur-vi cakrame' (Rg. I. 22. 17). To the south of the vedī of Visnupada he should perform the śrāddhasodaśī (described above pp 672-673) up to Vāyu 110. 60 (anrnosham-rnatrayāt). About an ascetic, vide above p. 655.

Then Raghunandana briefly touches upon the śrāddhas to be performed at the several *padas* and remarks that the last śrāddha at the *padas* is that at Kāśyapapada. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 76 as the mantra for bath in Gadālola-tīrtha. Then he states that the śrāddha at the Aksayavata is to be performed on the north side of the Vata near its bottom. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 82-83 (ekārṇave &c.) as the mantras for bowing to the Aksayavata. Further, he speaks of śrāddhas to be performed at several sub-tīrthas, such as Gayatri, Sarasvatī, Viśālā, the hermitage of Bharata, Mundaprstha. Then he prescribes that the pilgrim should cross the Vaitarani (situated to the east of the Devanadi which is near Bhasmakūta) with the mantra (Vāyu 105. 44, yāsau Vaitarani nāma &c.). After referring to several other tīrthas such as Gopracāra, Ghrtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Raghunandana recommends that the pilgrim should visit Pāndusilā (which is in Campakavana near Pītāmaha) and perform śrāddha there. He notes that the four rivers and streams called Ghrtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Devikā and Mahānadi¹⁵³¹ (Phalgu) are called Madhusravā when they meet the Śilā (Vāyu

1530. For the five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729-730.

1531. In the वायुपुराण when speaking of गया the word महानदी occurs frequently (as in 112. 30, 110 6), but it refers to फल्गु. On वायु 110. 6 (ततो गयाप्रवेशे च पूर्वतोऽस्ति महानदी। तत्र तोयं समुत्पाद्य स्नातव्यं निर्मले जले॥) the त्रिस्थलीः p. 352 observes 'महानदीति फल्गु एव नामधेयम्। तोयं समुत्पाद्येति शुभमनदीत्याहोकारेणनेन तोयमुत्पाद्य'.

112.30) and a bath, tarpana and śrāddha thereon yield immense results. Then are mentioned several other tīrthas such as Daśāśvamedha, Matangapada, Makha-kunda (near Udyanta parvata), Gayākūta. Raghunandana winds up by providing that on Bhasmakūta the pilgrim should place with his right hand in the hand of Janārdana a pinda mixed with curds (but without sesame) and on doing so recite five verses (Vāyu 108. 86-90, ¹⁵³² 'eṣa pinda mayā' &c.). Then Raghunandana quotes sixteen verses about Mātsyodaśī (which do not occur in Vāyupurāna and are passed over here).

We have to distinguish between Gayāksetra, Gayā and Gayāśīras or Gayāśīrsa. The Vāyu, Agni and Nāradya all assert that Gayāksetra is five krośas ¹⁵³³ (in extent) and Gayāśīras is one krośa. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tīrthas like Kāśī and Prayāga as pañcakrośa. But so far as the Vāyupurāna is concerned the Gayāksetra is about 13 miles in length from Pretaśīla to Mahābodhi tree as shown above. Gayā is said to be two krośas and a half in extent in all directions from Mundaprstha ¹⁵³⁴. Gayāśīras is smaller than Gayā and is identified with Phalgutīrtha (vide note 1499). Gayā and Gayasīsa (Pāli for Gayāśīrsa) are well known to ancient Buddhist texts (Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 in S. B. E. XIII p. 136, Anguttaranikāya, text vol IV. p. 302). Vide n. 1510

Four of the most important and holy tīrthas have been dealt with at some length so far. It is not possible in the space allotted to the section on tīrthas to pursue the same procedure as regards other famous tīrthas. It is proposed to devote a few pages to each of half a dozen or more tīrthas and then to give a somewhat comprehensive list of tīrthas with a few references in the case of each. But before proceeding further reference must be made to certain popular groupings of tīrthas. There is a group of seven cities that are deemed to be very holy and

1532. Raghunandana reads the five verses somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāna, though the sense is not much affected.

1533. पञ्चक्रोशं गयाक्षेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गयाक्षिरः। वायु. 106. 65, अग्नि. 115. 42, मारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 16

1534. मुण्डपृष्ठाञ्च पूर्वस्मिन् दक्षिणे पश्चिमोत्तरे। सार्धं क्रोशद्वयं मानं गयेति परिकीर्तितम्॥ वायुपुराणे q by विश्वली- p 342 The printed वायु (105. 28-29 'मुण्ड कुर्याञ्च पूर्वस्मिन्') appears to have a corrupt reading

the bestowers of *mokṣa*.¹⁵³⁵ They are Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā (i. e. Haridvārā), Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā (i. e. Ujjayinī), Dvārakā. In some works it is Kāntī and not Kāñcī that is mentioned. Badarinātha, Jagannātha Purī, Rāmesvara and Dvārakā—these four are styled Dhāma. There are said to be twelve Jyotirlingas of Śiva, according to the Śivapurāṇa viz. Somanātha¹⁵³⁶ in Saurāstra, Mallikārjuna on Sriśaila hill (in Karnul District and about 50 miles from the Krishna station on the G. I. P. Railway), Mahākālā (in Ujjayinī), Parameśvara in Omkāra-ksetra (an island in the Narmadā), Kedāra in the Himālayas, Bhīmāśankara (north-west of Poona at the source of the Bhīmā river) in Dākīnī, Viśveśvara in Banaras, Tryambakesvara on the banks of the Gautamī i. e. Godāvarī (near Nasik), Vaidyanātha in Citābhūmī, Nāgesa in Dārūkāvana, Rāmesvara in Setubandha and Ghṛsneśa in¹⁵³⁷ Śivālaya (i. e. the modern shrine at the village of Elura,

1535. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची श्रवन्तिका। एतां पुण्यतमाः शोका-
दुरीणास्तमोत्तमाः ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 40 91; काशी काञ्ची च मायाख्या लयोध्या द्वारवत्यपि।
मथुरावन्तिका चैता सप्त पुण्यत्र मोक्षदाः ॥ स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड, 6: 68; काञ्चनपर्वन्ती द्वारवती
कादपयोध्या च पञ्चमी। मायापुरी च मथुरा दुर्गः सप्त विद्वत्किदाः ॥ काशीखण्ड 23. 7.
अयोध्या वान्तिका। पुरी द्वारवती ज्ञेया सप्तैता मोक्षदायिका ॥ गरुडपुराण (मेतखण्ड) 38
5-6. In the स्कन्द, नागरखण्ड 47. 4 काञ्ची occurs as capital of Rudrasena and in
Brahmānda III 13. 94-97 Kāntipurī is described as possessing a place for
Vyāsa's contemplation, a Kumāradhārā and Puskarinī. If the reading काञ्ची
is to be accepted there are divergent views about its location, some holding
it to be the ancient name of Khatmandu the capital of Nepal, while A. G.
identifies it with Kotival 20 miles north of Gwalior

1536 पृथिव्या यानि लिङ्गानि तेषां संख्या न विद्यते। सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले
मल्लिकार्जुनम्। उज्जयिन्यां महाकालमोक्षद्वारे परमेश्वरम् ॥ केदार हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां
भीमशङ्करम्। वाराणस्या च विश्वेशं त्र्यम्बकं गौतमीतटे ॥ वैद्यनाथं चित्तामूर्ते नागेशं
द्वारकावने। सेतुबन्धे च रामेशं पुष्पेशं (पुष्पेशं ?) च शिवालये। द्वादशैकानि नामानि
मातरुणां य. पठेत्। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तं सर्वसिद्धिफलं लभेत्। शिवपुराण IV 1. 18,
21-24. There is divergence of views about the identification of some of
these, viz. about ओङ्कार (Dey p. 5), वैद्यनाथ (Dey p. 50 showing it is either
Deoghar in the Santal Pargana or in Paraligrāma near Satara), द्वारकावन
(Dey, pp. 53-54). Each ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग has an उपलिङ्ग (vide शिवपुराण IV I.
34 42). The बृहन्नारदीयपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) I 6 51 has 'काशीविश्वेश्वरं लिङ्गं
ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं तदुच्यते। तद् दृष्ट्वा परमं ज्योतिरामोति मद्भजोत्तम ॥' Vide 'the Cave Temples
of India' by Fergusson and Burgess p. 367 n. 1. In JBBRAS, vol. X,
pp. 4-6 the verses about the twelve Jyotirlingas and their locations are set
out from morning Stotra.

1537 For Ghṛsneśvara or Gṛstāneśvara at the village Elura, vide
A. S. W. I. vol III pp. 32-83. The famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora is not
the Ghṛsneśvara hoga.

7 miles from Devagiri or Daulatabad). The Śivapurāṇa (Kotidrūdra-saṃhitā) chap. 1 names the twelve Jyotirlingas and chapters 14-33 narrate the legends connected with the twelve lingas. The Skandapurāṇa I (Kedārakhanda) chap. 7 verses 30-35 enumerate several lingas including most of the twelve Jyotirlingas. The Bārhaspatyasūtra (edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas) mentions eight great tīrthas each of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti, that yield all *siddhis* ^{1537a}.

1537 a. अष्ट विष्णुक्षेत्राः । घटारिका-सालग्राम-पुष्पकोत्तम-द्वारका-बिल्वाचल-अनन्त-सिंह-श्रीरङ्गाः । अष्टौ शैवाः । अविमुक्त-गङ्गाद्वार-शिवक्षेत्र-रामेयमुना (?) शिवसरस्वती-मन्थ-शाङ्ख गजक्षेत्राः । शाक्ता अष्टौ च ओम्बोण-जाल-पूर्ण-काम-कोल-श्रीशैल-काञ्ची-महेन्द्राः । एते महाक्षेत्राः सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च । बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III 119-126.

CHAPTER XV

KURUKṢETRA AND SOME OTHER FAMOUS TĪRTHAS

KURUKṢETRA (25 miles east of Ambala) is a very sacred tract, the history of which is lost in the mists of antiquity. In the R̥gveda X. 33. 4 there is a reference to a king Kurusravana, son of Trasadasyu.¹⁵³⁸ The Atharva-veda mentions a Kauravya husband (probably a king) who had a talk with his wife.¹⁵³⁹ In the times of the Brāhmanas Kurukṣetra had become a very holy land. The Śat. Br. (IV. 1. 5. 13) narrates the legend that the gods performed a sacrifice in Kurukṣetra and at first excluded the two Aśvins from any share in it (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 275). The Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā (II. 1. 4., devā vai satṭramāsata Kurukṣetre) and the Tai. Br. (V. 1. 1., devā vai satṭram-āsata tesām Kurukṣetram vedir-āsīt) also say that the Gods performed a *sattra* in Kurukṣetra. The idea underlying these passages appears to be this. The Vedic people of the Brāhmana period held *yajñas* to be the dharma *par excellence*, as stated in R̥g. X. 90. 16 (yajñena yajñam-ayajanta devāstāni dharmāni prathamānyāsan). Kurukṣetra was the centre of Vedic culture in the Brāhmana period and sacrifices must have been performed there on a large scale. Hence it was called dharmakṣetra and as gods were supposed to have attained their position by what men believed to be dharma (*yajña*, *tapas* &c.) it is stated that gods performed *sattras* in Kurukṣetra. The same Brāhmana mentions a Kauravya king Bahlika Pratiptiya (XII. 9. 3. 3, S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 269). The Tai. Br. (I. 8. 4. 1) informs us that the Kuru-Pañcālas went towards the east in winter (*śiśra*) and to the west in summer which was the worst season. The references in the Ait. Br. are far more instructive. The legend about Kavasa in which Sarasvatī helps the sage has already been referred to above (p. 559 n. 1254). The Ait. Br. (8. 1 or II 19) calls that place, where Sarasvatī came rushing, 'Parisaraka'. In another place the Ait. Br. tells us that in its time Nyagrodha (*Ficus India*) was called Nyubja in Kuru-

1538 कुरुश्रवणमातुणि राजान् ज्ञासदस्यवद् मंहिदं वाचतादुकि ॥ ऋ X. 33. 4.
कुरुश्रवण may mean literally 'heard or famous in the land of Kuru'.

1539, कुलायन् कृषवन् कौरव्यपतिर्वदति जायया । अथर्ववेद 20. 127. 8.

ksetra.¹⁵⁴⁰ Elsewhere the Ait. Br. speaks of the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas together with the Vāsa-Uśīnaras (38. 3=VIII. 14). The Tai Ā. narrates¹⁵⁴¹ that the gods performed a *sattra* and Kurukṣetra was their altar (for the *sattra*). The southern side of that Vēdi (i. e. Kurukṣetra) was Khāṇḍava, the northern side was Tūṛghna, the hinder part was Parīṇah, and the country of Maru (desert) was the rubbish pit. This shows that Khāṇḍava, Tūṛghna and Parīṇah were border parts of Kurukṣetra and the Maru district was somewhat away from Kurukṣetra. The Śrautasūtras of Āśv. XII 6, Lātyāyana X. 15 ff and Katyāyana¹⁵⁴² 24 6 5 ff closely follow Tāndya and other Brāhmanas and mention several holy places at which parts of the Śarasvata *sattras* were performed such as Plaksa Prasravana where Sarasvatī starts, the Vaitandhava-hrada of Sarasvatī, the tract called Parīṇah in Kurukṣetra, Yamunā flowing through the country of Kārapacava and the country of Triplakṣāvaharana.

In the Chāndogya Upanisad (I. 10. 1 ff) occurs the story of Usasti Cakrāyana who, when the Kuru country was struck by hailstorms, lived with his very young wife in Ibhyagrāma and went begging for food.

The Nirukta (II. 10) explains that¹⁵⁴³ Devāpi and Śantanu mentioned in Rgveda X. 98. 5 and 7 were historical persons and were brothers, sons of R̥tisena, a king of Kuru. Panini (IV. 1. 151 and IV. 1. 172) explains the formation of the word Kauravya from 'Kuru', the first in the sense of 'apatya', the second in the sense of 'king'.¹⁵⁴⁴

1540. तत्रैताश्चमसान्मुत्सृज्यते न्यग्रोधा अभवन् न्युज्या इति ह्यप्येनानेतर्ह्यचक्षते कुक्षेत्रे ते ह प्रथमजा न्यग्रोधाना तेभ्यो हान्येऽधिजाता । ऐ. ब्रा. 35.4=VII 30.

1541. देवा वै सज्जमासत । तेषां कुक्षेत्रे वेदिर्मासीत् । तस्यै खाण्डवो वक्षिणार्धमासीत् । दूर्लभ्युत्तरार्ध । परीणज्वनार्ध । मरु उत्तर । ऐ. आ. V. 1. 1. Is तूर्ल an older form of कुर्ल? कुर्ल, modern Sugh on the old Jumna, is about 40 miles from Thanesar and 20 miles to north-west of Saharanpur.

1542 Vide क्राथा औ. 'ज्ञप्तामासे ज्ञप्तामासे वसन्तो यजमानाश्च यन्ति दक्षिणेन तीरेण । दृष्टव्यप्ययेऽपोनप्तिवश्च । अग्रे कामायेति हस्ते मासवणे । अवधुधमग्नयवयन्ति यमुनां कारपचर्च मति । अपरं व्यणे नैतन्धवेऽग्निमिन्धीत । कुक्षेत्रे परिणहि स्थलेऽग्न्याधेयमन्वारमणीयान्तं भवति । एतच्च दृष्टव्यतीरेण । अवधुधमग्नयवयन्ति यमुनां त्रिहक्षावहरणं मति । 24.6 5-7, 10.33-34, 38-39. Similar sūtras occur in लाट्यायनश्रौत X 15.1, X 17.12, X. 18.13, X 19.1, 4-5, 8-9 क्रात्यायनश्रौत XXIV. 6 33 refers to the 2nd year and XXIV 6 34 to the third year of the सारस्वतसत्र.

1543. तत्रेतिहासनाचक्षते । देवापिश्चादिपेणः शन्तुश्च कौरव्यौ भ्रातरौ बभूवुः । निरुक्त II 10.

1544 कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः । कुरनादिभ्यो ण्यः । पा. IV, 1. 151 and 172.

The Mahābhārata frequently speaks of the high sanctifying virtues of Kurukṣetra. It appears that the territory to the south of Sarasvatī and to the north of Drsadvatī was included in Kurukṣetra and ¹⁵⁴⁵ that those who resided therein were as if residents of paradise. Kurukṣetra appears to be called Brahmāvarta in Vanaparva 86.6. According to the Vāmanapurāṇa, Kurujāṅgala is ¹⁵⁴⁶ the country between the Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī, while Manu (II 17, 18) defines Brahmāvarta as the country created by God between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī, states that Brahmarsideśa which is slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta comprises Kurukṣetra, the countries of Matsya, Pañcala and Śūrasena. From these passages it is clear that Brahmāvarta is the holiest country in Āryāvarta and that Kurukṣetra was almost like it; we have seen that in the times of the Brāhmaṇas the most sacred Sarasvatī flowed through Kurukṣetra and that the place where Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert was called Vināśana and was itself a very holy place. Originally the land called Kurukṣetra is said to have been the *Vedi* (sacrificial altar) ¹⁵⁴⁷ of Brahman, then it came to be called Samantapañcaka (or syamanta—in some passages) when Parāśurāma made five pools of the blood of ksatriyas in revenge for his father's murder, which were subsequently turned into holy pools of water by the blessings of his pitrs and lastly it came to be called Kurukṣetra when king Kuru, son of Samvarana ¹⁵⁴⁸, ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven *kroṣas* all round. Kurukṣetra is so called after king Kuru. Kuru is said

1545. दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या द्रवहस्त्युचरेण च। ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविधेः।
चमपर्व 83 3. The same verse is चमपर्व 83 204-205.

1546 सरस्वतीद्वयोन्तरं कुरुजाङ्गलम्। वामन 22.47. सरस्वतीद्वयोर्द्वे-
नक्षोर्ध्वद्वयम्। तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते॥ कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याब्द पञ्चालाः कुरु-
सेनकाः॥ एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेशो वै ब्रह्मावर्तोदन्तरः॥ सह 11. 17 and 19. The extent of
countries varied from age to age. पञ्चगल was divided into North and South.
At the time of Buddha the capital of Pañcala was Kanoy. Śūrasena is the
country of which Mathurā was the capital. अन्तर may mean 'slightly less
than' or 'not inferior to or not different from.' The verse सरस्वतीद्वयोः
occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 64 6.

1547. आद्यैषा ब्रह्मणो वेदिस्ततो रामहृदः सृजाम्। कुरुणा च यतः कुरुं कुरुक्षेत्रं ततः
सृजतम्॥ वामन 22 59-60. According to वामन 22. 18-20 there are five *vedis* of
Brahman viz. समन्तपञ्चक (उत्तर), प्रयाग (मध्यमा), सप्तक्षिप्त (पूर्वा), विरजा (दक्षिणा),
पुष्कर (मत्तीची). Vide वामन 22.20 and पद्म IV. 17,7 for the form समन्तपञ्चक

1548. According to the विष्णुपुराण the genealogy is अजमीद-अन-तंवरण-
कुरु, about whom it says 'य इदं धर्मक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रं चकार' (IV 19 74-77).

to have asked of Indra the boon that the territory he ploughed might be 'Dharmaksetra' (domain of righteousness) and that those who may bathe or die there may reap a rich harvest of merit¹⁵⁴⁹. The war between Kurus and Pāṇavas was fought there. It is spoken of as 'Dharmaksetra' in the opening verse of the Bhagavad-gītā. Kurujāngala is said to be a very fit country for śrāddha in Vāyu (77. 93) and Kūrma II 20. 33 and 37. 36-37. In the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hsüan Tsang speaks of the country, the capital of which was Sthānvisvara (modern Thanesar which is the heart of Kuruksetra) as the 'land of religious merit' (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p. 184).

The extent of Kuruksetra is said to be five *yojanas* in radius (in Vanaparva and the Vāmana Purāṇa)¹⁵⁵⁰. A somewhat corrupt verse occurs in the Mahābhārata and some purāṇas¹⁵⁵¹ about the limits of Kuruksetra viz. the territory between Tarantu and Kārantuka and between Macakruka (image of a *yakṣa*) and the Rāma-hradas (pools made by Parāśurāma)—this is Kuruksetra, Samantapañcaka and the northern vedit of Brahmā. The result is that Kuruksetra is referred to under various names viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada, Samantapañcaka, Vinaśana, Sannihati (vide T. Pr. p. 463). For the boundaries of Kuruksetra, vide Cunningham's A. S. R. of India, vol. XIV pp 86-106 where he notes that Kuruksetra was 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles to the north of Panipat. In the remote past Kuruksetra was the centre of

1549. पावदेतन्मया कृतं धर्मक्षेत्रं तदस्तु व । स्नातानां च धृतानां च महापुण्यफलं
तिष्ठ । वामनपुराण 22. 33-34. Compare Salyaparva 53. 13-14.

1550. वेदी भजापतेरेषा समन्तात्पञ्चयोजना । कुरोर्वे यज्ञशीलस्य क्षेत्रमेतन्महात्मनः ॥
वनपर्व 129. 22, समाजगाम च पुनर्बल्लणी वेदिसुतरात् । समन्तपञ्चकं नाम धर्मस्थान-
मद्वयम् ॥ आसमन्ताद्योजनानि पञ्च पञ्च च सर्वतः ॥ वामनपु 22 15-16. The नारदीय
(उत्तर chap. 64 20) states 'पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं दद्यात्सत्यक्षानोद्गमम् । स्यमन्तपञ्चकं
तावत्कुरुक्षेत्रमुदाहृतम् ॥'

1551. तस्मिन्नुक्तारन्तुकार्योर्दन्तरं रामहृदयानां च मन्त्रकक्षस्य । एतत्कुरुक्षेत्रसमन्त-
पञ्चकं पितामहस्योत्तरवेदिर्द्वयते ॥ वनपर्व 83. 208, झल्यपर्व 53. 24 पञ्च. I, 27 92
(reads तस्मिन्नुक्तारन्तुकार्योः), q. by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 179 (from the महाभारत).
वनपर्व 83 9-15 and 200 show that मन्त्रकक्ष was a यक्ष appointed as one of the
होरापाल of कुरुक्षेत्र by God Viṣṇu Should we not separate the first word as
तस्मिन्नुक्त and अरन्तुक्त? In the नारदीय (उत्तर chap 65. 24) we have रन्तुक्त as a sub-
firtha under कुरुक्षेत्र. Vide तीर्थमकाश pp 464-465 for explanation of this verse,
A G p 334 quotes this verse. In Archaeological Survey Reports for India
vol. II p. 215 Cunningham quotes the verse as तस्मिन्नुक्तारन्तुकार्योर्दन्तरं and
remarks that Ratnuka is the Ratan *Jakṣa* (यक्ष) at the north-east corner of
the circuit of Kuruksetra, four miles to the east of Thanesar

all the activities and the culture of the Vedic people. Gradually the Vedic people spread towards the east and south and the country between the Ganges and Jumna and later on Videha (or Mithila) became the centres of Indian culture.

For reasons of space it is not possible to dwell at length on the greatness and sanctity of Kuruksetra as described in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Vanaparva 83 starts by saying that all beings that are in Kuruksetra are freed from all sins and that he also who always says 'I shall go to Kuruksetra, and I shall reside in Kuruksetra' is freed from sins¹⁵⁵². 'In this world there is no place holier than this. Even the particles of dust driven from Kuruksetra by the wind take a great sinner to the highest goal'¹⁵⁵³. Even the Ganges is compared to Kuruksetra (vide note 1324 'Kurukṣetrasamā Ganga'). The Nāradya avers¹⁵⁵⁴ that planets, constellations and stars are subject to the danger of falling down (from the sky) in course of time, but in the case of those that die in Kuruksetra there is no falling on the earth again (i.e. they would not be born again).

It is a remarkable fact that though the Vanaparva in chap. 83 enumerates several tirthas on the Sarasvatī and in Kuruksetra, they do not at all tally with the tirthas mentioned in the Brāhmanas and the Śrautasūtras (except Vināśana which is mentioned in Vanaparva 83.11 and probably Saraka which may be identified with Parisaraka of the Ait. Br.). This means that the Vanaparva account of Sarasvatī and Kuruksetra is later by some centuries than that in the Śrautasūtras. The Nāradya (uttara, chap. 65) names about one hundred tirthas in Kuruksetra. It is not possible to set out all of them. But a few words may be said about some of them. First comes the lake called Brahmasaras or Pavana-hrada (Vanaparva 83, 85, Vāmana 49, 38-41, Nāradya, uttara 65, 95) on

1552. ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र कुरुक्षेत्रमभिप्लवम् । पापेभ्यो विमलचयने तद्वत् ॥ सर्वजन्तवः ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रं गतिष्यामि कुरुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम् । प पापं सततं द्रुवात् सर्वपापं प्रमुच्यते ॥ वनपर्व 83. 1-2 The commentator नीलकण्ठ furnishes a fanciful derivation of कुरुक्षेत्र (on वनपर्व 83. 5) 'कुत्सितं रोतेति कुरु पापं तस्य क्षेपणात् त्रायते इति कुरुक्षेत्रं पापनिवर्तकं ब्रह्मोपलब्धिस्थानत्वात् ब्रह्मसदनम्'. 'सम्पत्कृन्तो येन क्षत्रियाणां ते समन्ता रानकृतकधियोद्वहदा, तेषां पञ्चकं समन्तपञ्चकम् Vide ती म p 463.

1553. नातः परतरं दुर्गं भूमेः स्थानं भविष्यति ।... पातवोपि कुरुक्षेत्रे वायुना संवृदीरिताः । अपि दुष्कृतकर्माणां नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ शल्य 53. 17, 22 q. In कल्प (on तीर्थ) p 178. The verse पातवोपि also occurs in वनपर्व 83. 3.

1554. ग्रहक्षत्रताराणां कालेन पतनाद्भवम् । कुरुक्षेत्रवृत्तानां तु न भूयः पतनं भवेत् ॥ नारदीय II 64 23-24, वामन 33. 16 (last pāda is प्रतनं नैव विद्यते)

which Kuru stayed as an ascetic. A. G. (pp. 334-335) remarks that the lake is 3546 feet long east to west and 1900 feet wide north to south. The Vāmanapurāṇa (22. 50-55) describes it at some length and says that it was half a *yojana* in extent. Cakratīrtha (mentioned by Vāmanapurāṇa 42. 5, 57. 89 and 81. 3) is popularly supposed to be the place where Kṛṣṇa took up the discus for attacking Bhīṣma. Vyāsasthali¹⁵⁵⁵ (named in Vanaparva 84. 96, Nāradya, uttarārdha 65. 83 and Padma I. 26. 90-91) is the same as modern Basthali, 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar where Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son. Asthipura (Padma, Ādi 27. 62) is on the west of Thanesar and south of Aujasghat where the bodies of the warriors killed in the Great Bhārata war were cremated. Cunningham in Archaeological Survey Reports of India vol. II p. 219 states that Cakratīrtha is the same as Asthipura and that in Alberuni's time it was the most famous shrine in Kurukṣetra. Prthūdaka on the Sarasvatī is very highly spoken of in Vanaparva 83. 142-149. 'They say¹⁵⁵⁶ that Kurukṣetra is holy, that Sarasvatī is holier than Kurukṣetra, that the sacred spots (on Sarasvatī) are holier than the river Sarasvatī and that Prthūdaka is holier than all the other tirthas on Sarasvatī. There is no tirtha that is better than Prthūdaka'. The Śālyaparva¹⁵⁵⁷ remarks that whoever, while intently engaged in repeating holy texts, abandons his life at Prthūdaka on the northern bank of the Sarasvatī would not be troubled by death next day (i. e. he would be free from birth and death). The Vāmanapurāṇa (39. 20 and 23) calls it Brahmayonitīrtha. Pithūdaka is modern Pehova in the Karnal District in Panjab, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar. Vide E. I. vol. I p. 184 for the Pehova inscription from the temple of Garibnath dated in *samvat* 276 (of the Harsa Era) i. e. 882-883 A. D., which records the agreement of certain pious horse-dealers to impose on themselves and their customers certain

1555. सरस्वत्या विनशर्नं कृष्णस्रवणं शुभम् । व्यासतीर्थमिति ख्यातं मेमाकञ्च
मनोत्तमः ॥ कूर्मे II 37. 29, vide ब्रह्माण्ड III 13. 69 for a similar verse.

1556. पुण्यमाहुः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रात्सरस्वती । सरस्वत्याश्च तीर्थानि तीर्थेभ्यश्च
पृथुदकेन च पृथुदकातीर्थेन च वाप्यतीर्थं कुरुक्षेत्रं ॥ वनपर्व 83. 147, शान्तिपर्व 152. 11 (first
verse), पद्म (आदि. 27. 33, 34, 36) q. by कल्पः (on तीर्थे) pp 180-181. The
वामनपुराण 22. 44 says 'तस्मैव मध्ये बहुपुण्ययुक्तं पृथुदकं पापहरं शिवं च । पुण्या नदी
ग्राह्यसुखतां प्रयाता जलीययुक्तस्य सुता जलादद्यात् ॥'.

1557. सरस्वत्युक्ते तीरे यस्त्यजेदात्मनस्तप्तुम् ॥ पृथुदके जप्यपरो नैनं श्यो मरणं
तप्तेत् । शाल्यपर्व 39. 33-34, वामनपुराण 39. 19 has the same verse (last pāda is
read as नैतस्य मरणं भवेत्).

taxes and tithes for the benefit of some priests and temples, one of which was the temple of Visnu in his Yajñavarāha avatāra built at Prthūdaka.

The Vāmanapurāṇa (34. 3 ff) and Nāradiya (uttarārḍha 65. 4-7) enumerate seven forests existing in Kurukṣetra as very holy and as destroyers of all sins, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Sitāvana. Vide A. S. R. for India, vol. 14 pp. 90-91 for the *vanas*. In the Śalyaparva (chap. 38) it is said that the world is encompassed by seven Sarasvatīs, then they are enumerated and their locations are specified viz. Suprabhā (in Puskara, where Brahmā engaged in a great sacrifice remembered her, verse 13), Kāñcanākṣī (in the Naimisa forest, v. 19), Viśālā (invoked by Gaya in the Gayā country, verses 20-21), Manoramā (in Auddālaka's yajña in Uttarakosala, verses 22-25), Surenu (in Rśabhadvīpa in Kuru's yajña, verses 26-27), Oghavati (called by Vasistha in Kurukṣetra, verses 27-28), Vimalodā (when Brahmā again performed a yajña in the Himalaya). In the Vāmanapurāṇa 34. 6-8 seven rivers in connection with Sarasvatī are said to be very holy (but nine are actually enumerated) viz. Sarasvatī, Vaitarani, Āpagā, Gangā-Mandakīnī, Madhusravā, Ambunadī, Kauṣikī, Drsadvatī and Hiranvatī.

Kurukṣetra was also called Sannihati or Sannihatya. Vide those words in the list of tīrthas. The Vāmanapurāṇa (32. 3-4) says that Sarasvatī springs from a plaksa tree, that after piercing many hills it enters Dvaitavana. Vāmana (32. 6-22) contains a eulogy of Sarasvatī by Mārkaṇḍeya. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. p. 261) states that the river Sarasvatī falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somnāth. There is a small but holy stream called Sarasvatī, that rises in the Mahikantha hills and after crossing the south-east corner of Palanpur Agency passes by Siddhapura and Patan, flows underground for some miles and then enters the Runn of Cutch (Bom. G. vol. V. p., 283).^{1557a}

MATHURA

Till now it has not been possible to trace an express Vedic reference to Mathurā, the chief city of the country of Śūrasena. But its existence from at least the 5th century B. C. appears

^{1557a}. Vide A. S. R. of India, vol. 14 pp. 97-106 for an exhaustive list of tīrthas in Kurukṣetra.

to rest on firm ground. It is stated in the *Anguttaranikāya* (I 167, *ekam samayam āyasmā Mahākaccāno Madhurāyam viharati Gundāvaṇe*) and *Majjhima* (II 84 same words) that Mahākaccāyana, a famous disciple of Buddha, assiduously preached in Mathurā the principles of his Master. Megasthenes appears to have known Mathurā and its connection with Heracles¹⁵⁵⁸ (Hari-Kṛṣṇa?). The word 'Māthura' (meaning a resident of Mathurā, or born in or coming from Mathurā) occurs in Jaimini's *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra*.¹⁵⁵⁹ Though Pāṇini's sūtras do not expressly mention Mathurā, the latter is included in the *Varanādi-gaṇa* (Pān. IV. 2. 82). Pāṇini is, however, aware of Vāsudeva and Arjuna (IV. 3. 98), the Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi clans of Yādavas to which Kṛṣṇa belonged (IV. 1. 114) and probably knew the name Govinda (III 1. 138 and *vārtika* 'gavi ca vindeḥ sañjñāyam'). Mathurā is several times mentioned by the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali who¹⁵⁶⁰ in a famous passage refers to dramatic representations, paintings and stories which depict the destruction of Kamsa by Vāsudeva. He also cites a quarter of a verse about the killing of Kamsa by Vāsudeva as a well-known past event. Whether the town Śaurya mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* on *Vārtika* 2 on Pāṇini II. 4. 7 (Śauryam ca Ketavatā ca Śaurya-Ketavate) is the same as Mathurā is doubtful, even though the *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra* speaks of Mathurā as Śauryapura (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 112). The *Ādiparva* (221. 46) indicates that Mathurā was famed for excellent cows

1558. Vide McCrindle's 'Megasthenes and Arrian' p. 201 where it is said that Heracles was held in special honour by the Saurasenoi tribe (Sūrasena) which possessed two large cities, Mathurā and Kleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura?), while Ptolemy calls it 'Modoura of the gods' (vide McCrindle's 'Ancient India as described by Ptolemy', ed. of 1927, p. 124).

1559. *इत्यद्योगाख्या हि माथुरवत् । जै I. 3 21* on which *ज्ञावर* says यतो हृदयते मथुरासामिप्रस्थितो माथुर इति मथुरायां वसत् मथुरायां निर्गतश्च The तन्ववातिकं (p. 251) finds fault with the words underlined.

1560. न ह्येको देवदत्तो युगपत्सुते च भवति मथुरायां च । महाभाष्य vol I. pp. 18, 19 and 244, सप्तम्यर्थेऽपि वै वतिर्भवति तद्यथा । मथुरायामिव मथुरावत् । पाटलिपुत्रं हव पाटलिपुत्रवत् । महाभाष्य vol I. p. 192 (on पा I. 2. 1) and vol. III p. 299 (on पा VII. 2 62, वार्तिक 3). Vide note 1409 above where माथुर cloth is said to be inferior to काश्मिरी cloth and my paper on 'Ancient cities and towns mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*' JBBRAS vol 27 pp. 39-42 (1951) for other references. ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च यत्किं पश्यन्तीति । .. केचित्सम्भक्ता भवन्ति केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ताः । महाभाष्य vol II. p. 36 on पा. III 1. 26 and वार्तिक 15, त्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये इति किमर्थम् । जघान कंसं किल वासुदेव । महाभाष्य (vol. II, p. 119 on पा. III. 2. 111),

in those days. When Hamsa and Dimbhaka, brave commanders of Jarāsandha, drowned themselves in the Jumnā and when Jarāsandha sorrowfully went to Magadha Kṛṣṇa says 'we shall again joyfully reside in Mathurā' (Sabhāparva 14. 41-45). Ultimately Kṛṣṇa is said to have left Mathurā owing to the constant attacks of Jarāsandha and established the Yādavas in Dvārakā¹⁵⁶¹ (Sabhāparva, 14. 49-50 and 67). The Brahmapurāṇa, on the other hand, states that the Yrṣnis and Andhakas on the advice of Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā through the fear of Kālayavana. Vide also Vi. V. 23. 8-15. The Vāyu (88. 185) states that Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma, killed the demon Lavaṇa, son of Madhu and established Mathurā in Madhuvana while the Rāmāyana (Uttara-kāṇḍa 70. 6-9) informs us that Śatrughna took twelve years to make Mathurā a fine and prosperous city. In the Ghata-jātaka (Fausböll, vol. IV, pp. 79-89 No. 454) Mathurā is called Uttara Madhurā (to distinguish it from Madhurā of the Pāndyas in the south) and the story of Kamsa and Vasudeva is narrated, which differs in some material points from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. In the Raghuvamśa XV. 28 it is mentioned as Madhurā and as founded by Śatrughna. Hiouen Tsiang states that in Mathurā there existed in his day three *stūpas* built by Aśokaśāka, that there were in Mathurā five Deva temples, 20 *saṅghārāmas* (Buddhist convents) with 2000 Buddhist priests (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p 179). James Allan (in 'Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India' 1936, p. OXVI) states that the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C to the middle of the first century B. C. For some ancient coins from Mathurā, the Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 538 and plate V (No. 5-10) may be referred to. An interesting and informative work is 'Mathurā' by F. S. Growse (2nd ed. 1880). Inscriptions contribute important evidence about the history and antiquity of Mathurā.¹⁵⁶² The famous inscription of Khāravela (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 79) includes among the exploits of that king of Kalinga the retreat of the Yavana king Dimita to Madhurā (i. e. Mathurā). Several

1561. वयं चैव महाराज जरासन्धभयात्तदा । मथुरां सम्परित्यज्य गता द्वारवतीं पुरीम् ॥ संभा 14. 67; ततो दृष्ट्वा जरासन्धकाः कुण्ठां पुरस्कृत्य महामतिम् । समेता मन्त्रयामासुर्गवन्तरय भयात्तदा । कृत्वा विनिश्चयं सर्वे पलायनमरोचयन् । विहाय मथुरां रम्यां मानयन्त । पिनाकिनम् । कुशस्थलीं द्वारवतीं निवेशयितुमीप्सव ॥ ब्रह्म 14. 54-56.

1562. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's learned paper on 'Mathurā in Ancient India' in J. A. S. of Bengal, vol. XIII (for 1947) pp. 21-30.

Inscriptions of such Kuṣāna rulers as Kaniska, Huviska and others relating to Mathurā have been published of which the following may be mentioned: Inscription on a Nāga image at Mathurā of 'Mahārāja-rajātirāja Kanikkha' in *saṃvat* 8 (E. I. vol. 17. p. 10)¹⁵⁶³; the Mathurā pedestal Inscription of Kaniska in the 14th year (E. I. vol. 19 p. 96); inscription on the pedestal of the image of a seated Bodhisattva at Mathurā in the reign of Huviska in *saṃvat* 33 (E. I. vol. 8 pp. 181-182); Inscription of a king Vāsu (rest of the name lost) of the year 74 (E. I. vol. 9 p. 241) and of the time of Śondasa (E. I. vol. 9 p. 246); seven Brahmi inscriptions from Mathurā and its vicinity (E. I. vol. 24 pp. 194-210). There is further an interesting inscription recording the dedication of a stone slab in the temple of Nāgendra Dadhikarna by Nandibala and other sons of some actor (Śailālaka) brothers of Mathurā (E. I. vol. I. at p. 390). From the Viṣṇu-purāṇa VI. 8. 31 it follows that an image of Hari had been installed in Mathurā before that purāṇa was composed. The Vāyupurāṇa¹⁵⁶⁴ informs us in a prophetic vein that seven Nāga kings will rule over Mathurā, Prayaga, Śaketa and Magadha before the Guptas. Alberuni's India (vol. II. p. 147) states that Mathurā (Mathurā) is crowded with brāhmanas.

From the above brief historical sketch it would appear that Mathurā was, five or six centuries before Christ, a flourishing city where the epic Hinduism prevailed, that later on Buddhism and Jainism dominated it, that there must have been a revival of Hinduism under the Nāga and Gupta emperors, that in the 7th century A. D., when Hiouen Tshang wrote, Hinduism and Buddhism were equally prominent and that in the 11th century A. D. it was completely dominated by the Brahmanic faith.

The Agnipurāṇa furnishes the strange information that Bharata at the command of Rāma killed three crores of the sons of Śailūsa in the city of Mathurā¹⁵⁶⁵. Mathurā has been

¹⁵⁶³ The generally accepted date for Kaniska is 78 A. D. Vide Journal of the Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 23 (1937) pp. 113-117 (by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri).

¹⁵⁶⁴ नव नाकास्तु (नागास्तु!) भोदयन्ति पुरी चम्पावती नृपाः । मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोदयन्ति सप्त वै । अष्टगङ्गा प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधास्तथा । एतावत् जनपदान्सर्वान् भोदयन्ते शतवंशजाः ॥ वायु 99. 382-83, Br. III, 74 194 Vide Jayaswal, 'History of India' (150-350 A. D.) pp 3-15 for the Nāga dynasty.

¹⁵⁶⁵ अष्टर्षुर्नथुरा काचिद्रामोक्तो भरतोवधीद् । कोटिवयं च शैल्यपुत्राणां निहितैः शरैः ॥ शैल्यं हृत्तगन्धर्वं सिन्धुतीरनिवासिनम् । अग्नि 11. 8-9 शैल्य also means an

(Continued on the next page)

the centre of Kṛṣṇa worship and of Bhāgavatism for over two thousand years. The Varāha-purāṇa devotes about one thousand verses to the greatness of Mathurā and its sub-tirthas (chap. 152-178). The Brhan-nāradiya, chapters 79-80, Bhāgavata X and Viṣṇu-purāṇa V-VI devote much space to Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Govardhana and Kṛṣṇa's exploits there.

For want of space only a few verses about Mathurā will be set out here. The Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 29. 46-47) says 'Yamunā gives mokṣa when united with Mathurā; Yamunā gives rise to great merit in Mathurā and when united to Mathurā it bestows devotion to Viṣṇu'. In the Varāhapurāṇa (152. 8, 11) Viṣṇu says 'There is no place either in the nether regions or on the earth or in mid air as dear to me as Mathurā. Mathurā is a famous kṣetra of mine that confers *mukti*; no place is to me higher than it. It is my birth-place and it is lovely, commendable and dear to me'. The Padma says 'Mathuraka is a name extremely dear to Viṣṇu'. The Harivaṃśa contains a fine description of Mathurā, one verse from which may be quoted here 'Mathurā is the hump (i. e. the most eminent spot) of Madhyadeśa, it is simply the abode of the goddess of wealth, it is the horn (i. e. the most prominent part) of the earth, there is nothing like it and it is endowed with abundant wealth and agricultural produce'.¹⁵⁶⁶

The tract round about Mathurā is said to be 20 yojanas in extent and the city of Mathurā was in its midst¹⁵⁶⁷. The Varāhapurāṇa and the Nāradiya (uttarārdha) chapters 79-80 mention numerous tirthas in and about Mathurā. It is not possible to enumerate them here. A few important ones will be noticed briefly. Both Varāha (chap. 153 and 161. 6-10) and Nāradiya (uttarārdha 79. 10-18) mention twelve forests near Mathurā viz. Madhu, Tala, Kumuda, Kāmya, Bahula, Bhadra,

(Continued from the last page)

actor Has this anything to do with a dispute between the followers of Bharata, the reputed author of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and other actors? The Nāṭyaśāstra chap. 17. 47 (G.O.S.) prefers the dialect of Sūrasena for dramas. Vide my 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' p 40 (1951).

1566. तस्मान्माधुरकं नाम विष्णोरेकान्तवत्तमम् । पद्म. IV. 69. 12, मध्वदेशस्य ककुब्धं धाम लक्ष्म्याश्च केवलम् । शृङ्गं पृथिव्याः स्वालक्ष्यं मधुतघनधान्यवत् । हरिवंश, विष्णु-पर्व 57. 2-3.

1567. विशतिषोर्जैमाना इ माधुरं परिमण्डलम् । तन्मध्ये मधुरा नाम इती सर्वो-
क्त्योक्तम् । नारदीय (उत्तर) 79. 20-21.

Khādīra, Mahāvana, Lohajangha, Bilva, Bhāndīra and Vṛndāvana. There are also 24 upavanas enumerated by Gṛowse on 'Mathurā' (p. 76) which are not mentioned by the Purāṇas but only by later works. Vṛndāvana¹⁵⁶⁸ was to the north-west of Mathurā on the Yamunā and was five yojanas in extent (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 6. 28-40, Nāradiya, uttarārdha 80. 6, 8 and 77). It was the scene of Kṛṣṇa's adventures and love-making. The Padma IV. 69. 9 speaks of it as a portion of Vaikuntha on the earth. The Matsya (13. 38) identifies Rādhā in Vṛndāvana as Devī Dākṣaṇī.¹⁵⁶⁹ In Kālidāsa's day it had great fame. In Raghuvamśa VI, while describing Susena of the Nīpa family, king of Śūrasena, Vṛndāvana is said to be no less charming than Caitraratha, the park of Kubera (verse 50). Then there is the Govardhana¹⁵⁷⁰ hill, which Kṛṣṇa lifted up on his little finger to afford shelter for seven days to the cowherds and their cattle against the heavy rains sent down by Indra (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 11. 15-25). It is stated in the Varāhapurāṇa (164. 1) that Govardhana is about two yojanas from Mathurā to its west. This appears to be tolerably correct as at present it is 18 miles from Vṛndāvana. The Kūrma (I. 14. 18) says that the very ancient king Prthu performed austerities here. The details given in the Hari-vamśa and the Purāṇas are sometimes confused and misleading. For example, in the Hari-vamśa (Viṣṇuparva 13. 3) it is stated that Tālavana is to the north of Govardhana on the Yamunā, while it is south-east of Govardhana. Kālidāsa refers to the caverns of Govardhana (Raghuvamśa 6. 51). Gokula is the same as Vraja or Mahāvana, where

1568. The पद्म (पाताल 75. 8-14) puts an esoteric interpretation on कृष्ण, गोपी and कालिन्दी. The गोपल्लव, are गोपिनी, कालिन्दी is सुपुष्प, कृष्ण is सर्व-स्वायम् and so on.

1569. Day (p. 42) regards the identity of the modern Vṛndāvana which is only 6 miles from Mathurā (in the opposite direction to Gokula) with the ancient Vṛndāvana described in the Purāṇas as extremely doubtful on several grounds, the most cogent being that ancient Vṛndāvana and Mathurā appear to have been situated on opposite sides of the Yamunā, while modern Vṛndāvana and Mathurā are on the same side of the river. But the references he gives for this last statement viz. Viṣṇupurāṇa 5. 18. 33 and Bhāgavatapurāṇa X. 39. 34 do not in my opinion bear out what he says. The Nāradiya (II. 80. 6-7) appears to say that Vṛndāvana is near Govardhana and along the Yamunā and Nandigrāma.

1570. यमी पुण्या नदी यत्र पुण्यो गोवर्धनी गिरिः । तस्मिन् वृन्दावनात्पुण्यमरणं भुवि विद्यते ॥ कलिकल्मषभीतानां विषयास्तु चेतसाम् । नान्यद् वृन्दावनात्सेव्यमस्ति लोकेऽपि त्रिषु ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 80. 104-105,

Kṛṣṇa was brought up in his early childhood by Nand-gopa who removed his habitation from Gokula to Vṛndāvana out of fear of what Kamsa might do. The great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya visited Vṛndāvana (Caitanya-caritāmṛta canto 19 and 9th Act of the drama Caitanya-candrodaya, both by Kavikarna-pūra or Paramānandadāsa). In the 16th century Vṛndāvana became a centre of Caitanya's *bhakti* movement owing to the strenuous efforts and learned writings of the *Gosvāmīs* of Vṛndāvana, particularly Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' (1942) pp. 83-122. Vallabhācārya, who was a contemporary of Caitanya founded new Gokula, one mile to the south of Mahāvana in imitation of the ancient Gokula. Caitanya and Vallabhācārya met at Vṛndāvana (vide Manilal C. Parekh's work on Vallabhācārya p.161). The old temples of Mathurā met the same fate at the orders of Aurangzeb as the temples of Banaras.¹⁵⁷¹

The Sabhāparva (319, 23-25) narrates that Jarāsandha threw his mace from Girivraja (Rājgir in Bihar, the ancient capital of Magadha) and it fell in Mathurā at the distance of 99 *yojanas* before Kṛṣṇa and the place where it fell was thence called *Gadāvasāna*. I have not come across this name anywhere else.

Growse describes in chap. IX pp. 222 ff. the temples of Vṛndāvana and in chap. XI Govardhana, Barsān, the birth-place of Rādhā, and Nandgaon. Vide also 'Picturesque India' by W. S. Caine pp. 253 ff. for Mathurā and neighbouring holy places.

PURUṢOTTAMATĪRTHA (JAGANNATHA)

Much has been written about Puruṣottamatīrtha or Jagannātha, both in Sanskrit and in English. The following works in English may be consulted by those who desire to make a thorough study of the sacred place; W. W. Hunter's 'Orissa'

¹⁵⁷¹. Vide Elliott and Dowson's 'History of India as told by its own historians' vol. VII p. 184, where a passage from the 'Ma-Aur-i-Alamgir' is translated to the effect that "Aurangzeb commanded the destruction of the Hindu temple at Mathurā known by the name of 'Dehra Kesu Rai' (which according to that work had been built at a cost of 23 lakhs of rupees) and soon that stronghold of falsehood was levelled with the ground and on the same spot was laid the foundation of a vast mosque."

vol. I pp. 81-167, Rajendralal Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II pp. 99-144, R. D Banerji's 'History of Orissa' (in two volumes, 1930), Gazetteer on Puri, vol. XX pp. 409-412.

There are four most important tirthas in Orissa, viz. Bhuvaneśvara (or Cakratirtha), Jagannātha (or Śankha-ksetra), Konārka (or Padma-ksetra), Yajpura or Jajpur (Gadāksetra). The first two are still held in high esteem, while the last two are altogether neglected.

Among the Purāṇas, Purushottama-tirtha is extensively dealt with in the Brahma (chap. 41-70, about 1600 verses), in the Brhannāradiya (uttarārdha chap. 52-61, 825 verses). Among digests, the Tirtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati that devotes nearly one-third of the work to Purusottama-tirtha (pp. 53-175) and that quotes about 800 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa on Purusottama, Raghunandana's Purusottama-tattva (which is brief and mostly based on the Brahmapurāṇa) and the Tirthaprakāśa (pp. 561-594) may be mentioned. It is worthy of note that the Kalpataru (composed about 1110-1120 A. D.) does not describe Purusottama-tirtha in its Tirthakāṇḍa, though it speaks of a few little known tirthas like Lohārgala, Stūtasvāmin and Kokāmukha.

Raghunandana in his Purusottama-tattva quotes a verse¹⁵⁷² (which as printed is corrupt) from the Rgveda that from the context appears to be addressed to some evil spirit (*alakṣmī*) and means 'O evil spirit with a wicked looking chin (or that art difficult to be killed)! Have recourse to that far-off wood in the sea, that has no connection with human beings and go to distant lands with it'. Then he states that the Atharva-veda has a similar verse. Probably following Sāyana's inter-

1572. तथा 'आदौ यद्वाक हवते सिन्धोः परे अपुरुषम् । तदालमस्व दुर्हृणो तेन थाहि परं स्थलम् ।' अथ व्याख्या साखपाचनभाष्ये । आदौ विप्रकुण्डदेशे वर्तमानं . अपुरुषं निर्मातुं रहितत्वेन तदालमस्व दुर्हृणी हे होतः । अथर्ववेदेऽपि आदौ सिन्धोर्मध्ये अपुरुषम् । तदा ... स्थलम् । अत्रापि तथैवार्थः । मध्ये तीरे । दुर्योत्तमतत्त्वं (Jiv vol. II p 563). The first verse is really Rg. X 155 3 अदौ . अपुरुषम् । तदा रमस्व दुर्हृणी तेन गच्छ पर-स्तेरम् । सायण takes this vedic verse as referring to दुर्योत्तम in the words यद्वाकं दारुमय दुर्योत्तमाख्यं देवताशरीरं . हे दुर्हृणो तु खलु हननीय केनापि हन्तुमशक्य हे रतेतः आरमस्व अवलम्ब्यस्व उपास्तेत्यर्थः . सायण mentions a predecessor's interpretation of this verse viz. that it is addressed to an evil spirit (*alakṣmī*) and asks it to resort to a boat or a log of wood (as a scapegoat) and to go to a far-off region where there are no human beings. This interpretation is natural and suits the context very well I could not trace the verse in the Atharvaveda

pretation, Raghunandana connects this R̥gveda verse with Purusottama, the image of which is made of wood.

It would be proper to set out as briefly as possible the story of Jagannātha contained in the Brahmapurāṇa. In Bharatavarsa there is a country called Ondra situated on the shores of the southern ocean, which extends northwards from the sea up to Viraja-maṇḍala¹⁵⁷³ (chap. 28. 1-2). In that country there is a holy place, destroyer of sins and bestower of *mukti*, surrounded on all sides by sand and ten *yojanas* in extent (chap. 42. 13-14). There is the famous shrine of Purusottama in the country of Utkala the whole of which is very holy owing to the favour of the all-pervading Jagannātha (chap. 42. 35-37). Men who reside in Utkala are blessed like gods since Purusottama resides there. Chapters 43 and 44 narrate the story of Indradyumna who ruled at Avantī (Ujjayinī) in Mālava (modern Mālvā). He was a very pious, learned and good king who after reading all Vedas, śāstras, epics, purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras came to the conclusion that Vāsudeva was the highest Deity, started from his capital Ujjayinī with a vast army, servants, priests and artisans and came to the shores of the southern sea, saw the kaetra of Vāsudeva, ten *yojanas* in breadth and five *yojanas* in length and encamped there. Formerly there was a Vata tree on the shores of the southern sea near which there was an image of Purusottama or¹⁵⁷⁴ Jagannātha made of sapphire, which became embedded in sand and was concealed by creepers and plants. King Indradyumna performed *Āsvamedha* there, erected a great temple (*prāsāda*) and was anxious to establish a suitable image of Vāsudeva in the temple. In a dream the king saw Vāsudeva who told him to go alone to the shore in the morning and cut the Vata tree growing just on the water line with an axe. The king did so in the morning and then two brahmanas (who were really Viṣṇu and Viśvakarmā) appeared. Viṣṇu told the king that his associate (Viśvakarmā) will manufacture the image. Three images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā were made and given to the king and Viṣṇu further conferred the boon that the pool called

1573. Virajākeetra extends a little beyond Jāipur on the river Vaitarani in Orissa. On 'Kalūga, Odra and Utkala' vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I, pp. 42-58.

1574. उक्तः पुरुषो यस्मात्तस्मात्त पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ ब्रह्म 45.52; अस्मिन्नायतने पुण्ये विद्यमाने पुरुषोत्तमे । इन्द्रनीलमयी श्रेष्ठा प्रतिमा सार्वकामिकी ॥ 45.71 । इन्द्रनीलमयी विष्णुर्ध्वजराते बाहुकाङ्क्षितः । अन्तर्धानगतं नत्वा ततो विष्णुपुरे प्रजेत् ॥ ब्रह्म 58.8.

Indradymna (where the king bathed at the end of his *Āśva-medha*) will be known by the king's name, that whoever took a bath once in it would go to *Indraloka*, and that whoever offered *pinḍas* on the bank of the pool would save 21 ancestors of his family. Then the king established the three images in the temple built by him.¹⁵⁷⁵ The *Skandapurāṇa* contains a *Purusottamamahātmya* in a sub-section called *Utkala-khaṇḍa* in its section *Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa*, where the story of *Indradymna* is given with some variations.

Stripping this story of the supernatural, it appears probable that the holy place *Purusottama* was called *Nilācala* in very ancient times, that *Kṛṣṇa* worship was introduced from Northern India at that place, and that three images of wood were established in comparatively early times. It may be stated here that in the *Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad*¹⁵⁷⁶ an *Indradymna* is named among a host of *cakravartins*. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* (II. 35. 27) makes a brief and colourless reference to *Purusottama* (*tīrtham Nārāyaṇasyānyat-nāmnā tu Purusottamam*). *Rajendralal Mitra* ('*Antiquities of Orissa*') surmises that there were three periods in the history of the *Purusottama-kṣetra*, viz. early Hindu period, the Buddhist period and the *Vaiṣṇava* period (after the 5th century A. D. when Buddhism began to wane). He notices that from about the 7th century A. D. considerable temple records on palm leaves exist, but that the temple records for the Buddhist period are untrustworthy (p. 104) and that there are indications that *Puri* was probably a place of Buddhist sanctuary (p. 107). The indications of the existence

1575. Vide Hunter's *Orissa* vol. I, pp. 89-94 for a somewhat different account based on *Kapilasambitā*, the most important points of which are that *Viṣṇu* shows to *Indradymna* as His image a log of wood thrown up by the ocean, that the images were being fashioned by the divine carpenter, that it was ordered that no one was to see them till they were ready and that in spite of this, the queen insisted on seeing them when they had been chiselled only up to the waist and when only stems stood in the place of the arms for the images of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Balarāma*, while the image of *Subhadrā* had no arms at all. The present images are to this day in the same condition. The images are described by *Rajendralal Mitra* in '*Antiquities of Orissa*' II, pp. 122-123. The story of *इन्द्रद्युम्न* occurs in *नारदीयपुराण*, उत्तरार्ध 52. 41-93, 53-57, 58. 1-21, 60-61. *नारदीय* agrees very closely with the *Brahmapurāṇa* and seems to have borrowed its text from the latter.

1576. परेऽये महाघर्षराश्वकर्तितः केचित् सुद्युम्नसुरियुग्मेऽद्युम्नकुलयाश्व-
पौवनाश्वघ्नवश्वश्वपतिशिबिन्दुहरिश्चन्द्राश्वरीपिनकस्तर्पातियपात्यनरूपोक्षसेनादयः । नै-
त्रायण्य. I. 4.

of Buddhism in Orissa are the existence of Asoka's rock edicts on the Dhauli Hill (C. I. I. vol. I. pp. 84-100), the existence of many caves of the Buddhist period on the Khandagiri range about five miles to the west of Bhuvaneśvara, the procession of the car of Jagannātha which resembles the procession of Buddha's Tooth relic as described by Fa Hien (Hunter's Orissa, vol. I. p. 131-132) and the three crude wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā and Balarāma which are hardly found anywhere else and which correspond to the three peculiarities of Buddhism viz. Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa,' vol. II, pp. 122-126 (where he gives wood-cuts showing the figures of the images and comparing them with Buddhist symbols and Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' pp. 510-511 (the remarks in which appear to me far-fetched). In J. R. A. S. vol. 18 at p. 402 (new series) Sewall thinks that the celebrated image of Jagannātha was originally one of the Tristūlas or developed Taurus symbols.

At present the sacred enclosure of Jagannātha is a square surrounded by a massive stone wall 20 feet high, 652 feet long and 630 feet broad with 120 temples containing various forms of God, 13 being temples of Śiva, some more of Pārvatī and a temple of the Sun. This clearly shows the catholicity of Jagannātha. Almost every form of Hindu faith is represented here. Even the Brahmapurāṇa gives expression to this tolerant view when it says that the holy Puruṣottama-kṣetra forbids all the wranglings between Śaivas and the devotees of Viṣṇu.¹⁵⁷⁶ The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has four chambers, the first being the Hall of Offerings (bhoga-mandira), the 2nd the pillared hall for music and dance (the nāṭa mandira), the third the audience hall where pilgrims assemble (the Jaganmohana mandira) and the 4th the inner sanctuary. The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has a conical tower 192 feet high surmounted by a *cakra*¹⁵⁷⁷ and a flag. The

1576 a. जैवभागवतानां च वाहार्यप्रतिषेधकम् । अस्मिन्क्षेत्रे शुण्ये निर्मले सुषोमने ॥
शिवस्यायतनं देव करोमि परमं महत् । शनिष्ठेय तथा तत्र तप स्थाने च शङ्करम् ॥ ततो ज्ञात्वापि
लोकैस्त्रिमलैकमुदीं हरीश्वरो । प्रत्युवाच जगन्नाथ स शुनस्तं महाह्वयम् ॥ ... नावयौन्तरं
किञ्चिदेकभाषो द्विधा कृतौ ॥ यो वद. स स्वय विष्णुर्द्यौ विष्णुः स महेश्वर । ब्रह्मदुष्टाण 56.
64-66 and 69-70.

1577. The *cakra* surmounting the temple is mentioned in the Brahmapurāṇa itself 'वाजा करोति कृष्णस्य अद्वया यः समाहित । सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो विष्णुलोकं
ब्रजेन्नरः ॥ चक्रं दृष्ट्वा हरीश्वरात् आसाद्योपरि सस्थितम् । सहसा शुच्यते पापान्नरो मकया प्रणम्य
सत् ॥ chap. 51 70-71 = नारदीय {उ } 55. 10-11.

temple is situated at the distance of about seven furlongs from the sea shore and stands on a mound about 20 feet above the level of the surrounding ground, the mound being dignified by being called Nilagiri (the blue hill). There is a large gate-way on each side of the enclosure, that on the east being the most magnificent. On each side of the entrance there is a colossal crouching lion and hence the door-way is called *simha-dvāra* (lion gate).

There are certain peculiar features of the great shrine of Jagannātha. In the first place, in the court of Jagannātha and outside the Lion Gate no distinction of caste¹⁵⁷⁸ is observed. Jagannātha is the god of all people. The second special feature is that the holy rice cooked as offering to Jagannātha is regarded as so sanctified that all barriers of caste are transcended, so much so that a Puri priest will receive the holy food even from a low caste Hindu. The feeling is that cooked rice when once placed before Jagannātha never ceases to be pure. Hence the *Mahāprasāda* is dried, is taken to all parts of India and at the periodical *śrāddhas* among Vaisnavas a grain of this holy rice is invariably put on the cake as the most sacred article that can be offered to the Manes (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II p 199). The third special feature of Jagannātha is the car festival (*rathayātrā*) which is the most important of the 24 high^{1578a} festivals at Puri. The festival is described at length by Hunter in his 'Orissa', vol. I pp. 131-134. The car festival starts on the 2nd day of the bright half of Āśāḍha. The car of Jagannātha is about 45 feet in height, 35 feet square and is supported on 16 wheels of 7 feet diameter with 16 spokes and has Garuda as a crest; the 2nd car is that of Subhadrā, which is a little smaller than Jagannātha's car, resting on 12 wheels with 12 spokes in each and having a *padma* (lotus) as a crest, the 3rd car is that of Balarāma resting on 14 wheels with 14 spokes in each wheel and has Hanūmān for crest. The cars are drawn by pilgrims and hired labourers from the temple to

1578 Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I. pp 135-136) notes that only 21 classes and castes (including Christians and Mahomedans) are excluded, they being mostly flesh-eating and animal-life destroying castes. Even the washerman and the potter whom Hunter includes in the list are allowed to enter the outer court.

1578a बियानिवास (in the middle of 15th century A.D. in Bengal) wrote a work called द्वादशयानायामयोगमण on 12 festivals in 12 months connected with जगन्नाथ (vide No. 2429 in MM. Haraprasad Sastri's Cat. of mss. vol. III.)

the country-house of Jagannātha (which is about two miles away) amidst the shouts and emotional songs of thousands of pilgrims. Owing to the references in English literature to the car of Jagannātha it is supposed by many that pilgrims used to throw themselves before the car in a religious frenzy and were killed. But there is hardly any truth in these suppositions. There might have been a few accidental deaths. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I, pp. 133-34) scouts this idea of suicide under the car and Rajendralal observes (in 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II, p. 99) 'No Indian divinity has a more unenviable notoriety in English Literature than Jagannātha. It is certain, nevertheless, that human conception has never realized a more innocent and gentle divinity than Jagannātha and the tenets of his votaries are the very reverse of sanguinary or revolting. Never was opprobrium more unjustly cast on an inoffensive object than in this instance and none merited it less'. On the 10th day of the bright half begins the return of the car from the country house.

According to Rajendralal Mitra the oldest temple in Puri is that of Alābukeśvara built by Lalātendu Kesari (623-677 A. D.), the builder of the tower of Bhuvaneśvara; the next oldest is Mārkaṇḍeśvara and next comes the great temple of Jagannātha (vol. II, p. 113). Manmohan Chakravarti in his paper on the 'date of Jagannātha temple in Puri' (J. A. S. B., vol. 57 for 1898, part 1 pp. 328-331) quotes two verses from the Gangavāṁśa copper plates of Orissa which state that Gangeśvara alias Cōdaganga built the great temple of Purusottama¹⁵⁷⁹. As Cōdaganga's coronation took place in śaka 999 (i. e. 1078 A. D.) according to M. M. Chakravarti, he put forward the view that the *prāsāda* of Jagannātha was built about 1085-1090 A. D. Dr. D. C. Sirkar (in 'God Purusottama at Puri' J. O. R., Madras vol. 17 pp. 209-215) points out that the celebrated Oriya Chronicle *Mādala-pāṇji* attributes the construction of Purusottama Jagannātha not to Cōdaganga but to his great-grandson Ananga-bhīma III, who also installed an image of Purusottama in a temple at Vārānasi-Kataka (modern Cuttack)

1579. आसाद पुष्योत्तमस्य वृषति को नाम कर्तुं क्षमस्तस्येत्याद्यप्येवेक्षितमयं चक्रेश्वरं गङ्गेश्वरं ॥ These verses establish that the shrine of Purusottama existed long before the date of the inscription and that the kings who preceded Cōdaganga did not care to build a befitting temple. It appears that Cōdaganga built only the minor sanctum and the Jaganmohana i. e. the first maṇḍapa (vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I, p. 251).

which was desecrated by Sultan Firuz Shah (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol III, pp 312-315). These Ganga kings built magnificent temples at Bhuvaneśvara (ancient Ekamra), Konārka and Puri, which are the finest surviving specimens of North Indian Hindu Architecture. Mitra ('Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II, pp. 109-110) and Hunter ('Orissa' vol. I pp. 100-102) note that Ananga-bhīma wanted to eclipse the grand tower of Bhuvaneśvara and renovated the temple of Jagannātha in *śake* 1119 (i. e. 1198 A. D).¹⁵⁸⁰

The temple of Jagannātha has an army of attendants. They are divided into 36 orders and 97 classes. At the head was the Raja of Khurdha who called himself the 'sweeper of Jagannātha' (vide Hunter's 'Orissa', vol I p 128).

As in Banaras, so here also there are five important tirthas,¹⁵⁸¹ viz. the pool of Mārkaṇḍeya, the Vata tree (identified with Kṛṣṇa), Balarāma, the sea and Indradyumna pool. A few words may be said here about each. The story of Mārkaṇḍeya is narrated in Brahmapurāṇa, chapters 52-56 and in Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa 10.21 ff (briefly). In chap. 56, 72-73 Viṣṇu asks Mārkaṇḍeya to build a temple of Śiva to the north of Jagannātha and to construct a sacred pool which thenceforward was to become known as 'Mārkaṇḍeya's pool'. The Brahmapurāṇa provides that the pilgrim should bathe in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool, dip his head thrice, utter a mantra (chap. 57. 3-4), then he should perform *tarpana*, go to the temple of Śiva (called Mārkaṇḍeśvara) and worship him with the Mūlamantṛa¹⁵⁸² viz. 'Om namah Śivāya', then with another mantra called Aghora and a Paurāṇic mantra. The pilgrim should, after a bath in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool and visit to the temple of Śiva, repair to the sacred Vata, circum-ambulate it

1580 'शकाब्दे रत्नशुभाशुखपनक्षत्रनायके । मासादं कारयामासानङ्गमीनेन धीमता ॥'. Vide Mitra's work vol. II p 110 and 'History of Orissa' by R. D. Banerji vol I, p. 248 for the date of Codaganga's accession taken from his own inscription of *śake* 1003 (1081 A. D)

1581 मार्कण्डेयं वटं कृष्ण रौहिण्यं महोदधिम् । इन्द्रद्युम्नसरश्चैव पञ्चतीर्थविविधिः स्मृतः ॥ ब्रह्म 60. 11.

1582 मूलमन्त्रेण संपूज्य मार्कण्डेयस्य चेश्वरम् । अघोरेण च भो विया प्रणिपत्य प्रसादयेत् ॥ त्रिलोचन नमस्तेस्तु नमस्ते शशिभूषण । ब्रह्मि मा त्वं विरूपाक्ष महादेव नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म 57. 7-8 = नारदीय (उ) 55 18-19. The ती चि p 88 states, that the अघोरमन्त्र is 'ओ अघोरेभ्यो घोरेभ्यो घोरतरेभ्यः, सर्वेभ्यः सर्वसर्वेभ्यो नमस्तेस्तु रुद्ररूपेभ्यः'.

thrice, worship it with the mantra ¹⁵⁸³ noted below. It may be noted that the Brahmapurāṇa 157 17 expressly states that the Vata is Visnu Himself in that form (nygrodhākrīkam Viṣnum prāṇīpatya). The Vata is also styled Kalpavṛkṣa (Brahma 57. 12, 60. 18). The pilgrim should bow to Garuḍa standing in front of Kṛṣṇa and then worship Kṛṣṇa, Sankarsana and Subhadra with mantras. The mantras for Sankarsana are verses 22-23 of Brahmapurāṇa chap. 57 and that for Subhadra is chap. 57. 58 ¹⁵⁸⁴. The mantra to be used in the worship of Kṛṣṇa is either of 12 syllables (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) or of eight syllables (om namo Nārāyaṇāya). Brahmapurāṇa chap. 57 verses 42-51 specify the various rewards of seeing Kṛṣṇa with devotion and wind up by promising mokṣa ¹⁵⁸⁵. A bath in the sea at Puri is always commendable, but particularly on the Full Moon day (Brahma 60. 10). Brahma chap. 62 deals at length with the bath in the sea (the whole of it except one verse being quoted by Tir. C. pp. 126-128). The Indradyumna pool has been mentioned above (pp. 694-95). The pilgrim has to bathe in the Indradyumna pool, perform *tarpana* for gods, sages and *pitṛs* and offer *pindas* to his ancestors (chap. 63. 2-5).

In the Govindapur stone Inscription of the post Gangādhara (E. I. vol. II. p. 330) of *śaka* 1059 i. e. (1137-38 A. D.) there is a clear reference to Puruṣottama ¹⁵⁸⁶.

The Brahmapurāṇa chap. 66 speaks of the Gundicāyātrā for seven days on the bank of the Indradyumna pool in a *mandapa* where reside (temporarily) Kṛṣṇa, Sankarsana and Subhadra. The Tir. C. which quotes the whole of that chapter (pp. 157-159), calls it Gundikā, while in the drama Caitanya-

1583. ओं नमोऽप्यक्षरूपाय सहामलयकारिणे । महद्भूतोपविष्टाय स्वय्योषाय नमोस्तु ते ॥ अमरस्त्वं सदा कल्पे हरेश्चायतनं वद । स्वय्योष हरे ने पाप कल्पवृक्ष नमोस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57 13-14 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 24-25 (with slight variations).

1584. नमस्ते सर्वगे देवि नमस्ते शुभसौख्यदे । ज्ञादि मां पद्मपद्मांक्षि कात्यायनि नमोस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 58 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 64.

1585. किं कार्यं बहुभिर्मन्त्रैर्मनोविभ्रमकारकैः । ओं नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रं सर्वार्थसाधक ॥ ब्रह्म. 60 24 = नारदीय (उ.) 56. 35. किं चात्र बहुनोक्तेन माहात्म्ये तस्य नो हिजाः । दृष्ट्वा कुण्ठां नरो भक्त्या मोक्षं प्राप्नोति दुर्लभम् ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 51 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 57.

1586. गत्वा श्रीधरपूजितं (भग)व्यो ह्यत्र प्रतिष्ठाप्य पारंगारतटे पदीयसि लसच्चन्द्र-ग्रहानेहसि । सर्वस्वं विततार तपसिपितृस्तोमः करोह्यसितैस्तोयेयं पितृतस्य पर्वणि विभोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणम् ॥ verse 12 of E. I. II at p. 334.

candrodaya¹⁵⁸⁷ it is styled Gundicā at the very beginning. It appears that Gundicā is the summer house of Jagannātha about two miles from the great Temple. The word is probably derived from *gundī*, which means a thick log of wood in Bengali and Uriya (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II. pp. 138-139) and has reference to the legend of a log of wood that Indradyumna found floating in the sea.

It may be noted that religious suicide at Purusottama is referred to in Brahmapurāna¹⁵⁸⁸ 'those who give up their body (life) in Purusottama-ksetra after mounting up the Vata tree or do so between the Vata and the ocean reach without doubt moksa. A man abandoning life, either intentionally or unintentionally, either on his way to Purusottama or in the cemetery or in the country house (of Jagannātha) or in the streets (of Jagannātha) or even anywhere else there secures moksa. Therefore men desiring moksa should by all means give up life at that holy place'.

The Brahmapurāna winds up by saying 'it is thrice¹⁵⁸⁹ true that that ksetra (Purusottama) is the greatest and highest

1587. सूत्रधारः। भगवतः श्रीधरयोत्तमस्य शुण्डिचायात्राया ... गजपतिना प्रताप-
रङ्गेणादिष्टोसि।... सोयं नीलगिरीश्वरः सविभो यात्रा च सा शुण्डिचा। चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय I.
(B I. series) The metre requires that the first two syllables in the name of
the Yātrā should be शुण्डि and चा and वा may have been easily confused by
the copyists of mss The नारदीय (च.) chap 61 40 f quotes the whole of
ब्रह्म chap. 66 but reads शुण्डिचा The ब्रह्मपुराण reads 'ससाहं सरसस्तीरे तव राजन्
भविष्यति। शुण्डिचा (शुण्डिचा?) नाम यात्रा मे सर्वकामफलमदा॥ ये नां तत्रार्चयिष्यन्ति
अङ्गया मण्डपे स्थितम्। सङ्कर्षणं सुभद्रा च विधिवत्समाहिता ॥... न तेषां दुर्लभं किञ्चित्
फलं यस्य यदीप्सितम् 166, 8-9 and 12 Some writers such as Nīlāmbarādāsa in
his 'Deul-tola' state that Gundicā was the name of Indradyumna's queen
(Mahtab's 'History of Orissa' p 161). I owe this last reference to the kind-
ness of Dr Raghavan of Madras University.

1588. देहं त्यजन्ति पुरुषास्तत्र ये पुरुषोत्तमे। कल्पवृक्षं समासाद्य शुक्लास्ते नात्र
संशयः॥ चटसागरयोर्मध्ये ये त्यजन्ति कलेवरम्। ते दुर्लभं परं मोक्षं प्राप्नुवन्ति न संशयः॥ यथि
श्मशाने शृङ्गमण्डपे वा रथयागप्रदेशेऽपि यत्र कुत्र। इच्छन्तिच्छन्ति सत्र देहं सत्यज्य मोक्षं
लभते मनुज्यः॥ तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः। देहत्यागो नरैः कार्यो सम्यक्प्रोक्षा-
भिकास्मिन्॥ ब्रह्म 177, 16, 17, 24, 25 The first three are quoted by टी. चि
p 175.

1589 सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यं क्षेत्रं तत्परमं महत्। पुरुषाख्यं सकृद् दृष्ट्वा सागराम्भ-
समावृतम्। ब्रह्मविद्यां सकृज्ज्ञात्वा गर्भवासी न विद्यते। ब्रह्म 70. 3-4 (= नारद, उत्तरार्ध 52.
25-26) quoted in टी. चि p. 56 which reads सागराम्भ.सकृन्वृतम् and remarks
'एतत्क्षेत्रदर्शनस्य, सागराम्भसि मरणस्य, तथा ब्रह्मविद्याबोधस्य च प्रत्येकं गर्भवासाभावः
फलसिद्ध्यर्थः'.

tirtha. A person has not to lie again in the womb after once visiting Purusottama which is laved by the waters of the sea or by once attaining the knowledge of *brahma*.

The great Vaisnava saint, Caitanya, settled permanently at Puri in 1515 A. D. at the age of thirty and spent eighteen years there till 1533 (when he died). He appears to have made a great impression on the Gajapati king Pratāparudra-deva, ruler of Orissa (1497-1540 A. D.). In the drama Caitanya-candrodaya of Kavikarnapūra the king is shown to be so anxious for meeting the saint that he declares that he would die if the gracious glance of the saint did not fall on him.¹⁵⁹⁰ This should be attributed to the inveterate habit of gross exaggeration rampant in most Sanskrit writers, particularly amongst devotees and followers of great saints. Caitanya came to be worshipped along with Visnu as a deity in Puri and Orissa (vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 109). Kavikarnapūra in his drama (8th Act) makes Sarvaśhauma say that there is no distinction between God Jagannātha and Caitanya, the only difference being that Jagannātha is 'darubrahma' (Godhead manifested in a wooden image) and Caitanya is 'narabrahma' (Godhead in human form).¹⁵⁹¹ The Caitanyacaritāmṛta (a poem) of Kavikarnapūra in cantos 14-18 deals with the devotional and ecstatic life of Caitanya at Puri and presents a vivid picture of Ratha and other festivals of Jagannātha in which Caitanya took a prominent part. I agree with Dr. S. K. De that there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith ('Vaisnava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 67).

One regrettable feature of the great temple of Jagannātha is the existence of some obscene and lascivious sculptures that disfigure the walls of the temple and the presence of dancing girls with rolling eyes, to which pointed reference is made by all writers, particularly European ones (vide, for example, Indian Antiquary vol. I. p. 322, Hunter's 'Orissa', vol. I pp. 111, 135). The presence of dancing girls is a legacy from the past. The Brahma-purāṇa (chap. 65) in describing the special *snāna* (bath) festival of Jagannātha on the full moon day of

1590. अतः परं चेत्स न वीक्षते मां न धारयिष्ये पत जीवन् च । चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 5th Act p. 187.

1591. 'भगवत्, जगन्नाथस्य भवतश्च कृष्णचैतन्यत्वमविशिष्टमेव तथाप्यस्ति कश्चिद्भेदः । असौ दारुणश्च भवान् नरजङ्गः ।' सार्वभौम in चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 8th Act p. 167.

Jyestha mentions, along with the beating of drums and the music of the flute and the lute and the chanting of holy Vedic mantras, handsome veśyas as *chowrie*-bearers in front of the images of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. ¹⁵⁹²

NARMADĀ

Next to the Ganges the most sacred rivers of India are the Narmadā and the Godāvarī. A few words about each of these may be said here.

An express reference to the Narmadā has not so far been traced in the Vedic Literature. The Śatapatha Br. (XII 9 3. 1) refers to one Revottaras who was a Pātava Cakra and sthapati (a chief) and whom the Śrījayas expelled (SBE vol. 44 p. 269) ¹⁵⁹³. Revā is another name for Narmadā ¹⁵⁹⁴ and it is possible to say that Revottaras was named after Revā. A *vārtika* on Pān. IV. 2. 87 derives the word Mahismat (as the name of a country) from 'Mahisa'. This is generally identified with Mahismatī (on the Narmadā). So the name Narmadā was probably known to the author of the Vartikas (about the middle of the 4th century B. C.) The Raghuvamśa VI. 43 speaks of Mahismatī as the capital of Anūpa on the bank of the Revā (i. e. Narmadā).

The Narmadā is frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. The Matsya (chapters 186-194, 554 verses), Kūrma (Uttarārdha, chapters 40-42 verses 189), Padma Ādikhaṇḍa (chap 13-23, 739 verses, most of which are the same as in the Matsya) deal with greatness of Narmadā and the tīrthas thereon ¹⁵⁹⁵. The Matsya (194. 45) and Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 21. 44) state that from the place where the Narmadā falls into the sea up to the Amara-kantaka mountain (where it rises) there are ten crores of sacred places, while the Agni-purāṇa (113. 2) and Kūrma II. 40. 13 raise the number to 60 crores and 60 thousand. The Nāradiya (uttarārdha chap 77)

1592 शुनीनां वेदशब्देन मन्त्रशब्देस्तथापरैः। जानास्तोत्रवैः पुण्यैः सामशब्दोपबृंहितैः। श्यामैर्वेद्याजनेश्वरैः कुचभारावनाभिभिः। पीतरक्ताम्बराभिश्च माल्यदामावनाभिभिः ... चामरै रत्नदण्डैश्च वीज्येते रामकेशवौ ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 65 15, 17, 18.

1593. रेवोत्तरसु ह पाठवं चाक्र स्थपतिं सृजया अपरुक्षु। शतपथना XII. 9. 3 1.

1594. रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका। अमरकोश.

1594 a It may be noted that the earliest extant digest, viz Kalpataru on tīrthas (pp. 198-205) quotes verses only from the Matsyapurāṇa, chapter 186-189 (in all about 70 verses on Narmadā) and from no other source.

says (verse 1) that there are 400 principal tirthas on both banks of the Narmadā, but from Amara-kantaka three crores and a half (verses 4 and 27-28).¹⁵⁹⁵ The Vanaparva (in chap. 188 103 and chap. 222, 24) mentions the Narmadā along with the Godavari and other rivers of the south. In the same parva (chap. 89. 1-3) it is stated that the holy Narmadā is in the Ānarta country¹⁵⁹⁶, that it is endowed with *priyangu* creepers and mango groves, that it has strings of Vānira fruit, that it flows to the west and that all the holy places in the three worlds come for a bath to the Narmadā. The Matsya and Padma declare¹⁵⁹⁷ that the Ganges is holy in Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī in Kuruksetra, but the Narmadā is holy everywhere whether in a village or in a forest and that the Narmadā purifies the sinner by its very sight while the waters of the Sarasvatī do so by three baths (on three days), of the Yamunā (by baths) in seven days and of the Ganges by a single bath. The Visnu-dharmasūtra (85.8) in enumerating a list of tirthas that are eminently fit for śrāddha includes the banks of the Narmadā throughout the whole length among them. The Narmadā is said¹⁵⁹⁸ to have started from the body of Rudra which is a poetic way of saying that it rises from Amarakantaka that is said to be the abode of God Maheśvara and his spouse (Matsya 188 91). The Vāyupurāṇa declares that the holy Narmadā, the best of rivers, is the daughter of the pīṭra and the śrāddhas offered on it become inexhaustible¹⁵⁹⁹. The Matsya and Kūrma both say

1595. Though रेवा and नर्मदा are generally used as synonyms it is found that the भागवतपुराण in V 19 18 enumerates them separately (तापे रेवा सुरसा नर्मदा) and the वासनपुराण (13. 25 and 29-30) states that the रेवा springs from विन्ध्य and नर्मदा from ऋक्षपाद सार्धत्रिकोटितीर्थानि गदितानीष्ट वायुना । दिवि क्षुण्णस्तरिष च रेवाया तानि सन्ति च । नारदीय (उ) 77, 27-28, vide note 1268 above for similar eulogy of the Ganges.

1596. Ānarta appears to be the ancient name of Gujarat and Kathiawar together. In the Udyogaparva Dvārakā is called Ānarta-nagarī (7. 6) As Narmadā is said to flow through Ānarta it must be supposed that in the times of the Great Epic Ānarta included both southern Gujarat and Kathiawar.

1597. पुण्या कनखले गङ्गा कुण्डेने सरस्वती । ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥ त्रिभिः सरस्वतं तोयं समाहेन तु वायुनम् । ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥ मत्स्य 186 10-11 = पद्म, आदिखण्ड 13.6-7 = कूर्म II. 40 7-8 Vide note 1271 above and compare नारदीय (उत्तरार्धे 77. 30-31) for the 2nd verse.

1598. नर्मदा सरिता श्रेष्ठा रुद्रदेहाद्भिनि सृता । तारयेत्सर्वसृतानि रथावराणि चराणि च ॥ मत्स्य 190. 17 = कूर्म II. 40. 5 = पद्म (आदि. 17. 13).

1599. पितृणां दुहिता पुण्या नर्मदा सरिता वरा । तत्र आश्रानि दत्तानि अश्राणि भवन्त्युत ॥ वायु 77 32.

that the river Narmadā has a course of complete 100 yojanas and its breadth is two yojanas¹⁶⁰⁰. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar seizes upon the length of 100 yojanas and says (on p. 199 note 4 of his edition of Kalpataru on Tirtha in G. O. S.) that the Matsya is very accurate, since the length of the Narmadā is now found to be about 800 miles. But he forgets that the breadth is said to be two yojanas (i. e. 16 miles on the scale for a yojana adopted by him). It is not shown how and where (except at the mouth if at all) the Narmadā is 16 miles in breadth in its long course. Both Matsya and Kūrma state that the Narmadā is (rises) from Amarakantaka which is to the western side of the country of Kalinga.¹⁶⁰¹

The Visnupurāṇa provides that if a man repeats day and night and whenever he has to go inside a dark place the mantra 'Salutation to Narmadā in the morning | salutation to Narmadā at night | O Narmadā! salutation to you; save me from poisonous serpents' ¹⁶⁰² he has no danger from serpents.

It is stated in the Kūrma and the Matsya that a man who commits suicide by entering fire or water or by fasting (on some of the tirthas on the Narmadā or on Amarakantaka) does not return (to this samsāra).¹⁶⁰³

The Narmadā is mentioned as Namados by Ptolemy (p. 102). One of the earliest inscriptional references to it occurs in the Eran stone pillar Inscription of Budhagupta in 165 of Gupta era i. e. 484-85 A. D. Vide C. I. I. vol. III, at p. 89.

Several rivers are mentioned as falling into the Narmadā such as Kapilā (on the south bank, Matsya 186. 40, Padma I. 13. 35), Viśalyā (Matsya 186. 46 = Padma II. 13. 35-39), Brandī (Matsya 191. 42-43, Padma I. 18. 44), Iksu-nādī (Matsya 191. 49, Padma I. 18. 47), Kāverī (Matsya 189. 12-13,¹⁶⁰⁴ Padma I. 16. 6).

1600. योजनानां शतं सार्धं श्रूयते सविदुषाम् । विस्तारेण तु राजेन्द्र योजनद्वयमापता ॥
कूर्म II. 40. 12 = मत्स्य 186. 24-25 The अग्नि also (113, 2) gives the same measurements.

1601. कलिङ्गदेशपश्चार्धे पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके । पुण्या च त्रिषु लोकेषु रमणीया मनोरमा ॥
कूर्म II. 40. 9, मत्स्य. 186. 12.

1602. नर्मदायै नमः शतनर्मदायै नमो निशि । नमोस्तु नर्मदे हुम्ब्रं चाहि मां
विपत्सर्पतः ॥ विष्णुपुराण IV. 3 12-13.

1603. अनाशकं तु यं कुर्यात्सर्वमस्तीर्थं नराधिप । गर्भवासे तु राजेन्द्र न पुनर्जायते
उमान् । मत्स्य. 194. 29-30, परित्यजति यः प्राणान् पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके । वर्षकोटिशतं सार्धं
रुद्रलोके महीयते ॥ मत्स्य. 186. 53-54.

1604. The northern branch of the Narmadā where the island Omkāra is situated is called Kāverī (Bom G vol. 9 p. 295). Vide in the list under Omkāra

Many sub-tirthas are enumerated, out of which two or three may be mentioned here. One is Maheśvara-tirtha (i. e. Omkāra) from where Rudra is said to have burnt down with an arrow the three cities of Bānāsura (Matsya 188. 2 ff, Padma I, 15 2 ff), Śukla-tirtha (highly praised in Matsya 192. 3 ff about which it is said that the *rājarsī* Cānakya ¹⁶⁰⁵ attained perfection there), Bhṛgutirtha (at the very ¹⁶⁰⁶ sight of which a man becomes free from sin, a bath in which leads to heaven and death at which ensures non-return to *samsāra*), the Jāmadagnya-tirtha (where the Narmadā ¹⁶⁰⁷ falls into the sea and where Lord Janārdana secured perfection). The mountain Amarakantaka is a tirtha that dispels all sins including brāhmaṇa-murder and it is one yojana all round in extent (Matsya 189. 89, 98). The most important place on the Narmadā is, however, Māhismatī, about the exact location of which scholars have differed. The general consensus of opinion is that Māhismatī is to be identified with Omkāra Māndhatā, an island in the Narmadā about 40 miles south of Indore. It has a long history. Moggaliputta Tissa is said in Buddhist works to have sent missionaries to several countries in the reign of Aśoka (about 247 B. C.), one of which was sent to Mahisamandala. Dr. Fleet in his paper 'Mahisamandala and Māhismatī' (in J. R. A. S. for 1910 pp. 425-447) assigns cogent reasons for identifying Mahisamandala and Māhismatī. Māhismatī was well-known to the Mahābhāṣya, ¹⁶⁰⁸ from a passage in which it follows that by a forced march a person starting from Ujjayinī could reach Māhismatī the next morning. Kaṭiḍāsa describes it as surrounded by Revā (Raghuvamśa VI 48). Māhismatī is mentioned as being on

1605. शुक्लतीर्थे महापुण्यं नर्मदायां व्यवस्थितम्। चाणक्यो नाम राजर्षिः सिद्धिं तत्र समाप्तम् ॥ मत्स्य 192. 14 = पद्म. I 19. 13-14 (reads चाणिक्यो). शुक्लतीर्थे is about 10 miles to the east of Broach. राजर्षिः probably means here राज्ञः ऋषिः and not राजा चाणक्यो ऋषिश्च.

1606 उपासते भुगोस्तीर्थे वृष्टौ यत्र महेश्वरः। वर्षानास्तस्य तीर्थस्य सद्यः पापक्ष-हृत्पते ॥ तत्र स्नात्वा दिवं याप्ति ये मृतास्तेऽनुनर्भवाः ॥ मत्स्य 193 49-50, 52.

1607 ततो गच्छेच्च राजेन्द्र नर्मदोदधिसङ्गमम् ॥ जामदग्न्यग्निते रुपात सिद्धौ यत्र जनार्दनः ॥ मत्स्य 194. 34-35.

1608. चित्रीकरणे माप्यर्थे कृदन्ताणिञ् वक्तव्यः।... उज्जयिन्या प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां क्षणोद्गमनं सम्भावयते घृयं शुद्धमयतीति। महाभाष्ये on वार्तिक 10 (चित्रीकरणे मादि) on पा. III. 1 26. चित्रीकरणे means when surprise or wonder is to be conveyed. It is surprising if a man were to say that starting from Ujjayinī on foot he would reach Māhismatī the next day at sunrise. The distance between the two would be more than 60 miles

the Narmadā or Revā in Udyogaparva 19. 23-24, 166. 4, Anuśāsana 166. 4, Bhāgavata X. 79. 21, Padma II. 92. 32.

Another ancient city is Bharukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach) for which the entry in the list may be consulted.

GODĀVARĪ

No mention of Godāvari has so far been found in the Vedic Literature. In Buddhist works there are traditions about Bavari, who was a purohita of Mahākosalā and then of Pāsenadi, who resided in Assaka's territory in the vicinity of Alaka on the Godāvari and who is said to have sent several disciples to Buddha at Śrāvastī (vide Suttanipāta, S. B. E. vol. X part 2 pp. 184 and 187). The *Vārtika* 'Sankhyāyā nadi-godāvari-bhīyam ca' on Pān. V. 4.75, expressly mentions Godāvari and has in view 'Saptagodāvara'. The two Epics and Purānas contain numerous references to it. The Vanaparva¹⁶⁰⁹ mentions it as a holy river in the south, abounding in gardens and full of water and resorted to by hermits performing austerities. The Aranyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana (13.13 and 21) speaks of the country well-known as 'Pāñcavati' frequented by herds of deer which is near the Godāvari and about two yojanas from Agastya's hermitage. It is in the Brahmapurāṇa that the Godāvari and the subsidiary tirthas on it have been lauded at great length in chapters 70-175. The Tirthasāra (a part of Nṛsimha-prasāda) quotes about 60 verses from chapters 89, 91, 106, 107, 116-118, 121, 122, 128, 131, 144, 154, 159, 172 of the Brahmapurāṇa, which fact shows that the chapters on Gautamī in the present Brahmapurāṇa were part of the Brahmapurāṇa at least some centuries before 1500 A. D. Vide my paper in J.B.B.R.A.S. for 1917 p 27-28. The Brahmapurāṇa generally refers to the Godāvari as Gautamī.¹⁶¹⁰ It is stated by the Brahmapurāṇa that the Ganges to the south of the Vindhya mountain is called Gautamī and to its north Bhāgirathī. The Godāvari is said to be 200 yojanas long and there are three crores and a half of

1609. यस्यामारुह्यापते पुण्या दिशि गोदावरी नदी । चक्षुरामा बहुजला तापसाचरिता शिवा ॥ वनपर्व 88 2. इतो द्वितीयने तात बहुसूलफलोदकः । देवो बहुसुग. श्रीमान् पञ्चवत्यभिखिस्त । ... गोदावरी. समीपे च मैथिली तत्र रस्यते ॥ रामायण III 13. 13 and 21.

1610. विन्ध्यस्य दक्षिणे गङ्गा गौतमी सा निगद्यते । उत्तरे सापि विन्ध्यस्य भागीरथ्यभिधीयते । ब्रह्म 78. 77 g. in तीर्थसार p. 45

tīrthas on it.¹⁶¹¹ Dandakāranya is said to be the seed (source or cause) of dharma and *mukta* and the country embraced by the Gautamī is specially the holiest.¹⁶¹² A verse occurring in several purāṇas states 'These countries (of Madhyadeśa) are immediately next to the mountain Sahya: thereon is Godāvarī and that country is the most charming in the whole world. There is Govardhana there which is (like) Mandara and Gandhamādana'.¹⁶¹³ Brahmapurāṇa (chapters 74-76) narrates how Gautama brought the Ganges from the matted hair of Śiva to Brahmagiri where he had his hermitage and how Gaṇeśa helped in the task by means of a ruse. The Nārada-purāṇa (uttarārḍha 72) narrates that no rain fell for 12 years while Gautama practised *tapas*, that owing to famine all sages came to Gautama's hermitage, that he brought Gaṅgā to his hermitage, that he sowed śālī grains in the morning and reaped the crop by midday, that this went on till there was plenty of rain and crops, that Śiva appeared to him, that Gautama prayed that Śiva should stay near his hermitage and that hence the hill on which Gautama had his hermitage came to be called Tryambaka (verse 24). Varāha (71. 37-44) also says that Gautama brought Jāhnavī to Dandaka and the river became Godāvarī. The Kūrma (II. 20. 29-35) mentions a long list of rivers and other sacred places and winds up by saying that the Godāvarī is pre-eminently a place for performing śrāddha. It is stated in the Brahmapurāṇa that for the removal of all kinds of distress two alone are declared (as the means) viz. the holy river Gautamī or Śiva who is full of compassion.¹⁶¹⁴ The Brahmapurāṇa describes about a hundred tīrthas on the Godāvarī, such as Tryambaka (79.6), Kuśāvarta (80, 1-3), Janasthāna (88.1), Govardhana (chap. 91), Pravarāsangama

1611. तिष्ठः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च योजनानां शतद्वये। तीर्थानि ह्युनिशार्दूलं सम्भविष्यन्ति गौतमः॥ ब्रह्म० 77. 8-9.

1612. धर्मबीजं मुक्तिबीजं दण्डकारण्यमुच्यते। विज्ञेयाद्गौतमीक्षेत्रो देशः पुण्य-तमोऽभवत्॥ ब्रह्म० 161.73.

1613. सहायानन्तरे चैते तत्र गोदावरी नदी। पुण्यगामपि कृत्वाया स मदेको मनोरमः॥ यत्र गोवर्धनो नाम मन्दरो गन्धमादनः। मत्स्य 114.37-38 = वासु 45.112-113 (reads सहाय्य चोत्तरार्धे तु and नाम सुरराजेन निर्मितः) = भाष्येण 54. 34-35 = ब्रह्माण्ड II. 16.43 (सहाय्य चोत्तरान्तेषु and तत्र गोवर्धनं नाम पुरं रामेण निर्मितम्). ब्रह्म 27 43-44 read सहाय्य चोत्तरे यस्तु and गोवर्धनपुरं रम्यं भार्गवस्य महात्मनः।

1614. सर्वदुःखापनोदाय ह्यमेव प्रकीर्तितम्। गौतमी वा पुण्यनदी शिवो वा कण्णा-करः॥ ब्रह्म. 124, 93.

(106) and Nivāsapura¹⁶¹⁵ (106. 55), Vañjarāsaṅgama (159) but they have to be passed over from considerations of space. A few words must, however, be said about Nasik, Govardhana, Pañcavatī and Janasthāna. Nasik must have existed at least 200 years before Christ. An Inscription on one pillar of the railing at Bharhut *stūpa* (about 200 B. C.) records the gift of Gorakṣitā of Nasik, the wife of Vasuka.¹⁶¹⁶ This is the earliest certain historical reference to Nasik discovered so far. The Mahābhāṣya¹⁶¹⁷ speaks of Nāsikya as a city. The Vāyupurāṇa (45,130) mentions Nāsikya as a country. The Nasik Inscriptions in the Paṇḍulēnā caves (Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 544-639 and E. I. vol. VIII pp. 59-96 edited by Senart) establish that Nasik was a prosperous place in the centuries before and after Christ. Ptolemy (about 150 A. D.) mentions Nasika (Ptolemy p. 156). It is not possible for reasons of space to go into the detailed history of Nasik, its bathing places and pools, its temples, pilgrimages and rites of worship. For these one may consult the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 16 (for Nasik District). That volume states that there are about 60 temples in Nasik (pp. 503-512) and 16 in Pañcavatī and one on the left bank of the Godāvari (pp. 512 ff). But hardly any really old temple has survived. In 1680 A. D. twenty-five temples at Nasik were destroyed by the Deccan Viceroy of Aurangzeb. Almost all the large temples that adorn Nasik were built during the times of the Peshwas of Poona (1750-1818). Three temples are specially worthy of mention, viz. the the Ramji temple in Pañcavatī and Nāro Shankar's temple (or Bell temple) on the left bank of the Godāvari near the first crossing and that of Sundara-nārāyaṇa in Āditwar Peth at Nasik (p. 503). The Sītā-gumpha (Sītā cave) in Pañcavatī close to some very old and tall Banyan trees that are believed to have sprung from the five trees that gave the name to the

1615. शिवशायस्योर्ध्वतस्तस्मिन्निवासोऽभूत्सनातन । अतो वदन्ति कुनयो निवासपुर-
निर्यदः । प्रवराया घुरा देवाः सुमीतास्ते वराद् वदुः ॥ ब्रह्म. 106 53-54. निवासपुर is
Newasa on the Pravara which falls into the Godāvari at the sacred place
called Toka. The great Marathi poet and saint Jñāneśvara wrote his commen-
tary on the Gītā at Newasa.

1616. Vide Bharhut *stūpa* (by Cunningham) p. 138 'नासिक-गोरक्षितय
धर्मो दानं बहुकृत भारियाय' (No. 87).

1617. नासिक्यं नगरमिति सङ्ख्यानादिषु पाठः करिष्यते । महाभाष्य vol III p. 42
on पा VI 1. 63, सङ्ख्या occurs as one among many *ganas* in पा IV. 2. 80.
नासिक्य is derived from नासिका (nose) and was probably so named because
the nose of Śūrpanakhā was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa there.

place is a much frequented place. Not far from the Sitā-gumpha is the temple of Kālā Rāma, one of the finest modern temples in Western India. There are numerous bathing places and sacred pools (*kunḍas*) between Govardhana (6 miles to the west of Nasik) and Tapovana (1½ miles to south-east of Nasik). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 522-526. The holiest spot in Nasik is the Rāmakunda near the left bank of the Godāvari where it takes its first bend to the south. For the Kālārāma daily services and the rites pilgrims have to perform at Nasik, vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 517-518 and 529-531 respectively. Rāmanavami is one of the great religious festivals at Nasik.

Govardhana town occurs several times in the long and famous Nasik Inscription of Usavadata (No. 10 in Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 p. 569-70).¹⁶¹⁸ As regards Pañcavati the place still goes by the same name. It is to be noted that in the Rāmāyana III. 13. 13 Pañcavati is styled a *desa* (country). Janasthāna was in Dandakāranya according to the Śalyaparva 39. 9-10, Rām. III. 21. 19-20, Nāradya-purāṇa II. 75. 30 and Agni 7. 2-3¹⁶¹⁹ and Pañcavati was part of Janasthāna. Janasthāna is said to be four yojanas in extent, and it is further stated that it was so called because kings of the Janaka line secured *mukta* there through the favour of the Godāvari.¹⁶²⁰

A bath in the Godāvari when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo has been regarded even up to the present day as very

1618. Nasik Cave Inscription No 20 in नासिककनं धर्मिकगणन द्वा (gift of Dhambbika village by the inhabitants of Nasik). Vide Bom. G. vol. XVI p. 590, E. I. vol. VIII at p. 72. Inscription No 22 is तद्वत्तानमुलं कन्दे राजानि नासिककेन समणेन महामतेण लेण कारितं 'this cave was caused to be constructed by the great minister who is (now) a śramana, an inhabitant of Nasik, in the reign of King Kṛṣṇa of the Sātavāhana family.' Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 592. These two are the oldest inscriptions in the Pāṇhale caves dating from at least 100 B. C. राज्ञः क्षत्रात्सर्वं क्षत्रपरं नष्टानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उपवदातेन... भस्कुच्छे दशहरे गोवर्धने शोर्धने च चतुःशालावमयमिश्रद-प्रदेन... गोण्डीतकावदे गोवर्धने सुवर्णहरे शोर्धने च चतुःशालावमयमिश्रद-सहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने विरादिमु पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितम् (Ins. No 10 in Bom. G. vol. 16 pp. 569-70 and E. I. vol. VIII at p. 78. गोवर्धन is at present a village near Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 636 for a note on गोवर्धन.

1619. (राम.) धनुः चन्द्रं च समाप्य दण्डकारण्यमागतः ॥ जनस्थाने वसत्यसौ तिष्ठन्ने गोदावरीतटे । अग्नि 7. 2-3.

1620 तथा जनकराजानो बहवस्तत्र कर्मणा ॥ सुक्तिं प्राप्नुमहाभागो गौतमाश्च ममादृतः । ततः प्रयुतिं तत्तीर्थं जनस्थानेति विश्रुतम् ॥ जनकानां यज्ञसदो जनस्थानं प्रतीतिरयम् चतुर्धाजनविस्तीर्णं स्मरणात् सर्वपापहृत् ॥ ब्रह्म. 89. 22-24.

meritorious.¹⁶²¹ The Brahmapurāṇa says that three crores and a half of tirthas that exist in the three worlds come for a bath in the Gangā when Jupiter is in Leo and that bathing in the Bhāgirathi (every day) for sixty thousand years (is equal) to bathing only once in the Godāvari when Jupiter is in the Zodiacal sign Leo.¹⁶²² It is stated in the Varāhapurāṇa that when a man repairs to the sacred Godāvari in *simhastha* year, takes a bath and offers *tarpana* (and *śrāddha*) to his pitrs the latter go to heaven if they are in hell and they attain final release if they are already denizens of heaven. Jupiter is in Leo for one year once in twelve years. Crowds of pilgrims throng at Nasik in their thousands from all parts of India in the *simhastha* year.

KĀŅCI (modern Conjeeveram).

Kāñci is one of the seven holy cities of India (vide p. 678 n. 1535 above) and one of the most ancient towns in southern India. If we rely on the tradition recorded by Hiouen Tsiang who stayed in Kāñci about 640 A. D. it would follow that Buddha frequented the region around Kāñcīpura and that Kāñci had a *stūpa* about 100 feet high built by Aśoka-rāja (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II, p. 230). Hiouen Tsiang informs us that Kāñci was 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ (or about 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles) in circuit, that in his day there were eighty Deva temples and that there were many heretics called Nirgranthas (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II, pp. 228-229). The next important datum is the mention of Kāñci-puraka (resident of Kāñcīpura) in the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 26 to Pan. IV. 2 104 (Kielhorn, vol. II, p. 298). Several early records relating to the ancient history of the Pallavas of Kāñci (of about 250 to 350 A. D.) have been published, such as the Mayidavolu plates of Yuvamahārāja Śiva-skandavarman (E. I. vol. VI p. 84), the Hirahadagalli Inscription of the 8th year (E. I. vol. I, p. 2), and the Talgunda Pillar Inscription of Kadamba Kakusthavarman (E. I. vol. VIII p. 24). The

1621 अत्र सिंहस्थे शुभे गोदावरीस्नानं कन्यागते कृष्णास्नानं महापुण्यम् । गोदावर्यां यात्रिकाणां सुष्ठ्वनोपवासावावश्यकौ न तु तत्तत्स्नानम् ॥ धर्मसिन्धु p. 7.

1622 तिस्रः कोट्योर्ध्वकोटी च तीर्थानि भुवनत्रये । तानि स्नातुं समायान्ति गङ्गाया सिंहस्थे शुभे ॥ पट्टिर्षत्सहस्राणि भागीरथ्यवगाहनम् । सकृद्गोदावरीस्नानं सिंहस्थके बृहस्पते ॥ ब्रह्म= 175 83-84, vide also ब्रह्म. 152. 38-39; सिंहस्थे च शुभे तत्र यो गच्छति समाहितः । स्नात्वा च विधिना तत्र पितृस्तर्पयते तथा ॥ स्वर्गं गच्छन्ति पितरौ निरये पतितौ यदि । स्वर्गस्थाः पितरस्तस्य मुक्तिभाजो न संशयः ॥ बराह 71 45-46,

Allahabad Prasasti of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions ed. by Fleet p. 7) states that Samudragupta vanquished Visnugopa, king of Kāñci (Kāñcīyaka), in the first half of the 4th century A. D. In the 'Mañimekhalai' there is an elaborate description of the town of Kāñci where Mañimekhalai ultimately attained to enlightenment (vide S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'Mañimekhalai in its historical setting' p. 20). It is not necessary for the present purpose to refer to the numerous inscriptions about the Pallavas and Kāñci and the large number of papers contributed to learned Journals. Reference may, however, be made to the careful and scholarly work 'History of the Pallavas of Kāñci' by R. Gopalan (1928), which brings together all relevant data published up to the date of its composition.

Let us now turn to some passages from the Purāṇas about Kāñci. The Brahmandā asserts.¹⁶²³ 'The two cities of Kāñci and Kāñci are the two eyes of Lord Śiva; Kāñci is a famous Vaisnava ksetra but it also brings about the presence of Śiva'. It is stated in the Bārhaspatya-sūtra (III 124) that Kāñci is a Sakta-ksetra and in the Devībhāgavata (VII 38, 8) it is said to be a Devīsthāna called Annapūrnā. The Vāmana-purāṇa¹⁶²⁴ observes: the Jāti is the best among flowers, Kāñci the best among towns, Rambhā among women, the householder among persons of (the four) āśramas, Kuśasthali is the best among cities and Madhyadeśa among all countries.

Kāñci is full of temples and shrines. The most famous are the Vaikuntha Perumal temple of Viṣṇu and the Śaiva temple of Kailāsanātha built by Pallava Rājasiṃha. The latter has a large hall supposed to contain 1000 columns.¹⁶²⁵ There is an old Jaina temple also.

PANDHARPUR

This is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in the Bombay State. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit it

1623 नेत्रद्वयं महेशस्य काशी-काञ्चीपुरद्वयम् । विख्यातं वैष्णवक्षेत्रं शिवसंनिध्य-कारकम् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 19. 15.

1624. इत्येषु जाती नगरिषु काञ्ची नारीषु रम्भाश्रमिणां श्रद्धयाः । कुशस्थली श्रेष्ठतमा इत्येषु देशेषु सर्वेषु च मध्यदेशः ॥ वामन. 12. 50. Vide 'South Indian Inscriptions' vol. I. pp. 8-24 for Inscriptions in Pallava characters of the 6th century A. D. in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci

1625 W. S. Caine in his 'Picturesque India' p. 491 remarks that the pillars are only 540 when counted

every year. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 (for Sholapur District) devotes pp. 415-482 to Pandharpur. This sacred place cannot claim very great antiquity. On the materials so far available it is difficult to decide when the shrine of Vithobā was established, but there is sufficient evidence to enable one to say that it was certainly in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.¹⁶²⁶ The Padmapurāṇa (Uttara-khaṇḍa 176. 56-58) mentions the image of Vitthala Viṣṇu on the bank of the Bhimarathi which has only two arms and is called Bindu-mādhava. The difficulty is about the date of this part of the Padmapurāṇa. In my opinion it is a late addition and cannot be placed earlier than about 1000 A. D. The modern town of Pandharpur lies along the right bank of the Bhīma river. The chief temple in Pandharpur is that of Vithobā in the centre of that part of the town which is considered holy. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 describes at some length (pp. 417-424) the main temple of Vithobā and its adjoining parts. Behind the temple of Vithobā is the temple of Rakhumāl, the consort of Vithobā. There is a large staff of priests and attendants in the temple of Vithobā, the chief of whom are those called Badves (who are the most numerous body of the staff and who once claimed to be owners of the temple, but who are now held to be the trustees and guardians of the temple property and of the god's jewels under a scheme of management framed by the High Court of Bombay),¹⁶²⁷ Except the Badves all

1626 Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism' pp. 87-89.

1627. In *Gangaram Babaji Badve v. Bajji Shankar and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 182 at p. 186 the High Court declared that the Badves are not owners of the temple, idol and property and that they are the chief priests, managers, overseers and guardians of the idol, the temple and the property belonging thereto and that they are bound to keep order and to bid the *Sevādhāris* perform the duties which belong hereditarily to those priests. In *Sakharam Bhīmaji Benare and others versus Gangaram Babaji Badve and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1896 p. 644, the position set out above was accepted by both sides and a scheme of management was framed by the High Court (pp. 649-651) which provided for the creation of a Vithobā Fund, for the appointment of a committee of management consisting of five Badves to be elected every year, for the keeping of accounts by the Badves, and for the auditing of these accounts by a Devasthan committee and declared that any cash offering exceeding Rs. 500 was not to be appropriated by the Badves for their own use, but was to be expended for ornaments for the image and to be added to the Vithobā fund, if not so required.

other attendants are called *sevādhāris* and they are of various grades, viz. the *pujāris* (who take the principal part in the worship of the God), *Benaris*¹⁶²⁸ (who repeat mantras and hymns at different services), *paricāraṅkas* (who bring in a large silver dish the water with which the *pujāri* washes the image of the God and brings the lamp for waving it before the image at the evening and night services), *harīdās* (who sings generally five verses in honour of the god at the morning, evening and night services), the *dingres* (who hold a mirror before the God at the early morning service after the god has been dressed and before the lights are waved), the *dvītes* (the torch-bearers) who hold a lighted torch when the last night ceremonies are over and carry the slippers of the god in torch-light processions three times a year on the Full Moon days of Āśāḍha and Kārtika and on the *Dasarā* night), the *dange* (who stands with a silver or gold-plated mace outside the ante-chamber at the morning, evening and night services). The goddess *Rakhmāi* has only one set of priests known as *Utpāts*, of whom there are over a hundred families.

The Bombay Gazetteer describes at length (pp. 427-430) the ordinary and special services in the temple of Vithobā which are passed over here. Their essence is that the god is treated as if he were some high human person requiring bath, dress, songs, sleep against fatigue and so on. One thing, however, may be noticed that no women singers or dancers are connected with this temple of Vithobā in contradistinction to many temples in the Deccan and South India.

The image of Vitthal or Vithoba in the temple is about three feet and nine inches high and together with its base seems to be cut out of one block of trap. Its rough appearance is probably due to the effect of time. The image is standing with its arms *akambo* and hands resting on the hips; the left hand holds a conch and the right a *caltra* (discus). On the image are carved but so slightly as to be hardly noticeable except on close examination a waist cloth and round the waist a waist-band the end of which hangs on the right thigh. The ornaments consist of a necklace and in the long ears are ear-rings which touch the shoulders. On the head is a long round-topped cap. Mr.

1628. In *Gangaram Babaji and others v Narayan Annaji*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 148 the High Court laid down with minuteness the rights, privileges and duties of the Benaris (the hymnists).

Kantak, the writer of the note on Pandharpur in the Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20, remarks (p. 424): "The dress and ornament of the image belong to a (time) little later than the Guptas, probably not later than the 5th or 6th century after Christ. As far as is known no other existing Vaisnava temple in India has an image of Visnu like the Pandharpur image, but there are two similar images of the third century after Christ in the Udayagiri brahmanical caves near Bhilsā Like the Pandharpur image these are both standing figures with arms *akimbo* and hands resting on the hips and a conch and discus in the hands". Formerly pilgrims used to embrace the image and also touched the feet of the image. But since about 1873 the feet alone are allowed to be touched.

The Bombay Gazetteer (vol. 20 p. 431, note 2) states that the image of Viṭhobā was removed to various places at different times to save it from sacrilege by fanatic Moslem invaders and rulers. About 500 yards east of Viṭhobā's temple in the bed of the Bhīmā river is the temple of Pundlik, one of the most favourite places of worship in Pandharpur. This last temple is not that of a god. It only marks the spot where Pundlik, a great devotee of Viṭthal, spent his last days and died. Pundlik was probably a brāhmana from Pandharpur, originally an undutiful son who ill-treated his parents, but who later repented on seeing the dutiful cobbler Rohidās, changed his ways and became a very dutiful son, so much so that tradition says that god Viṭhobā came to visit him. Viṭhobā and Pundlik have become so much coupled together that all pilgrims before beginning to dine and on other occasions shout the cry 'Pundalika varade Hari Viṭthal'¹⁶²⁹. The Bom. G. vol 20 (pp. 432-434) describes the temple of Pundlik and narrates the traditional story about him

1629. The writer in Bom. G. vol 20 translates the words पुण्डलीकवरदे हरि विठ्ठल as 'O! Pundalika, grant us a boon, Hari Viṭthal!'. This translation does not appear to me to be correct. The cry is also in the form 'पुण्डलीकवरदा हरि विठ्ठल' (which is the correct one) In my opinion हरि विठ्ठल is only a vocative and the correct form is पुण्डलीकवरदा (for 'वरद') and the whole cry means 'O Hari Viṭthal' that didst grant a boon to Pundalika'. Mr. A. K. Priyolkar kindly pointed out to me an *abhangā* from श्री ज्ञानेश्वरनारायणजींची गथा (ed. by Śrī Vināyakbuvā Sākhare, 1927) which runs as follows 'रघुनाथेवीर तो। पुण्डलीकवरद तो ने वरद' (p. 48) and another of Kāṇhopātrā (from 'Śrī-santa-gāthā' edited by Śrī Nānāmahārāja Sākhare, 1831) 'अगा पुण्डलीकवरदा। अगा विष्णु तूं गोविंदा' (p. 142)

Pages 434-468 of Bom. G. vol. 20 describe the several temples and shrines at Pandharpur such as those of Visnupada, Trimbakēśvara, Candrabhāgā, Janabai's cell, which are all passed over here. The river Bhīmā is styled Candrabhāgā within Pandharpur limits and its water is believed to possess sin-purifying power.

Several important and controversial questions arise in relation to Vithobā's temple at Pandharpur; viz. the date when the image of Vithobā was installed in the temple at Pandharpur, whether the present image is an old one or a substitute, what the ancient name of Pandharpur was, the derivation of the word 'Viṭthal'. As regards the first question it may be stated that there is not enough evidence to establish with certainty the time when the image was established ¹⁶³⁰. But some of the items of evidence may be briefly set out here. In I A. vol. 14 pp. 68-75 Prof. K. B. Pathak published an inscription on a copper-plate found at Bendigere (about eleven miles south-east from Belgaum), the inscription being dated in *śaka* 1171 (1249 A. D.), in which Pandharpur is called Paundarikakṣetra on the Bhīmarathī (at p. 74) and Vithobā is called Visnu and which records the grant of a village in Venugrāma district (Belgaum) to a number of brāhmanas by a minister of Yādava king Krana (or Kanhara in the inscription) in the presence of god Visnu (p. 74) i. e. before the image of Visnu or Viṭthala. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c', (p. 88) and in 'History of the Deccan' (2nd ed. p. 115-6) refers to an inscription on stone dated *śaka* 1192 (1270 A. D.) in Pandharpur itself, in which Bhānu, son of Keśava, is represented as having performed the Aptoryāma sacrifice in Pāṇḍurangapura 'on account of which crowds and Viṭthala were greatly pleased'. There is another earlier inscription in the temple of Vithobā on three sides of a stone beam in a *śopā* beyond the *mandapa* (porch) of 16 pillars, the script being Devanāgarī and the language being partly Sanskrit and partly Canarese. It was issued in *śaka* 1159 (1237 A. D.) by Hoysala king Someśvara and records the grant of an agraḥāra to God Viṭthaladeva who resides in a great village called Pandarage situated on the Bhīmarathī river and who

¹⁶³⁰. Besides the Sholapur Gazetteer (Bom. G. vol. 20) the following may be consulted. I. H. Q. vol. 11 pp. 771-778 (paper by Prof. B. A. Saletors on 'the Antiquity of Pandharpur'), Mr. G. H. Khare's monograph in Marāṭhī on 'श्रीविठ्ठल मंदिर पंढरपुर', and Dr. Krishna's Archaeological Survey Reports of Mysore for 1929 pp. 197-210

made the heart of sage (*munī*) Pundarika expand (with devotion). Vide Bom. G. vol. 20 pp. 419-420 and pp. 4-6 of Mr Khare's monograph (on medieval references). The Mysore Archaeological Survey Report for 1929 (pp. 197-210) publishes a copper-plate inscription issued by the Rāstrakūṭa king Avidheya which records a grant of Pāṇḍarāṅga-palli and four other villages situated to the east of Mahādeva hill to a brāhmana named Jayad-viṭṭha. This grant was confirmed about 820 A. D. by Rāstrakūṭa king Śarvavarasa (i. e. Amoghavarasa I). The editor Dr. Krishna is of opinion that the date of the inscription must be 516 A. D. (*ibid.* p. 203). Therefore the important conclusion follows that Pandharpur was known to Canarese people as Pandarage and was also called Pāṇḍarāṅgapalli. This inscription does not expressly refer to god Viṭṭhala, but the donee's name Jayad-viṭṭha contains the part Viṭṭha which is most probably an early form of Viṭṭhala.

In a work called 'Viṭṭhalabhūṣana'¹⁶³¹ by one Gopālācārya about eleven verses are quoted from Hemādri on Tīrtha which are quoted below¹⁶³². Briefly they state an excellent tīrtha ex-

1631. This was printed in *Śaka* 1808 (1886-87 A. D.) at the Bombay City Press. For Pundlik's story, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 433.

1632 तीर्थहेमाद्रौ—भैरवाश्चैव तटे देवि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम् । अस्ति क्षेत्रं देवतं च सर्वोत्कृष्टं सुदुर्लभम् । पौण्डरीकमिति ख्यातं तत्तीर्थं क्षेत्रपूजितः । पाण्डुरङ्गश्च तत्रास्ति मूर्तिमान् देवतोत्तमः । पुष्करात्रिदण्डं पुष्पं केदारात् पङ्कजं भवेत् । वाराणस्यां दशदण्डमनन्तं श्रीगिरिरपि । पश्चिर्पश्चिमदिशि दिव्यदेवतदर्शनात् । तत्फलं लभते मर्त्यं सङ्कलदेव हि तत्फलम् । अष्टाविंशतिमे कल्पे द्वापरान्ते च पञ्चमुखः । पुण्डरीकं इति ख्यातस्तपस्तेषु सुदारुणम् । भक्त्या पित्रोश्च श्रद्धया कुर्वन्निवारः सदा । तस्यैवं कुर्वन् पूजा पित्रोरहरहः विधे । परितुष्टोऽभवद्देवो गोपीजनमन-मियः । गोवर्धनगिरौ रम्ये चारयन् गोगणं विभु । गोपतिं धारयन्त्यान्धजोऽन्धजलितकङ्कणम् । नानास्त्रमभोद्भासि-क्षिप्यमोलिविराजितः । अतीव सुन्दरं सौम्यो रत्नाङ्कितमहाङ्गुः । दिग्वा-साध्यातिसौम्येन सुहृत्सूत्रेण वेदितः । त्रिहृतेनाङ्कालेन कटिबन्धेन (कटिबन्धेन?) राजितः । कटिमालम्ब्य तिष्ठन्नेत्रं त्रिदशरूपा च संयुतः । तत्रैव कर्मदुराणे । पुण्डरीके महातीर्थं ब्राह्मणैरप-सेवितम् । तत्राभिगम्य शुक्लात्मा पुण्डरीकफलं लभेत् ॥

I am highly obliged to Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar of Kolhapur for sending to me these verses from the copy in his possession. In the T S p 7 the verse पुण्डरीकं महातीर्थं is quoted from the Kūrmapurāṇa, on p 9 of T S. verses भैरवाश्चैव ..तत्फलम् are quoted from the Skandapurāṇa, as also verses अष्टा-विंशतिमे ...संयुत occur on pp 12-13 of the Tīrthasāra with a few variant readings such as वेत्रोद्देहितकङ्कण (which is a very good variant, for छत्रो.. कङ्कणम् and शक्तिमोलिविराजित for क्षिप्य and दिव्यसङ्गीति सौम्येन for दिग्वासाध्यातिसौम्येन. In a ms. of पौण्डरीकमाहात्म्य kindly lent to me by Pandit Lakṣmanācārya of Wai 'अन्तःसूत्रेण वेदितः' कटिबन्धेन राजितः' and सुहृत्साक्षिप्यनद्राप्यामूर्त्या चाव-शोभितः are the readings. In a ms of पाण्डुरङ्गमाहात्म्य in the possession of Pandit Khuperkar, the same verses occur with a few additions. That ms

(Continued on the next page)

ists on the southern bank of the river Bhaimi and there is also a rare but fine image there; it is called Paundarika-ksetra and the greatest of gods viz. Pāduranga worshipped by the whole ksetra resides there. It is three times holier than Puskara, six and ten times holier than Kedāra and Vārānasi respectively. Pundarika practised severe austerities at the end of Dvāparayuga in the 28th Kalpa and always devotedly attended upon his parents. God Kṛṣṇa who was making a herd of cows graze on Govardhana hill became pleased with him for his devotion to his parents, Kṛṣṇa who wields a stick for driving cows, who has bracelets rendered bright by (the colour) of the umbrella ¹⁶³³ (shade), who is adorned with a head-gear (*mukuta*) and a *śikya* (a loop) scintillating with the lustre of many jewels, who was very charming and had armlets studded with jewels, who does not (appear to) wear any *dhoti*, but has his loins covered with nickers, who is set off by a girdle of three strings tied on his waist and who stands with arms akimbo and appears possessed of three lines on his belly. Though a ms. of the Tirtha portion of Hemādri's work has not yet been recovered, there is no reason to doubt that the verses were taken by Gopālācārya from Hemādri's work, particularly when almost all those verses are quoted by the T. S. (about 1500 A. D.) from the Skandapurāṇa and Kūrmapurāṇa. As Hemādri composed his work about 1260 to 1270 A. D. and as the verses quoted by him are cited from the Skandapurāṇa, it follows that several centuries before 1260 A. D. Pandharpur was known as a tirtha, that the devotee and saint Pundarika (Marāṭhi 'Puṇḍlik') also was so known then and that the image of Vithobā was essentially the same in appearance as it is now. That Pandharpur had risen in sanctity and importance in the 15th century follows from the fact that both the great Vaiṣṇava saints, Caitanya and Vallabha, visited it. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 71 for

(Continued from the last page)

reads अन्तःसूत्रेण for शुभसूत्रेण, विद्वद्भोक्तेनेशः कटिबन्धेन रत्नितः and शुद्धकामिव्य-
नद्धम्यासूत्रम्या आतिशोभितः. विद्वत्तेनाङ्गकालेन—makes no sense. It has to be noted
that शुभसूत्रेण or अन्तःसूत्रेण is mentioned separately from कटिबन्धेन and there-
fore शुभसूत्र or अन्तःसूत्र was something different from कटिबन्ध (waist-band).
Probably the original reading was दिग्वासाश्चातिशूत्रेण शुभसूत्रेण for दिग्वासा-
श्चातिशोभनेन, where सौम्य conveys very little sense.

¹⁶³³. This probably is a reference to the silk or shade under which the
image of Vithobā stood (Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 423).

Caitanya's visit and 'Śrī Vallabhācārya' by Manilal C. Parekh (pp. 56-59) for Vallabhācārya's visit.

It has been already shown from the Bombay Gazetteer that there is a tradition about the image having been removed several times and brought back. On pp. 16-25 of his work Mr. Khare cites various passages from medieval writers in Sanskrit, Marathi and Canarese and comes to the conclusion that the present image is not only not the ancient one but that it was not there in the 17th century, since the characteristics of the present image do not tally with the description contained in the poems of saint Tukārām. I do not agree with his conclusions. He has overlooked several weighty considerations. He has relied upon inferences drawn from the presence of Afzul Khan and the bigoted emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan. I have cited above (pp. 632, 692) references to the demolition of North Indian temples and images on the orders of Aurangzeb, but Mr. Khare has been unable to show any direct reference to the demolition of the temple or the image of Vithobā on the orders of any Moslem king or officer.¹⁶³⁴ We cannot rely on mere inferences or not properly authenticated letters or verses. Besides, the present image is so much worn that unless one very carefully

1634. It may, however, be stated that there is some evidence that efforts were made to demolish the temple of Vithobā by some Moslem king of Bidar and that the Badves (the guardians of the Pandharni temple) fearing destruction of the image removed it and concealed it somewhere else. In a Marāṭhi work called 'महाराष्ट्रमहोदयाचा पूर्ववर्ण' by Mr. Narayan Krishna Gadre (1905) p. 168 verses are cited from a life (completed in śaka 1667 i.e. 1745 A.D.) of one Chāṅgā Mudhesā (who died in śaka 1427 i.e. 1505 A.D.) written by his descendant Shamji Gosāvi Vājarkhede (who was 11th in descent from Chāṅga Mudhesā). The Marāṭhi verses are: वेदरीचा राजा बालणी पातझरा। जाह्नगासी बहु छलियेले॥ हिंदुधर्म जितुके तितुके बर्जियेले॥ राऊळ विध्वंसिले पदरीचे॥ केलीसे मशीद महारार मोडून। सातमास पूर्ण झाले यासी॥ मूर्ती सिंहासनाह्नि आच्छादिली। छत हो ठेविली बह्व्यानी॥ verses 52-55 of the 7th chapter of the life. This was written two hundred and forty years after the alleged vandalism. Besides the same work mentions in verse 94 (chap. 7) that Chāṅgadeva thought that the mosque should be demolished and a new temple (a complete replica of the old one) should be built. Similarly, in शिवचरित्रसहित्य part I p. 68 (published by the Bhārata-itihāsa-samśodhala-maṇḍala of Poona) there is a letter dated in 1581 śaka (i.e. 1659-60 A.D.) in Marāṭhi which states that Shivaji killed Afzal Khan who had removed the image of Vitthal at Pandharpur and that at Tuljāpur. The letter is not properly authenticated and is not a reliable piece of evidence. I am obliged to Mr. G. H. Khare of Poona for drawing my attention to these two pieces of evidence.

scrutinizes, it would be difficult to pronounce what articles it holds or what dress it wears. Therefore, there is great scope for differences of opinion on the characteristic features of the present image. Conceding for argument that the tradition about the removal of the idol is true, that does not establish that the present image is different from the one that existed in the 13th century or before. The present image has an elongated head dress which some may construe as a simple *mukūṭa* (crown) with a rim: but the pujaris and common people regard it as a *Śivaliṅga* and the rim as the rope of the *śiṅga* that is carried on the back (by cowherds). The present image has ear-rings (as Mr. Khare admits) but they are so long that they rest on the shoulders. The present image has *aṅgadas* (armlets) on the upper arms (and that is the description in the *Skanda-purāṇa* quoted by Hemādri). The present image has ornaments on the wrists (which the passage from the *Skandapurāṇa* also mentions). There is a girdle with three strings on the waist of the present image (in *Sk.* also we have '*trivṛtenānukālena kaṣṭhaddhena* or *kaṣṭhbandhena rajitah*'). The present image ¹⁶³³ does not clearly show that a *dhoti* was worn (and therefore one reading of the *Skanda* says that it is '*digvāsah*') but the *Skanda* adds that the image has arms akimbo. In my opinion the description in the *Skanda-purāṇa* (which must be held to be at least not later than about 1000 A. D.) tallies in essential particulars with the present image; therefore it follows that sufficient evidence has not been adduced to show that it is comparatively a new image and the proposition of Mr. Khare that it is a different one from the original should be held *not proved*. In the descriptions given by Tukārām and others (p. 22 of Mr. Khare's book) actual, legendary and ideal elements are mixed up. For example, Tukārām states that the god has 16000 wives (Mr. Khare's book

1633. Persons not familiar with ancient images or statues in stone might think that an image or statue is naked (*digvāsah*) when as a matter of fact the sculpture itself shows that the image wears a *dhoti* and waist band and yet its private parts are shown as visible, probably because it was the intention of the sculptor to indicate that the garment was made of the finest texture and was transparent. For example, in '*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*' by Vincent Smith, there is a figure of a *Bodhisattva* (on p. 143 No. 94) which is clearly draped in a *dhoti* and waistband and the private parts of which are yet visible. The *Vijaya* image from Mathurā (Plate VI) in a paper on Gupta Art in *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, vol. 18 pp. 101-134 shows similar characteristics.

p. 22 'Bailā solā hajāra' &c.). But Tukārām₁ does mention the facts that the arms are akimbo, that there is no dhoti (*digambara*), and mentions the existence of a *śikya*, a stick, also a girdle and ornaments. Lastly, Mr. Khare does not attach sufficient importance to two facts, one being that about 1873 two Gosavis damaged the image which was later re-installed and pilgrims were forbidden from embracing it. It is quite possible that some of the features already indistinct were lost in these happenings (vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 430). Besides, for hundreds of years the image has been washed with pañcāmṛta (milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar) and water at least once every day and sometimes several times a day. It is not difficult to imagine that the characteristic marks became blurred by these continual baths.

Some other matters require to be dealt with. The image is variously called viz. Pāṇḍuranga, Pāṇḍhari, Vitthal, Viṭṭhalanātha and Viṭhobā.

Viṣṇu assumes in Prakrit the forms Vinhu, Vinnu, Venhu, Vetha and others. In Canarese Viṣṇu becomes Bitti, Bittiga, Vitta &c. The changes in names do not necessarily follow the rules laid down in Prakrit or Canarese grammars, which rules themselves are often based on meagre data and Mr. A. K. Priyolkar in his learned paper on 'Bhagat Namdeo of the Sikhs' in the Journal of the University of Bombay vol. VII part 2 (1938) points out (p. 24) that in the Ādi Granth of the Sikhs, in the hymns of Namdeo, God is addressed as 'Bithal' or 'Bithalu' (p. 24), that, in the Gujarati poems of Narsinh Mehta and Mirabai, God is addressed as Vitthala (p. 35) and Viṭṭhala is employed by these saints meaning only Viṣṇu and not the deity at Pandharpur. The learned Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, author of *Viṭṭhala-rn-mantrasāra-bhāṣya*, derives the word Viṭṭhala as (*Vi + ttha + la*)¹⁶³⁶.

As regards the name of the ksetra it appears that originally it was called in Canarese Pandarage, of which Panduranga is a sanskritized form. When Puṇḍlik, the devotee of Viṭṭhal, became famous the sacred place came to be called Pundarikapura (as in Kūrma) and Pāundarikapura (as in Skanda). Vide note 1632 above

1636 'विद् वेदनं ज्ञानं तेन हाः श्रूयः ताव लाति स्वीकरोति'. Vide विठ्ठलसङ्ग्रह-सारभाष्य, D. C. ms. No 100 of 1869-70 dated śaka 1731 (1809 A. D.) quoted in H. of Dh. vol. I p. 464 n. 1161.

The pilgrims to Pandharpur may be divided into two classes, regular visitors and occasional visitors. The first class comprise those called *Vārkaris* (lit those who keep the fixed times). The *Vārkaris* are of two sorts viz those who attend every month and those who attend twice a year (on the 11th of Āśāḍha-sukla and Kārtika-sukla). This cult of *vārkaris* has been a great leveller. In theory and to a large extent in practice it ignores caste exclusiveness. A brāhmana *vārkari* falls at the feet of a śūdra *vārkari*. There are certain observances binding on all *vārkaris* (for which, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 471). The *vārkari* carries a rosary of Tulasi (basil) beads, foregoes flesh-eating, observes a fast on *ekādaśī*, carries an ochre-coloured *patākā* (swallow-tailed banner) and is to speak the truth (and not to cheat) when engaged in his daily occupations.

Some people think that the image of Vithobā is really Buddhist or Jain. There is hardly any evidence for this. When such Marāṭhi poets and saints as Ekanātha, and Tukārām speak of Vithobā as *Bauddhāvātāra* they have Viṣṇu in mind,¹⁶³⁷ whose 9th avātāra was Buddha according to the Purāṇas and medieval writers.

The question of the attitude that modern Hindus should adopt towards holy places and pilgrimages will be briefly dealt with at the end of the next chapter on the list of *Īrthas*.

1637. One of एकनाथ's अभंग is 'मववा चैते स्थिररूप । तया नाम बौद्धरूप ॥ सन्त तया धरी । तिष्ठताति निरन्तरी । पुण्डलीकासारी उवा । घन्य घन्य विठलजीवा ॥' in एकनाथमहाराजांच्या अभंगांची गाथा (published by Rajaram Tukaram, Bombay, 1903) p. 344 No 1048, 'बौद्धरूप अवतार माझिया अहदा । सौम्यमुखें निहा धरिलेली ॥' No. 4160 of the एकनाथमहाराजांच्या अभंगांची गाथा p. 522 (published by Bombay Govt., 1950). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 720-723 for discussion about the time when Buddha came to be looked upon as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

CHAPTER XVI

LIST OF TĪRTHAS

This is merely a list of tīrthas from the point of view of Dharmaśāstra and *not* a treatise on the Ancient Geography of India. The result is that many countries and towns that have no importance or claims as tīrthas have been altogether omitted. Bauddha and Jain works on tīrthas have only rarely been referred to. Many of the Purānas enumerate the mountains and rivers of *dīpas* and *varsas* other than those of Jambudvīpa and Bhārata-varsa such as Harivarsa, Rāmyakavarṣa, Krauñcadvīpa, Śālmālidvīpa, but they have been excluded from this list. The Brahmapurāna (chap. 26 verses 8-83) contains a string of over 520 tīrthas without hardly any certain indication of their location and the Bhīṣmaparva in chap. 9 mentions about 160 rivers with practically no indication about their location in most cases. Similarly, the Garuḍa (I. 81. 1-31) enumerates about 200 and Padma (VI. 129) contains 108 tīrtha names. In Banaras alone I have listed about 350 sub-tīrthas. But there are about 1500 shrines and temples in Banaras alone. These have not been included. Each great tīrtha has numerous sub-tīrthas as in the Varāha-purāna under Mathurā, in Brahma-purāna under Gautami, in Vāyu-purāna under Gayā. Through sheer weariness or inadvertence some of these must have been left out by me and some were left out purposely on account of the absence of any importance. Besides, several tīrthas that are regarded as sacred by modern people are not so treated in the Epics or purānas and are not even mentioned in them; many of these have been omitted in this list. Our authorities are often very vague about the location or extent of tīrthas. Moreover, a number of tīrthas scattered in different parts of India bear the same name (e. g. vide under Agnitīrtha, Kotitīrtha, Cakratīrtha, Varāhatīrtha, Somatīrtha). I am under great obligations to Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' (ed. of 1872) and to Nundo Lal Dey's 'The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India' (1927). I have had occasions to differ from both, particularly from the latter. But, the space at my disposal being very limited, I could not enter into even brief discussions

in support of my views. It would look ungrateful to find fault with the work of Dey; but it must be said that he relies too much on rather old and antiquated authorities and has not cast his net over a wide area. Often times he mentions no original authorities (vide, for example, Cakratīrtha on p. 43). He is very vague in his references. He hardly ever cites the number of the verse on which he relies and often omits to specify even the part or section of the work relied upon. For example, at p. 13 as regards Avanti he mentions Pāṇini IV. 176, which should be IV. 1. 176. Further, he has omitted several well-known tīrthas (e. g. Daśāśvamedhika). He is sometimes wrong in what he says. On p. 54 he states that Kiskindhā-kāṇḍa 43 refers to Devadāruvana as a proper name, but there the context ('*lodhrapadmaka-sandesu devadāruvanesu ca*' in verse 15) shows that what is meant is 'forests of Deodar trees'. On p. 73 he says Bharatavarṣa was 'first' called Haimavata-varṣa, but the passage of the Līṅgapurāṇa (I. 49. 7) on which he relies (*idam haimavatam varṣam Bharatam nāma viśrutam*) does not bear that out. There is no reference to a prior account here and all that is meant is that Bharatavarṣa is connected with Himavat, as a previous passage (I. 47. 23 *Himādredaksinam varṣam Bharatīya nyavedayat*) expressly states that Bhāratavarṣa is to the south of Himālaya. In Śālya 44. 53 Sarasvatī is called Haimavatī, but that does not mean that Haimavatī was the name of Sarasvatī in far-off ages. It simply means that it 'rises in Himavat range.' Only a comparison of the list prepared by me with Dey's work will show the difference in details between the two. I should not undertake that task and leave it to scholarly readers.

I have carefully read the two Epics and most of the Purāṇas. But I do not cite exhaustive references to all the texts where a particular tīrtha is mentioned. I feel satisfied with mentioning two or three. Owing to the several restrictions imposed upon myself this list cannot claim to be thoroughly exhaustive. But I hope that it is comprehensive enough and far larger and more informative than any list of tīrthas presented by any scholar so far. There is ample scope for industrious scholars to improve upon and to add to this list. I have included important tīrthas from Kashmir and given copious references to the Nīlamata-purāṇa, the Rāja-tarāṅgīnī and the Hara-carita-cintāmaṇī. I am highly obliged to the Kashmir Report of Dr. Bühler (published as a special number for 1877

by the B B R A S), to Stein's notes in his translation of the *Raja-taranginī* and his memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir published separately (and also embodied in the 2nd volume of the translation of Kalhana's work). All the names of tirthas are transliterated into the English alphabet and arranged according to the English mode of spelling. For the *Mahābhārata* references are given to the oblong Bombay edition and by citing names of *parvans*, but in the case of the *Rāmāyana* Roman figures I to VII are employed for the *Bāla*, *Ayodhyā*, *Aranya*, *Kiskindhā*, *Sundara*, *Yuddha* and *Uttara kandas* respectively. For the *Rāmāyana* I have used the edition brought out by the Madras Law Journal Press in 1933. Among *Purānas* the *Ānandaśrama* editions of the *Agni*, *Brahma*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Padma* have been relied upon and as to the rest of the *Mahāpurānas* the *Venkataśvara* Press editions have been used (except in the case of the *Nrasimhapurāna* of which the edition of Messrs. Gopal Narayan & Co. and the *Bhagavatapurāna*, of which the *Nirnayasāgara* edition of the bare text have been referred to). The *Skandapurāna* has been a source of great trouble and labour. Owing to the limited time at my disposal I have not been able to digest thoroughly the ninety thousand and odd verses of that purāna, though I have very carefully gone into the *Kāśikhanda* and some other *kandas*. Besides, there are two separate recensions of the *Skanda* and large portions of it appear to be apocryphal and later additions. The seven big sections of the *Skanda* viz *Maheśvarakanda*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Brāhma*, *Kāśi*, *Āvantya*, *Nagara*, *Prabhāsa* are indicated by Roman figures from I to VII and the sub-sections by Arabic figures. Some of these sub-sections have further sub-divisions into *Pūrvārdha* and *Uttarārdha*.

I have made endeavours to locate the tirthas as far as possible. Inscriptions have been drawn upon in several cases for locating the tirthas and for their antiquities and history. The principal Sanskrit authorities (except Kalhana) are often very vague as compared with even foreign writers like Hiouen Tsang, Alberuni and Abul Fazal. Where I was not myself sure I have given references to the texts alone, and in some cases to the views of Cunningham, Dey, Pargiter and others. If the same name happens to be given to different tirthas located at different places, I have indicated the several different places bearing the same name by employing the capital letters

A, B, C and so on; I may state that I have hardly ever remained content by borrowing references to Sanskrit authorities given by my predecessors, but have seen personally each reference to Sanskrit works except where I expressly state from whom I borrow a particular reference. Sorensen's Index of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith have been used in several places. I have also derived material help from the volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer and from the several volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer. The same may be said about Wilson's translation of Visṇupurāṇa (ed. by Hall, 1864-1877), Pargiter's notes to his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Dr. B. C. Law's paper on the 'mountains and rivers of India' in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 and Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's 'Studies in Indian Antiquities' (1932), and the paper on 'Ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad' in I.A. vol. 54. I have consulted only a few Mahātmyas of tirthas. Recently, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar of Madras has published a useful work 'The Purāṇa Index' (volumes I and II covering over 1400 pages) which collects material from five Purāṇas only viz. the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Vāyu and Viṣṇu. The two volumes reach up to the Sanskrit letter 'ma' only. I, for my part, do not agree with much that he says about the age of the Purāṇas in general and of the five Purāṇas (which he has digested) in particular, but this is not the place to go into that question. Besides, his work has to be used with some caution. In several places the work is misleading. To take only a few examples. On p. 547 he lists 'Godhūma', makes the remark 'fit for śrāddha' and cites four references from the Visṇupurāṇa alone. One may *prima facie* think that Godhūma is here some place fit for śrāddha. As a matter of fact in all the references from the Visṇupurāṇa 'Godhūma' means 'wheat' and nothing more, which no doubt is fit food for śrāddha. But other fit things such as 'ikṣu' (declared to be fit for śrāddha by Vāyu 78. 7-8) are not included at all. On p. 123 Aśokavana is not a proper name, but only a forest of Aśoka trees, as the preceding word 'drākṣāvana' (in Vāyu 38. 68) indicates. So also Kamalāprabhava (not 'prabhava' as printed on p. 316 of vol. I) is not a river (in Matsya 163. 62, Ānandaśrama ed.) but is only an adjective of the word Śona that follows. On p. 316 of vol. II he states that the river Parā rises from Rṣyavan, but the Matsya 114. 24 on which he relies says it springs from Paryātra. On the same page he gives the entry 'Pārāvāratata sacred to

Matā'. This makes no sense. Pārāvāratata would mean 'the shore of the sea'. What is really meant is that Devī is styled or worshipped as Pārā on the bank of the Pārā river (Pārā Pārātate matā). He does not compare the readings of the several printed editions of the five purānas. Besides, the information furnished is very meagre. If the whole had been printed in a compact form far more information could have been given in the same number of pages.

In some places I have indicated the rewards promised for bathing in the tīrthas; but I have not done so in every case. The purānas promise one or more of the following rewards viz. the same merit as the performance of Āsvamedha or Vajapeya or other solemn Vedic sacrifices or reaching the highest worlds such as those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva, the destruction of the gravest sins such as brāhmana murder, the same merit as arises from gifts of a thousand cows &c.

Many of the doubts and difficulties about the identification of several tīrthas can, if at all, be solved only by means of actual journeys to various places and investigations on the spot. That is a task which would require for its proper accomplishment a team of workers. A single individual can hardly attempt such a task with his own resources.

This list will, it is hoped, be of some use in elucidating several problems such as the questions about the relative antiquity of the purānas, the dates of several Sanskrit works which mention the tīrthas and the questions about borrowing on the part of purānas among themselves and from the Mahābhārata.

Abbreviations employed in this list alone

- AC.—Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra (ed. by Böhtlingk, 1847).
 Ad.—Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata
 Ag.—Agnipurāṇa.
 A. G.—Ancient Geography of India, by Cunningham (1871).
 A. I.—Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Mc Crindle).
 Ain, A.—Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazal, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett in three volumes (1873-1894).
 Al.—Alberuni's 'India' translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, 2 volumes, 1886 (London).
 Anu.—Anuśāsana-parva of the Mahābhārata.
 A. S. R.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
 B.—Brahmapurāṇa.
 Bār. S.—Bārhaspatya-sūtra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas.
 Bh.—Bhāgavatapurāṇa.
 Bhav.—Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.
 Bhī.—Bhīṣmaparva of the Mahābhārata.
 Bom G.—Bombay Gazetteer volumes.
 Br.—Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.
 Br. S.—Brhatsamhitā with Utpala's com., edited by Sudhākara Dwivedi.
 BV.—Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa.
 C. I. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; vol. I. Inscriptions of Aśoka, vol. III. Gupta Inscriptions.
 Dey.—Nundolal Dey's 'Geographical Dictionary of India' (1927).
 G.—Garudapurāṇa.
 Go.—Godāvarī river
 h.—hill
 HC.—Haracaritacintāmaṇi of Jayadratha (Kāvyamālā ed.)
 I. G. I.—Imperial Gazetteer of India volumes.
 J. U. P. H. S.—Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
 K.—Kūrmapurāṇa.
 Kal.—Kāhlāpurāṇa.
 K. R.—Bühler's Kashmir Report (extra number of BBRAS Journal for 1877)
 l.—lake
 L.—Liṅgapurāṇa
 m.—Mountain
 M.—Matsyapurāṇa
 Mb.—Mahābhārata
 Mbh.—Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (ed. by Kielhorn in 3 volumes).
 Mār.—Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa
 N.—Brhan-nāradya or Nāradya-purāṇa.
 NM.—Nīlāmata-purāṇa ed. by Prof. Bhagavad-datta.
 Nr.—Nṛsiṃha or Narasiṃha-purāṇa.
 P.—Padma-purāṇa.
 Pargiter.—Translation of Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa with notes.
 Ptolemy.—Mc Crindle's 'Ancient India' as described by Ptolemy with notes by Majumdar Sastri (Calcutta, 1927)
 r.—River.
 R.—Rājatarāṅgī (edited and translated by Dr. Stein).
 Rām.—Rāmāyaṇa.
 S.—Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata.
 Sal.—Salyaparva of the Mahābhārata.
 Śān.—Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.
 SK.—Skandapurāṇa
 SM.—Stein's Memoir on maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir.
 T. K.—Kalpataru on tirthas (G. O. S.)
 T. P.—Tīrthaprakāśa of Mitrāmīśra, part of Viramitrodaya
 T. S.—Tīrthasāra, part of Nṛsiṃha-prasāda (Sarasvatībhaṇan series, Benares).
 U.—Udyogaparva of the Mahābhārata
 V.—Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata.

Va —Vāyṇpurāṇa

Vām.—Vāmanapurāṇa.

Var —Varāḥapurāṇa.

VD —Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa

V. Dh. S.—Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (ed.
by Jolly).V₁ —ViṣṇupurāṇaVik —Vikramāṅka-deva-carita of
Bilhaṇa (ed. by Bühler)

V. S.—Vārāṇasī.

Wilson—Translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa,
edited by Dr. Hall (1864–1877)

LIST OF TIRTHAS

A

- Abjaka—(under Go.) B 129 137 (it is the heart of Godāvārī)
- Acalā—(r. in Kāśmīra) HC 10 256 (near Anantabhrada and Kārkatabrada)
- Acalesvara—L I, 92. 165
- Acchodā—(r. rising from Acchodala lake) M 121. 7, Vā 47 6, Br II 18. 6 and III. 13. 80
- Acchodaka—(a l. at the foot of mount Candraprabha) Vā 47. 5-6 and 77. 76, M 14 3 and 121. 7, Br III 13. 77
- Aciravati—(r. falling into Sarayū) one of the ten great rivers mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) It is Raptī in Oudh on which Srāvastī was situated Var. 214. 47
- Acyutasthala—Vām 34. 47. Vide under Yugandhara.
- Ādarśa—held to be same as Vināśana by many scholars Vide under 'Vināśana' The Kāśhī on Pān. IV. 2 124 (Janapadatadavadhyośca) appears to hold Ādarśa as a Janapada and Br S 14. 25 does the same
- Ādipāla—(a h. under Gayā). Vā 108. 65 (Ganeśa is there in the form of an elephant across Mundaprattha), 109 15
- Aditūtīrtha—(under Gangā) N II, 40. 90
- Ādityasya āśrama—V 83 184, P I. 27 70
- Adityatīrtha—A (on Sarasvatī) Sal 49 17, Devala q by T K p 250. B (on r Sābhramatī) P VI 167 1 (near confluence with sea)
- Ādityātana—(under Narmadā) M 191 77, K II 41 37-38, P. I 13 5 and 72.
- Ādityeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 5
- Agastyapada—(under Gayā)—Ag 110 3, Vā 111 53
- Agastyasaras—V 82 44 It may be noted that Agastya is the reputed author of the Tamil language and the teacher of the author of the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest grammatical work extant (on Tamil). Vide JR 18 vol 19 pp 558-559 (New series)
- Agastyāśrama—Vide Dey p 2 for eight places so called (but he does not state authorities for all) A (or r Durjayā) V 96 1 (where demon Vātāpi was killed by Agastya), B V. Dh S 85. 22, P I 12 4, V 19. 198 (near Puskara); C (near Prayāga) V 87. 20, D (near Golurnā) V 88. 18, E (near Janasthān and Pañcavati about five yojanas from Sūtilānāśrama) Rām. III. 11 38-42, Raghu XIII 36 There is an ancient shrine of Agastya about one mile from Akola village in Nagar District beyond the Pravara river, F (near the sea in Pāndya country) Ādi 216. 3, 88 13, 118 4, 130 6—one of the five Nārītirthas), Rām. IV. 41. 16 (on Malaya) and Bh 79. 167
- Agastyatīrtha—(in Pāndya country) V 88 13
- Agastyavata—Ādi 215 2
- Agastyeśvara—A (under Narmadā) 1. 191 5, B (haga in VS) I q b, T K p 116
- Aghoreśvara—(under Vā) L q by T. K. p 60
- Agnidhārā—(under Gayā) V 84 146, Ag 116 31.
- Agnikundā—(on Sarasvatī) Vām. 31 22, Var. q by T. K p 215.
- Agniprabha—(under Gayā) Vā 145 52-55 (its water is hot in winter and cold in summer.)

Agoipura—Anu 25 43 Dey p 2 says it is Māhismatī. Vide Raghuvamśa VI. 42

Agnisaras—A (under Kolāmukha) Var 140 34-36, B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 52

Agnisatyapada—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 7

Agnisaras—(along the Yamunā) V. 90. 5-7

Agnisvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K pp 66, 71

Agnitīrtha—A (on the southern bank of Yamunā) M 108 27, P. I 45 27; B (under VS) K I. 35 7, P. I 37 7; C (under Go) B 98 1; D (on Sarasvatī) Śal 47. 13-14, P. I. 27 27, E (on north bank of Sābhramatī) PVI. 134. 1; F (under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 63

Ahah—V. 83. 100

Ahalyāhṛada—(near Gautama's āśrama) V 84 109, P I 38 26

Ahalyātīrtha—A (under Godāvarī), B 87 1, B (under Narmadā) P I 18 84, M 191 90-92, K II 41. 43

Allāpatra—A dīpāla-nāga (guardian of western quarter) in Kāśmīra. NM 1118 (modern Ailapatur)

Airāvati—(The Hydraotes of Arrian, A I p 190, Rāvi in the Punjab?) A r. on the border of Madradesa rising in the Himālaya. M 115 18-19, 116 1 and 6 and Devala q by T. K p 249 Dey p 73 is wrong in taking (in M 116 1) Haimavatī as a proper name, since in M 116 6 the same river is called 'the eminent daughter of Himavat'

Ajabila—(under m Sripārvata) L I. 92 153

Ajatuṅga—Vā 77. 48 (śrāddha here is highly efficacious and here the shadow of gods is seen on *parvan* days)

Ajeśvara—(a līṅga in VS) L. I 92 136
Ajravati—a r. referred to in Pān VI 3. 119. Probably the same as Aciravati above

Ālāśa—(under VS) K I 35 3, P I 37 3
Ālāśagaṅgā—A (under Gayā) Vā 112. 25, Ag 116 5; B (on m Sahya) Nr 66 35 (sub-tīrtha of Āmalaka)

Ākāśalinga—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 51

Akrūra—(under Mathurā) Var 155 4-5 (name of a hamlet between Mathurā and Vrndāvana)

Aksavāla—(modern Achabal, a large village at west foot of a ridge which lines the Kutabar Pargana in Kāśmīra)

R I 338, SM p. 180 (it has five springs) NM has the name Aksipāla

Aksayyakarana Vata—(in Prayāga). Vide p 614 above and AG p. 389 for Hiouen Tsiang's reference to it. V 87 11, P VI. 25 7-8 (Viṣṇu is supposed to lie on its leaf at the end of the *kalpa*)

Aksayyavata—A (in Gayā, about half a mile from Viṣṇupada) V. 84 83, 95. 14, Vā 105 45, 109 16, 111. 79-82 (Viṣṇu in the form of a child lies on its end when the whole world is one mass of water). Ag. 115 70, P I 38 2, B (under Go to the north of Vindhya) B. 161 66-67, C (on Narmadā) BV, III chap 33, 30-32 (where Pulastya performed *tapas*).

Alābutīrtha—(under Virāja) B. 42. 6.

Alakanandā—Ādi 170 22 (Gangā is so called among gods) Acc to Vā 41 18, K I. 46 31, V I II. 2 36 and II. 8. 114 it is one of the four streams of the Ganges and reaches the sea with seven mouths. Ādi 170 19 speaks of the seven mouths. N. (II. 66. 4 ff) states that the Ganges is called Alakanandā after it reaches the earth and begins to follow Bhagīratha's chariot Bh. IV 6 24 and V 17 5. The Bhāgīrathī is joined by Alakanandā at Deva-prayāga and the combined stream is then called Gangā N. II. 67. 72-73 say that Bhāgīrathī and Alakanandā meet near Badarikā.

- śrama. According to I. G. I vol XV p. 60 there are five sacred confluences of the Alakanandā with other rivers viz. with Bhāgirathī (Devaprayāga), Nandaprayāga, Karnaprayāga (confluence with Pindar river), Rudraprayāga (confluence with Mandākinī), Visnuprayāga Vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 pp 2 and 140.
- Aleśvara—see Brahmeśvara
- Alitīrtha—(under Narmadā) K II. 42. 37.
- Āmalaka—A (under Stutasvāmī in U. P.) Var 148. 67 ff, B (between Brahmagiri and Vedagiri peaks of the Sahya m) TS p. 78.
- Āmalakagrāma—(on m Sahya) Nr. chap. 66. 7 ff q. by T. K. p. 254. Dey p 4 suggests that it is on the north bank of the Tāmrparnī
- Amarakabhrada—(under VS) L. q by T. K. P. 53.
- Amarakantaka—(m. in the Byspur District of Central Provinces) Vide p. 705-6 above Vā (77.10-11 and 15-16), V, Dh S 85.6 highly eulogise śrāddha on this m. M 188 79, P. I. 15. 68 69 state that the 2nd of the three *pharas* of Bāna burnt by Śiva fell on this m K II 40 36 (high merit of visiting it when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon)
- Amarakeśvara—Linga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53
- Āmardaka—Vide T. S. pp. 21-30 quoting SK. It is a Śivakṣetra, one of the twelve jyotirlingas and is so called because sins are crushed here (āmardeyāni pāpāni tasmād-āmarakam matam). On p 22 of TS there is quotation from SK that in the four yugas it was respectively called Jyotirmaya, Mukti, Sparśa and Nāgeśvara. It is said to be a līnga on p. 22. Vide Victor Cousin's 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' pp. 77-78 for a description of the temple of Nāga-nātha and plates CXIII-CXV for the front of the great temple and portions of the wall and pillars of the porch and of the Hall) This is probably the same as Āvandhyā Nāga-nātha (Aundha in Survey of India maps) about 25 miles north-east of Parabhani in the Hyderabad State.
- Amareśa—A (on Narmadā) M. 186 2, B (linga in VS) L. I 92 37
- Amareśvara—A (on m. Nisadha) Vām. q. by T. K. p 236; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92 151; C NM 1535, Rāj. I. 267 (yātrā to famous cave of Amaranātha where Śiva is worshipped in linga-shaped ice-block. This pilgrimage is now most popular in Kāśmīra An A. vol. II p 360 describes it and states that from New Moon the image increases in size for 15 days and decreases with waning moon)
- Ambājanma (to east of Sarala) V. 83. 81 (it is Nārada-tīrtha)
- Ambarīśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 118
- Ambikātīrtha—L. I. 92.166
- Ambilāvana—(on r Sarasvatī) Dh A. 34 1-2
- Amliu—(a very holy r in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 34. 7
- Amohaka—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 105, P I 18 96-99 (Tapeśvara was so called and there were boulders as big as elephants)
- Āmrāteśvara—(under VS) M. 22 51, 181 28, Ag. 112 3
- Amśumati—(r). Rg V III. 96 13-15 (on which stayed an *asura* called Kṛṣṇa) According to Brhad-devatā (VI 110) it was in the Kuru country, Rām. II 35 6 (near Yamunā)
- Ānanda—Vide under Nandīsta.
- Ānandapura—(under VS) K I 35 15, P. I. 37. 18
- Ananta—a Vāṇarāśi-ṣetra acc. to Bārhaspatyaśūtra III 120, Br. III. 13. 58.
- Anantabhavana or Anantahrada—II C X. 253, 256 (now called Anant-nāga, about one krośa from Mahānāga.

- vartanāga in the middle of the Vitastā river in Kāśmīra
 Anantanāga—(not far from Punyodā). NM 1401-2 It is called Islamabad now and is at the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtānda plateau in Kāśmīra SM p 178
 Anantāśyana—(Padmanābha in Travancore) P. VI. 110 8, VI. 280 19
 Anantatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var 155. 1
 Anaraka—A (under Kuruksetra) Vām. 41 22-24, B (under Narmadā) M. 193 1-3, K. II. 41. 91-92; C (to the west of Yamunā) also called Dharma-rājatīrtha—K I. 39 5, P I 27 56
 Anaraleśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 113
 Anāsāla—Var 215 89
 Anasūyā-linga—(north of Goprekṣa, under VS) L q by T K p 42
 Andha—(a *nada*) Bh V 19 18, Devī Bhāgavata VIII 11 16 (andhaśonau mahānadau), Dey (pp 7 and 47) says it is the river Chāndan or 'Andhelā' which falls into the Gangā in Bhagalpur
 Andhalēsa—(under VS) L q. by T K. p 65
 Andhona—(under Narmadā), P I. 18, 110-113
 Angabhūta—(a tīrtha sacred to pitrs) M. 22 51
 Angārakūṇḍa (under VS) L q by T K p 56
 Angāravāhikā—M. 22 35
 Angāreśvara—A (under VS) L q. by T. K pp 55 and 98, B (under Narmadā) M 190 9, P I. 17 6
 Angāraleśvara—A (under Gayā) Ag 116 29, B (under Narmadā) K II 41 6
 Angāreśa (under Narmadā) M. 191.59 (probably the same as above)
 Āngirasatīrtha (under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 31-33, P. I 18 50
 Āngiraseśa (under VS) L q. by T. K. p 117
 Anitabhā (r) Rg V 53 9
 Añjalikāśrama—Anu 25 52
 Añjana (a m near Brahmagiri, under Go) B 84 2 Vide under Paścatīrtha, Br S 14 5 says Añjana is m in the east
 Añjasī—(r) Rg I 104 4
 Ankola (under Narmadā) highly praised in M 191 118-122 Probably modern town of Anklesvar in Broach District A G p 322 identifies Ākrūreśvara with Anklesar on left bank of the Narmadā. Vide I A. 54 pp 11-12
 Anlūseśvara (under Narmadā) M. 194 1
 Annakūta (under Mathurā) Var. 164. 10 and 22-23 (Govardhana was called Annakūta)
 Antakeśvara (under VS) L q by T K. p 75
 Antarvedi (holy land between Gangā and Yamunā) SK. I. 1 17. 274-275 (where brahmahatyā due to the killing of Vṛtra fell)
 Antaślā (r rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45 103
 Antikeśvara (under VS) N II 49 6-9
 Anūpā (r rising from Rkṣavat m) Br. II 16.28
 Anyatah-plakṣa—name of a lotus lake in Kuruksetra (Śat Br. in SBE, vol 44 p 70)
 Āpagā—one of the seven (or nine) very holy rivers under Kuruksetra—V. 83. 68, Vām 34 7, P. I. 36 1-6 and Vām. 36. 1-4 (one krośa to the east of Mānusa), NM 158 Is it the same as Āpayā? Vide A G. p 185 where it is identified with the Ayak Nadi, a small stream rising in Jammu hills to the north-east of Sialkot Cunningham (ASR of India, vol XIV pp 88-89) says that Āpagā or Ogha-vatī is a branch of the Chitang.
 Apām-prapatana—Anu 25 28
 Aparanandā—(near Hemakūta) Ādi. 215 7, 110 1, Anu 166 28 Dey (p 9) says it is the same as Alakanandā
 Āpastambatīrtha (under Go.) II 130.1

- 1 payā—(a r. probably a tributary of the Sarasvatī between it and Drsadvatī) Rg. III. 23 4. Thomas suggests that it is the same as Augbavatī (JRAS vol. 15 p. 362 n. 5)
- Apsaras-kunda—(under Mathurā and Govardhana) Var. 164 19
- Aptareśa—(under Narmadā) M. 194 16, P. I 21 16, h II 42 24
- Aparoyugasāngama—(under Go) B. 147 1
- Arantula—a dśarpāśa, V. 83. 52 (vide p. 683 note 1551).
- Aravinda—(a h. under Gayā) Vā. 109. 15, N II. 47 83 (reads Aravindavara)
- Arbuda—(m. Abu in the Aravali range in the Sirohi State) V. 82 55-56 (there was Vasistha's āśrama), V. 22 38, P I 24 4, N II. 60 27, Ag. 109. 10. It is one of the five sacred hills of the Jāinas, the other four being Sairuñjaya, Samet, Śikhara, Gurnar and Candragiri. It is identified with Ptolemy's Apokopa (p. 76). There was a fire-pit thereon from which arose a warrior Paramāra, founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. Vide E I vol. IX p. 10 (of Vikrama 1099) and E. I vol. 19 Appendix p. 22 No 133 of *sahitya* 1116
- Arbudasarasvatī—(r. sacred to pitrs) M. 22 38
- Āreśkaparvata—V. 125 16 (where Cyavana and Sukanyā dwell)
- Ardbacandra—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3.
- Ardhakila—founded by Darbhā near Sarasvatī-arunā-sangama V. 83. 153-157
- Arghyārtitha—G. I. 81 7
- Aristakunda—(under Mathurā) Var 164. 30 (where Arista was slain)
- Ārjūkiyā—(r.) Rg. X 75 5 Nfr IX. 26 states that the river was called Vipās (modern Beas) and Vipās was originally Uruñjirā
- Arjuna—(a tirtha sacred to pitrs) M. 22. 43.
- Arjunīyā (r.) Devala q. by T. K. p. 249, Prof. K. V. R. Arjangan (T. K. p. 283) following Dey p. 11 holds it identical with Bābudā, but the passage from Devala (on T. K. p. 249) shows that Arjunīyā and Bābudā are separately enumerated
- Arkaksetra—same as Konārka
- Arkasthala-kunda (under Mathurā) Var. 157 11, 160 20
- Ārsabha—see under Rsabha
- Ārśisenāśrama—Ann. 25. 55
- Arunā-sarasvatīsangama—three miles to the north-east of Prthūdaka-P. I. 27. 39, Śal. 43.30-31 and 42, Vām. 40.43
- Aruna—(m. on the other or west side of Kailāsa where Bhava dwells) Vā. 47 17-18, Br II 18 18
- Arunā—A. (r. between Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī near Prthūdaka) Śal. 43 30-35. Sarasvatī joined itself to Arunā to cleanse the rākṣasas of sins and Indra of brāhmana murder, B. (a branch of the Kauśiki) V 84 156, vide Journal of A S of Bengal, vol. 17 pp 646-649 on the seven Kōsis in Nepal of which the Arunā is the most important, C (under Go) B 89 1, P VI 176 59. Vide Bm G vol XVI p. 463 for Arunā stream.
- Arunā-varunā-sangama—(under Gautamī) B 89 1 and P VI 176 59
- Arundhati-vata—V 84 41, P I 32 6
- Arunīśa—(under VS) L q by T K p 60
- Āryāvarta—The Amarakośa speaks of it as the holy land (punyabhūmi) between the Himavat and Vinḍhya mountains Vide H of Dh vol II. pp 11-16 for detailed discussion of the extent of Āryāvarta according to different works and at different times
- Āśādha—linga (under VS) L q by T K p 93
- Āśādhūrtitha—(under Narmadā) M. 194 30
- Āśālinga—(under Śrīparvata) L I 92 148
- Asī—(r. under Banaras) also called Suskanadi. Vide pp. 627, 637 above.

- Asiknī—(a r. now called Chenab) Rg VIII. 20 25, X 75 5 Nirukta IX 26 observes that it was so called because its water was dark-coloured, later it was called Candrabhāgā This was the Acekines of the Greeks. Vide Bh V 19. 18
- Asikunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 163 13, Var chap 166 deals with the efficacy of Asikunda
- Asita—(a m in the west) V 89. 11-12 (on this m Cyavana and Kalsasena had their āśramas).
- Asitā—(r where yogācārya Asita dwelt). A place fit for śrāddha. Vā 77 39, Br III 13 39
- Asitagiri—(where yogācārya Asita dwelt) Br III 13 39
- Āśmanvatī—(r) Rg. X 53 8 The Āśv gr (I. 8 2-3) provides that the first half of the verse is to be employed as a mantra when a newly married girl boards a boat and the latter half when she crosses the river and gets down Dey p 13 says that it is the river Oxus He assigns no reasons and I do not accept his view
- Āśmapratha—(a holy stone slab in Gayā, even now called Prastāñā). Anu 25 42
- Āśokātīrtha—(near Sūrpāraka) V. 88 13
- Āstamana—(under Mathurā) Var q by T. K p 191
- Āstavakra—(four miles from Haridvārā) Anu 25 41 Vide Dey p 12
- Āsthipura—(under Kuruksetra) P. I. 27 62 It is to the west of Thāṇesvara and south of Aujaśa-ghāt Here the bodies of the warriors slain in the Bhārata war were collected and cremated Vide A. S. R. vol. 14 pp 36-106 and A. G. p. 336 where it is mentioned that Hiouen Tsiang was shown bones of very large size
- Āsuriśara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 67
- Āśvamedha—(under Prayāga) Ag. 111. 14
- Āśvaśiras—(in the story of Nala) V 79. 21
- Āśvatīrtha—A (not far from Kānyakubja) V 95 3 Anu 4 17, V. I. IV 7 15 (where sage Roika gave 1000 horses as bride-price to Gādhī for the latter's daughter Satyavati), Kālikā 85 51-57; B (under Narmadā) M 194 3, P. I 21 3, C (on Go) B '89: 43 (where the two Āśvins were born)
- Āśvatthātīrtha—K. II. 35 38—where Nārāyana resides in the form of Hayaśiras (location is not clear)
- Āśvinī—Anu 25 21 (on the Devikā river)
- Āśvinos-tīrtha—(under Kuruksetra) V. 83 17, P I 26 15 (same words as in V)
- Āśvīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 52
- Ātavītīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 30
- Ātibala—(Mahābalesvara in Satara District) P VI 113.29
- Ātmatīrtha—(under Go) B 117 1
- Ātreyatīrtha—(on north bank of Go) B 140 1
- Ātri's āśrama—(after Citra' ūta) Rām II. 117.5
- Ātrīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 43
- Āttahāsa—A (m. in Himālayas) Vā 23 191, B (a tīrtha sacred to pitrs) M. 22.68, C (a linga in VS) L. q. by T. K. p 47
- Āuddālakatīrtha—V 84 161
- Audyānalatīrtha—P. I. 38 68
- Aujasa—(under Kuruksetra) V. Dh S. 85 52, Vām 22 51 and 57 51
- Āupamanyava—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 97
- Ausaja—A—V Dh S. 85 52 (Sūrpāraka, acc to com Vaijayanī) Jolly (SBE, vol 7 p. 259 gives a different reading Aujasa, and queries whether it may not be Ausija; B (a boundary of Samantapañcala) Vām. 22. 51 (Rantukād Aujasam cāpi)

Aśānasa—(an eminent tīrtha on Sarasvatī) same as Kapālamocana. V. 83 135, M 22 31, Śal 39 4 and 16-22, P. I 27. 24-26, Vām, 39 1 and 14 (where Uśānas got siddhi and became planet Venus), 42 24

Auśīraparvata—Vā 77.29

Avadhūta—(under VS) L, q by T. K. p. 93

Avakīrṇa—(under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) Vām 39 24-35 (story of Bala Dālbhya who begged of Dhṛtarāstra and when condemned by the latter made the whole of Dhṛtarāstra's country an *āhuti* in Prthūdaka), Śal. 41 1, P. I 27 41-45 (where it is Darbhya who is mentioned as bringing the four seas)

Avantī—A country of which Ujjayinī was capital) Pān IV. 1.176 ('striyām—*avantī*—kuntī—kurubhyas—ca'), Raghuvamśa VI. 32; S 31. 10 (Vindānuvindhāvāntyau), Udyoga 166 6 (same words as in S), B Avantī (river starting from m Pāriyātra) Vā 45 98, M 114.24, Br II 16 29, C (the capital of Mālava, Ujjayinī) B 43 24, Ag 109.24 (Avantī paramam tīrtham), N. II 78 35-36 (several names such as Viśālā, Amarāvati, Kusasthali, Kanakāśṅgā, Padmāvati, Kumudvati, Ujjayinī) Vide also L I 92. 7-8 and B 194.19 (Sāndīpani, teacher of Kṛṣṇa, dwelt in Avantipura) The Meghadūta (I 30) speaks of Ujjayinī as Viśālā, Kāśīkhanda 7 92 'pāpād-avantī sā viśvam-avantīti nigadyate i yuge yugeśnyanāmnī kalāvujjayanti ca). Vide under Mahākalā

Avatodā—(r) Bh. V. 19 18

Avighnatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B 114.25

Avimukta—(same as Kāśī) V 84.79-80, Vi. V 34.30 and 43. Vide pp. 618-642 above

Avimuktesvara—(linga in VS) L. I. 92 6 and 105, N. II 49. 53-55 (where cocks are honoured)

Ayodhyā—(in Fyzabad District in U P) on the Ghāgrā One of the seven holy cities (vide p 678n above) It is also a place of pilgrimage for Jains, as some of their saints were born there Atharvaveda X 2. 31 and Tai. A. 1 27 2 (astācakrā nava-dvārā devānām pūr-Ayodhyā | tasyām hīranyayah kośah svargo loko Jyoti-sāvṛtāḥ), V 60. 24-25 and 70 2 (capital of King Rūpama and of Rāma), Br IV 40. 91, Ag 109.24 (Ayodhyā pāpanāśanī) According to Rām. I. 5. 5-7 the country of Kosala had Sarayū flowing through it, Ayodhyā, 12 yojanas long and three broad, was Kosala capital founded by Manu Kosala was one of the 16 *mahājanapadas* of India in ancient times (vide Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. IV p 252). Later on, Kosala was divided into two, viz. Uttara Kosala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala divided by the Sarjū or Ghāgrā river. The Raghuvamśa holds Ayodhyā to be capital of Uttarakosala (VI 71 and IX 1) Vide also Vā 88. 20 ff. for a long line of kings of Ayodhyā from Ikṣvāku and P VI. 208. 46-47 (for Dakṣiṇa Kośalā and Uttara Kośalā). Sāketa is generally identified with Ayodhyā Vide T P p 496 (gives its boundaries from SK) and under Sāketa Dr B C Law contributes a well-documented and learned paper on 'Ayodhyā' to J. of the Ganganath Jha R. Society, vol I pp 423-443

Ayogasiddhi—(under VS) L q by T K p 98

Ayonisangama—(under Narmadā) P I 18. 58

B

Babhrutīrtha—(where the Mahī river falls into the sea) SK I 2. 13, 107

Badarī—(a holy place on Gandhamādāna where there was the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyaṇa) V 90 25-32, 141 23, 177 8, Śānti 127 2-3, Bh. IX. 3. 36 and XI. 29 41 (Nārāyaṇa-

- śrama), M 22. 73 (very fit for śrāddha), P. VI. 2 1-7 (there is no *piṅgā* in Dakṣiṇāyana as the mountain is covered with snow). Also called *Viśālā*. Vide I G I. vol. VI pp 179-180 for description. The temple of Badrināth is on the right bank of the Alakanandā.
- Badarikā—A. Vām. 2 42-43; B. (near Mahendra m), P I 39 13, V 85. 13; C. (somewhere in southern Gujarat) Vide E I. vol. 25 Ellora plates of Dantidurga (pp 25, 29)
- Badarikāśrama—A. (Badrināth in Garhwal, U P) Var. 141 (7 verses from it are quoted in T K pp 215-216); Parāśarasmr̥ti 1. 5 states that Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, resided in this āśrama. M. 201. 24 says Mitra and Varuna practised *tapas* here, V₁. V. 37. 34 (this āśrama was on Gandhamādana and was the abode of Nara-Nārāyana), Br. III 25 67 (same as in V₁), N II. 67 (describes it at length and specifies the sub-tīrthas), N. II. 67. 26 (says it is on Viśālā river), Bh. VII 11.6, B (at a short distance from Madhuvana on Yamunā) P VI. 212 1 and 43
- Badarivana—P. I 27. 66
- Badaripācana-tīrtha—V. 83. 179, Sal. 47. 33 and 48. 1 and 51 (Vasistha had his āśrama here).
- Bagalā—(a Devisthāna). Vide under Vaidyanātha.
- Bāhūdā—(a river near Sarasvatī). Anu. 165. 27, P. I 32 31, N. II. 60 30, B. 27 26, M 114 22 and Vā 45 95 (say it rises in Himavat) V. 84. 67 and 87. 27. Vide Dey. p. 16 for differing views on identification and Fargiter (pp. 291-292 note), Vā 88. 66 states that Yuvanāśva cursed his wife Gaurī who became Bāhūdā. Amarakośa gives Sairavāhinī as a synonym of Bāhūdā and Kṣīrasvāmīn comments that it was brought down by Kārtavīrya (who was called Bahuda, one who donated much).
- Bahulavana—(under Mathura) Var. 157 8
- Bahunetra—(a tīrtha on the Narmadā to be visited on trayodaśī) M 191 14
- Bāhya—(r rising from Sahya) Br. II. 16. 35.
- Bakulāśāngama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 27
- Bakulavana (or Bahulao)—(5th vana out of 12 under Mathurā) Var. 153. 36 Vide p 690 above
- Balabhadraliṅga—(under VS) L q by T. K p 46.
- Balālā—Anu 25 19 (kanyākūpa upaspr̥śya Balākāyām lrtodakah)
- Bālakesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 43
- Bālakesvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191 19
- Bālapa or Bālāpendra—(on bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 145 1, 24 and 37 (a Raviksetra)
- Balesvara—(under Sripārvata) L. I. 92 148
- Balukunda—(under VS) L. q by T K. p 76
- Bānagaṅgā—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 144 63 (Rāvana exposed it by shooting an arrow to the south of Someśvara)
- Bānatīrtha—A (under Go) B. 123. 214, B (under Narmadā) K II 41. 9-10
- Bāṇeśvara-liṅga (under VS) SK, Kāśīkhanda 33. 139, L. q. by T K p 48
- Baṇjūlā—(probably same as Vāñjūlā, which see) Br. II. 16. 31 (Baṇjūlā from Rikṣa), Br. II 16. 34 (B. from Sahya), Br. II. 16. 37 (B from Mahendra)
- Bārhaspatya-tīrtha—(under Go) B. 122. 101
- Bhadrā—A (one of the four branches of the heavenly Ganges) V₁ II 2. 34, Bh. V. 17. 5, Vām 51.52, B (the river on which Haribara is situated) Nr. 65. 18
- Bhadradoha—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 52

- Bhadrakāleśvara**—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) M. 22, 74
- Bhadrakālī**—Acc. to Bār. S. III. 128 she dwells on Vindhya
- Bhadrakālīhrada**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87
- Bhadrakarnahrada**—Ag 109, 17
- Bhadrakarṇeśvara**—(a fit place for śrāddha) V. 84, 39, II II. 20, 35, SK VII. 1 Arbuda-khanda—chap. 8, 1-2 (inga on a pool of that name on Arbuda m)
- Bhadratīrtha**—A (under Narmadā) P. I 18, 54; B (under Go.) B. 165 1, M 22, 50
- Bhadratūṅga**—V. 82, 80
- Bhadravana**—(6th out of 12 vanas of Mathurā) Var. 153 37, 161 7
- Bhadravata**—V. 82 50, P I. 12 10, Var. 51 2 (on the north side of the Himālaya) and 98 6
- Bhadrāvati**—(one of the four original streams of the Ganges, the other three being Sitā, Alalanandā and Sucakṣuḥ) Br. III. 56, 52
- Bhadreśvara**—A (on north bank of Narmadā) M 22 25, K II. 41, 4. B (under VS) L. I. 92 136, L q. by T. K. pp 52, 68
- Bhagavat-padi**—The Ganges Bh V. 17 1-9
- Bhāgīrathī**—M 121 41 (which is one of the seven streams that started from Bindusaras and which following Bhāgīratha's chariot reached the sea)
- Bhairava**—(a tīrtha) M 22 31
- Bhairaveśvara**—(under VS) L. I. 92, 137
- Bhāndahrada** (under Mathurā)—Var. 157, 10
- Bhāndūra**—(under Mathurā) Var. 153, 43 (the 11th out of 12 vanas), 156, 3- vide p 691 above
- Bhāndiraka Vata**—(near Vrndāvana) Bh X. 18 22, X. 19 13
- Bhaṅgatīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 191, 52
- Bhānūtīrtha**—(under Go.) B. 138 1, 168, 1
- Bhārabhūteśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93
- Bhārabhūti**—(under Narmadā) M. 194, 18, K. II. 42, 25, P I 21, 18
- Bharadvājāśrama-Rām** II 54, 9-10, VI 127, 1 and 17, V 102 5-6, Vide Citrakūṭagiri. For a discussion of the real site of this āśrama, vide Journal, Ganganath Jha R. Institute, vol. III pp. 189-204 and 433-474 (Shri R. M. Shastri)
- Bharadvājatīrtha**—(see Agastyatīrtha) Ad. 216, 4
- Bharatasya-āśrama**—A (under Gayā) Br III. 19, 105, M. 13 46 (Devī is here called Lakṣmī-Anganā), Vā 77, 98, 108, 35, and 112 24, B (under Kāśī) K. II 37, 38, P I, 38 48
- Bharateśa**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 66
- Bhārgaveśa**—(under Narmadā) M 192, 1, P. I, 19, 1
- Bhartīsthāna**—V 85, 60, P. I. 39, 56 (where god Mahāseṇa is 'nityasan-nihita'). Same words in both V and P
- Bhārundavana**—(in the country of Matsya) Rām. II. 71, 5
- Bharulaccha**—(modern Broach) S 51 10 (the inhabitants of Bharulaccha brought as presents to the Pāṇḍavas horses from Gāndhāra i. e. the country about Peshawar). Ptolemy and the Perplus call it Bāry-gaza. It was called Bhrgupura and Bhrgu-laccha also (the latter in SK, Kāśīkhanda 6.25). A Valabhi copperplate of Dharaśena IV in Valabhi samvat 330 (648-9 A. D.) was issued from a camp at Bharulaccha. There is a Suppāraka jā-taka, No 463 where Bharulaccha is mentioned as a seaport (ed. by Cowell)
- Bharmagātraka**—L. I 92, 177

Bhasmakūṭādrī—(under Gayā) Vā 109. 15

Bhāskarakesetra—(Konārka) Mīt on Yāj. III 17 quotes a verse 'Gaṅgāyām Bhāskarakesetre &c' (q. on p. 574 above), T. C. p 16 and Prāyaścittatattva (p 493) say that Prayāga is Bhāskarakesetra, while T.S. p 20 says it is Konāditya or Konārka. This is the correct view M 111. 13 and K I 36. 20 say 'Prayāga is Prajāpatikesetra' Vide p. 574 above. Dey p 32 simply follows Prāyaścittatattva

Bhāvatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 153 1

Bhedādevī—(near Gaṅgodbheda)—the modern Budabror, west of Śrīnagara, in Kāśmīra, NM 1522

Bhedagiri—(sanctified by the Gaṅgodbheda spring) R. I. 35, SM. pp. 186-187

Bhūlatīrtha—(on south bank of Go.) B 169 1

Bhīmā—(r)—same as Bhīmarathī, rising from Sahya m and tributary of Kṛsnā) Devala q by T K p 250. Its source is adorned by the temple of Bhīmāśankara, one of the twelve Jyotīr-līngas and it falls into the Kṛsnā river 16 miles north of Raichur

Bhīmādevī—(modern village Brān in Phāk Pargana on east shore of Dal lake in Kāśmīra) R. II 135, HC. 4. 47

Bhīmarathī—same as Bhīmā. M. 22 45, 114.29, B 27 35, P. I. 24.32, Bhī 9. 20, V. 87. 3, Vām. 13. 30. The Vakkaleri plate of Kīrtivarma II in śaka 679 (757 A. D.) mentions Bhīmarathī (E. I. vol. V. p 200 at p. 204)

Bhīmasvāmīn—Rock in Kāśmīra worshipped as embodiment of Gaṇeśa, SM. p. 148

Bhīmātīrtha—Ag. 109.12

Bhīmājāh sthānam—V. 82. 84, Dey p. 33 identifies it with Takta-i-Bahar, 28 miles to the north-east of Pesha-war

Bhīmeśvara—(tīrtha sacred to Pitrś under Narmadā) M. 22, 46 and 75, 191. 5, K II 41 20 and II 44 15, P I 18 5

Bhīsmacandika—(under VS) M 183. 62

Bhīmeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 66

Bhogavatī or Vāsukītīrtha—A (under Prayāga) It is called the altar of Prajāpati, V 85 77 (tīrtham Bhogavatī carva vedir-eṣā Prajāpateh), M 106.46 and 110 8, Ag. 111 5, N II. 53 95, B capital of Kakustha of the Ikṣvāku race, Kal. 50 4

Bhrgu—āśrama (on the north bank of Narmadā) SK I 2.3. 2-6

Bhrgukaccha—(on the north bank of Narmadā), vide under Bharukaccha. Here Bali performed Aśvamedha, Bh VIII. 18 2

Bhrgukunda—(under Stutasvāmīn) Var. 148.48

Bhrgutīrtha—(under Narmadā) M 193. 23-50, K II 42. 1-6, P I 20 23-57. Dey p. 34 says it is Bheraghat containing temple of 64 Yoginīs, 12 miles to the west of Jabalpur, V 99 34-35 (at this place Paraśurāma regained his energy taken away by Rāma)

Bhrgutunga—(an āśrama on a mountain where Bhrgu practised penance) A—Vā 23 148 and 77 82, V 84 50, 90. 23, 130. 191, B V.Dh.S. 85 16, K. II. 20.33, M. 22 31 (a place very fit for śrāddha), which is near Amarakan-taka acc to Nanda Pandita and acc. to others in the Himālaya; C (on the eastern bank of the Gandak) Var 146 45-46, D (in Gurjaradeśa) SK, Kāśīkhanda 6 25, E (near Vitastā and Himavat) Vām 81 33

Brhaspatikunda—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151 55

Bhrāgīśvara-līṅga—(under VS) SK. Kāśīkhanda 33. 129 and L. q by T, K p 84

Bhūmicandēśvara—(under VS) Ag. 112.4

Bhūmītīrtha—Ag. 109 12

- Bhūtālayatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 158.1 (where r Candanā becomes *prāci*) Vām 34.47 mentions it, but its location is uncertain
- Bhūteśvara**—A (in Kashmir, now called Buthiser) NM 1309, 1324, 1327, R. I. 107. II. 148, HC 4.85 This is included in Nandiksetra Bhūtesa Śiva's residence is on a mountain spur which stretches south-east from Haramukha peaks An. A. vol II, p.364 refers to it, B (under VS) K I. 35.10, P I. 37 13, C (under Mathurā) Var. 169.19
- Bhuvaneśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 56
- Blapatha**—(from where the Vitastā or Zhelum starts) HC 12. 15-17. Vide under Nīlakunda
- Bilvācala**—A Vāmanava-ksetra acc. to Bār. S III. 120
- Bilvaka**—[a very fit place for śrāddha] V. Dh S. 85.52, M. 22 70, K. II 20.33, Anu 25 13, N II 40.79
- Bilvapatraka**—P. VI. 129.11 (one of the 12 tīrthas of Śiva)
- Bilvavana**—(10th out of the 12 *vanas* of Mathurā) Var 153.42
- Binduka**—V Dh S. 85 12 (some editions read Bilvaka)
- Bindumādhaba**—(in VS) M. 185 68, SK IV. 83. 148, N. II 29 61, P VI. 131. 48
- Bindusaras**—A (on Maināla m. near Badarī) V. 145 44, Bhī. 6 43-46, Br. II. 18. 31, M. 121 26 and 31-32 (where Bhagiratha, Indra and Nara-Nārāyaṇa practised *tapas*), Bh III. 21-33 and 39-44 (description), B (under VS) Śiva bathed in it and the *kapāla* of Brahmā that had stuck to his hand dropped from it and it became Kapālamocana-tīrtha) N. II 29. 59-60, C (under Ekāmṛaka) B 41. 52-54 (it is so called because Rudra collected drops of water from all holy places and filled it therewith), D (in Kāśmīra) it is a *śikpāla* in the east of the country. according to NM 1116-1117.
- Bindutīrtha**—same as Pañcanaḍa, which see
- Bodhitaru**—(the Bo tree at Buddha Gayā) P VI. 117 30 Vide under Mahā-bodhitaru At the Bharhut stūpa (about 200 B C) there is a bas-relief showing the Vajrāsana throne of Buddha with the view of the Bodhi tree and an inscription 'bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi'; vide 'Mahābodhi' by Cunningham, p. 3 The Bodhi tree is said to have been cut down by king Śaśāṅka of Bengal in 600 A D, but restored about 620 A.D. by king Pūrṇavarman Vide A. G pp. 453-459 for Bodhi Gayā and p 459 for Bodhitaru.
- Brahmagiri**—A (m. from which Godāvarī rises on which Gautama had his hermitage) B. 74. 25-26, 84. 2, P. VI. 176 58, B (the highest peak of Sahya and as a tīrtha under Kṛṇa-venyā) T S p 78
- Brahmabrada**—Bh. X. 28. 16-17 (probably used in a secondary sense), Br III. 13. 52
- Brahmaksetra**—(Kuruksetra) V 83 4 6, Vā 59. 106 and 107 and 97. 5
- Brahmakunda**—A (under Badarī) Var 141 4-6; B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 71 (where four Vedadhārās fall from Himālaya), C (under Gayā) Vā 110.8
- Brahmakūpa**—(under Gayā) Vā 111 25 and 31, Ag. 115. 37
- Brahmanadī**—(Sarasvatī is so called) Bh. IX. 16. 23
- Brahmanakundikā**—(a tīrtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1499, 1501
- Brahmanas-tīrtha**—V. 83. 113, P. I. 27.2 (Brahmanas sthānam), P. I. 38. 20
- Brahmanī**—(probably the Bāmanī, that falls into the Chambal) V 84. 58
- Brahmanikā**—(near Nalmisa forest) P. I. 32.22
- Brahmānuśvara**—(under Kuruksetra) P I. 26 67

Brahmapada—(under Goniskramana) Var. 147 36

Brahmaputra—same as Laubhitya, which see

Brahmāranya—(under Gayā) P. I 38 5

Brahmasaras—A (near Thanesar) Vā.

77 51, M. 22. 12, Vām. 22 55-60

and 49, 38-39. This lake is known

by various names, viz. Brahma-

saras, Rāmahrada or Pavanasarasāc ;

B (under Gayā) V. 84 85 (dharmā-

rayopasobhita) and 95 11, Anu 25,

58, Ag 115. 38, Vā. 111. 30, C

(under Kolāmukha) Var. 140 37-39,

D (under Sānandūra) Var. 150 20

Brahmasaras—(under Gayā) K II. 37.

38, N II. 44. 66 (there is Brahma-

yūpa there)

Brahmasthāna—V 83. 71, 85. 35, P I.

27. 2

Brahmasthūnā—P. I 39 33

Brahmatāreśvara—(under VS) L q.

by T. K. p 88

Brahmatīrtha—A (under VS) K I. 35.

9, II. 37. 28, P. I 37. 9-12 (Vishnu

established it in the name of Brahma-)

mā), B (under Gayā) P. I 38. 69,

N II 45. 102, Ag. 115. 36, C (under

Go) B. 113. 1 and 23, Br. III

13 56, D (on Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78 19

Brahmatunga—Ag 109 12, P. I 24 28

Brahmatundahrada or Brahmaturga-

hrada—Br. III. 13. 73, Vā. 77. 71-73

(śrāddha, japa, homa yield in-

exhaustible results here)

Brahmavallī-tīrtha—(under Sābhra-

matī) P. VI. 137. 1

Brahmavālulā—V. 82. 106, P. I 25 13

Brahmāvarta—A (holy land between

Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī) Manu II

17, Kal. 49 71 The Meghadūta I.

48 (Nir ed.) shows that Kuruksetra

was part of Brahmāvarta. It is a

holy tīrtha, V 83 53-54, 84 43,

M 22. 69, Ag. 109 17; B (under

Narmadā) M. 190. 7, 191. 70, P. I

17. 5

Brahmayoni—A (on Sarasvatī)—same

as Prthūdaka, Vam 39 20 and 23,

B (under Gayā) V. 83. 140 and 84 95,

P. I 27 29, N. II. 47. 54, Vā. 108. 83

(brahmayonim praviśyātha nirgac-

ched yastu mānavah | param brahma

sa yātītha vimukto yonisāṅkatāt).

Vide AG p 458 which states that

a small temple now occupies the site

of Aśoka's stūpa and p. 646 note

1470 above.

Brahmayūpa—(under Gayā) Vā. 111.

31-33, Ag 115. 39

Brahmeśvaralīnga—A (under Sripa-

vata) K. II. 41 18, L I 92 159-160

(also called Alesvara); B (under VS)

L. q by T. K p. 115

Brahmodara—Vām 36. 7-8

Brahmodaya—(to the south of Vāg-

matī) Var 215 102

Brahmodbheda—Var. 215 91

Brahmodumbara—V. 83. 71

Bṛhadvānā—(near Gokula where Nanda-

gopa kept his cattle) Bh. X 5. 26,

X 7. 33

Budbudā—(r rising in the Himālaya)

Br II. 16 25-26

Budhesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.

K pp. 55, 97

C

Caitraḥa—M 110 2

Caitraratha—(a *vana*) Vā. 47. 6 (on

the banks of the Acchodā river),

Br II. 16. 7. Here Devī is called

Madotkatā, M. 13 28

Calra—(near Sarasvatī) Bh X 78. 19

Calradhara—(Vishnusthāna in Kāśmīra,

now known in a corrupt form as

Takdar or Chāldhar) R I 38. It

is a tīrtha of great sanctity, about a

mile to the west of Bījbror (ancient

Vijayēśvara). Vide K. R. p. 18 and

SM. p. 171 (Calradhara and

Vijayēś-Śiva are two images located

close to each other). HC calls it

Cakratīrtha (7 61) and also Cakra-

dhara (7 64)

Calrasthita—(under Mathurā) Var.

169. 3

- Cakrasvāmīn**—(under *Sālagrāma*) Var. 145, 38 (*cakrāṅkulatāṣṭā-tatra dr̥syante*)
- Cakratīrtha**—A (under *Saukaratīrtha*) Var. 137, 19, B (under *Āmalakagrāma*) Nr. 66, 22, C (under *Setu*) SK. III *Brahmakhandā*, chap 3-5; D (in *Kāśmīra*) also called *Cakra-dhara* (which see), E (on *Go.*) B, 86 I, 109, 1, 134, 1 (6 miles from *Tryambaka*)—though thrice mentioned, it appears to be one *tīrtha*; F (under *Mathurā*) Var. 162, 43, G (under *Sarasvatī*) Vām, 42 3, 57, 89, 81, 3; vide A, G, p. 336 and under *Asthīpura*; H (under *Dvārakā*) TP, pp. 536-537, Var. 159 58
- Cakravāla**—(a *tīrtha* sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22 42
- Cakravarīa**—(under *Mandāra*) Var. 143, 36-38 (a deep lake)
- Cakreśvara**—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 52
- Caksu**—(r. from *Himālaya*, a branch of *Gaṅgā*) M 121, 23, Vā 47 21 and 39, Br. II. 16, 20, Bh V 17, 5. Dey p 43 holds that *Caksu* is the river *Oxus* or *Amu Daria* and relies on *Matsya* 120-121 (of *Ānandāśrama* edition), which however does not help at all. It is strange that Dey on p. 13 also holds that *Aśmanvatī* is the river *Oxus*
- Calsu**—*tīrtha* (on south bank of *Go.*) B, 170, 1
- Camasa** or **Camasodbheda**—A (where *Sarasvatī* appears again after disappearing in the desert) V. 82 112, 130, 5 (*eva vai Camasodbhedo yatra dr̥syā Sarasvatī*), P I. 25 18; B (under *Prabhāsa*) Sal. 35, 87, V 88, 20
- Camathārāpura**—(same as *Ānandapura* in modern *Ahmedabad District*) SK. VI. chap 1-13
- Campā**—A (city on the *Bhāgirathī* four miles to west of *Bhagalpur* and one of the six great cities of the times of the *Buddha*) V. 84, 163, 85, 14, 308, 26, P. I. 38, 70; M. 48, 91 (originally it was called *Mālinī* but later was called *Campā* after king *Campa*) According to the *Mahāpatanibbāna-sūta* the six great cities are *Campā*, *Rājagṛha*, *Śrāvastī*, *Sāketa*, *Kauśāmbī*, *Benares* (SBE vol. XI, p. 99 and p. 247), Vām, 84, 12 mentions *Cāṃpeya brāhmanas* *Campā* is in the *Varanāśi-gaṇa* (Pān. IV. 2, 82), B (river sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22, 41, P V. 11, 35 (between *Anga* and *Magadha*, acc to Dey p 43) It was the capital of *Lomapāda* and of *Karna*
- Campakāranya**—(modern *Champaran* in *Bihar*) V 84, 133, P I. 38, 49 *Vālmiki's* hermitage was near *Sangram-pur* in the *Champaran District*
- Campakatīrtha**—(where *Gaṅgā* flows to the north) N, II. 40, 86
- Campahevans**—(under *Gayā*) Vā. 37, 16-22
- Cañcalā**—(r. rising from *m Rāvayati*) M. 114, 26
- Candavegā**—(r. sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22 28
- Candavegēsambheda**—M. 22, 28, K. II. 44, 16, P. VI 131, 67
- Candesa**—(under *Sābhratī*) P, VI. 162 1
- Candikeśvara**—L. I. 92, 166, Vām. 51, 50
- Candrabhāgā**—(A) the river rises in the *Himālayas* in two streams, one is called *Candrā* (which issues from a large snow-bed on the south-east side of *Bāra Lācha* at a height of over 16000 feet), the other called *Bhāgā* rises on the north-west slopes of the pass. The two join at *Tandi* and the united stream is known as *Candrabhāgā* or *Chenab*. The five rivers of the *Panjab* are: *Vistatā* (*Jhelum*, the *Hydaspes* of the Greeks), *Vipāsā* (*Beas*, *Hypasus* of Greeks), *Satadru* (*Sutlej*), *Candrabhāgā* and *Irāvati*. In 'Questions of *Milinda*' (SBE vol 35 p 171) *Candrabhāgā* is one of the ten great rivers

- of India V.Dh S 55. 49, S. 9. 19, M. 13. 49, Anu. 25. 7, N. II. 60 30, NM. 159 and 162, HC. 12.44. Vide Asiknī, B (under Narmadā) M. 191 64, K. II. 41, 35, P. I. 18. 61. C (joins Tāpī) P. VI. 70.44; D (r. that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148. 12, 149.1; E (same as Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā)
- Candramas-tirtha—(on Ārcīkaparvata) V. 125 17
- Candrapāda—(under Gayā) Br. III. 47. 18-19
- Candrapura—(a city in Kāśmīra) NM. 1138 and 1156-7 (Māhāpadma Nāga flooded that city and there came into existence a lake, one yojana in length and breadth)
- Candratirtha—A (at source of Kāverī) K. II. 37.23; B (under VS) P. I. 37. 14, K. I. 35.11; C (under Narmadā) M. 193. 75, K. II. 42 15, Br. III 13. 25
- Candravaś—(r.) Bh V. 19.18
- Candratatī—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 310 (Diti became this river, as Yamunā became Vitastā)
- Candresvara—A (on Candrabhāgā river and to the east of Dugdhesvara, on Sābhramatī) P VI 149 1, B (under VS) L q. by T. K p 49
- Candrikā—(r. Candrabhāgā, modern Chenab) M 22 63
- Carmākhyā—(under VS) K I 35.4
- Carmanvatī—(r. modern Chambal that rises about 9 miles south-west of Mhow and falls into the Yamunā 25 miles south-west of Etawah town) Ādi 138 74 (Dṛupada ruled over southern Pañcāla up to Carmanvatī), V. 82. 54, Droṇaparva 67 5 (the name is due to the heaps of the hides of animals killed in Rantideva's *yajñas*), P. I 24 3, Meghadūta I. 45 (refers to Rantideva), the word Carmanvatī occurs in Pān. VIII. 2 12
- Carmakota—M 22 42
- Catuhsamudra—(a *kūpa* under VS) L q. by T K p 89
- Catuhsāmudrika—(a *kūpa* under Ma-
rārā) Var. 15S. 41
- Catuhsrota—(under Badarī) Var 141. 17
- Caturmukha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42 28
- Caturtheśvara—(under VS) N II 49 65
- Caturvedeśvara—(under VS) SK, Kāśi-
khanda 33 130
- Chāgalānda—(a very fit place for śrā-
ddha) M. 13 43 (where Devī is called
Pracandā), 22 72
- Chāgaleśvara—(under VS) L q by T.
K p 119
- Chāyāśetra—(sacred to Lakṣmī) Br
IV. 44 100 (town park of Mahā-
lakṣmīpura is so called)
- Chinnapāpaksetra—(on Go) P VI.
174 15
- Cicikatirtha—(under Go) B 164 1
- Cidambara—(see under Minākṣi) Devī-
bhāgavata VII 38. 11. It is famous
for its great Śiva temple and con-
tains the 'aur *linga*' i e no *linga* is
actually visible but a curtain is hung
before a wall and when visitors
enter the curtain is withdrawn and
the wall is exhibited The temple
has a hall of more than 1000 mono-
lithic pillars
- Cintāngadeśvara—(under VS) P I. 37.
14
- Cīramocanātirtha—(in Kāśmīra) R. I.
149-150 (mentions the Kanaka-
vāhinī, Nandīśa and this tirtha to-
gether) It is the confluence of the
Kanakavāhinī and the river Sind,
NM 1538-1545 (so called because the
seven sages left their bark garments
here and then went to heaven),
SM p. 211
- Citābhūmī—(Vaidyanātha or Deoghar
in Sonthal *pargana* containing the
temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the
twelve Jyotirlingas) Śivapurāṇa
I 58, 55. Vide Dey p. 50
- Citragupteśvara—(under VS) L q by
T K. p. 102

- Citrakūta—(hill, 65 miles south-west of Prayāga in Banda District of Bundelkhand and a railway station on Jhansi-Manikpur branch) V. 85. 58, Rām. II. 54. 28-29 and 93 8 (ten krośas from Bhāradvājāśrama) Rām. II. 55.9 (it is pitṛtīrtha), II. 56. 10-12, M. 22. 65 and Anu I. 25. 29, N. II. 60. 23 and 75. 26, Ag. 6. 35-36 (near Maudākinī r.) and 109. 23, P. I. 39. 54, Raghuvamśa XIII 47; Meghadūta calls it Rāmāgiri.
- Citrakūṭā—(r. rising from Rīksapavata) Vā. 45. 99, M. 114. 25 (where Maudākinī and this r. are both mentioned as rising from Rīksavat)
- Citrāṅgadātīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11, Vām 46 39 (Citrāṅgadesvara-lhga)
- Citrāṅgavadana—(under the Sābhramatī) P. VI. 141. 1
- Citrēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by K. T p. 97
- Citropalā (r.) B. 46 4-5 (rising from Vindhya and called Mahānadī)
- Citrotpalā—(probably same as the preceding) Bhī. 9. 34, M. 114. 25 (rising from Rīksavat), B. 27. 31-32 (rising from Rīksapāda)
- Cyavanaśyāśrama—A (under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75, Vā. 108. 73 In Rg I. 116.10 Cyavana is said to have been rejuvenated by Aśvins, Sat. Br. 1.5.1-16 (SBE vol. 26 pp 272-276 he married Sulanyā, king Saryūta's daughter and became young by a bath in a pool), B (under Narmadā) V 89. 12, 121. 19-22; V. chapters 122-124 contain the story of Cyavana, Sulanyā and the Aśvins V. 102, 4 narrates that the Kāleyas devoured one hundred *muns* here. Dey p. 51 gives four different places as Cyavana's hermitage. Cyavana was son of Bhrgu and the Bhrgus are often associated with the region about the mouth of the Narmadā
- Cyavaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p. 66
- D
- Dadhīcatīrtha—V 83.186, P. I. 27.73-74 (where Sārasvata stayed and became prince of perfect men, Siddhūrāt)
- Dadhīceśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Dadhīkarnēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p. 94
- Dākinī—(Bhūmāśanlara) see note 1536
- Dakṣaprayāga—N II 40 96-97
- Dakṣatīrtha—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām 46 2 (to the south of Sthūnavata), Vām 34 20 (Dakṣāśrama and Dakṣēśvara)
- Dakṣēśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75
- Dakṣa-gaṅgā—A (Godāvarī in B. 77 9-10, 78 77, B Kāverī in Nr 66 7), C Narmadā in SK, Revāhanda 4. 24; D Tuṅgabhadra (in Vik. 4.62)
- Dakṣa-Gokarna—Var. 216. 22-23
- Dakṣa-Mānasa—(a tank under Gayā) N II. 45 74, Ag. 115. 17
- Dakṣa-Mathurā—(Madurā in the Madras State) Bh. X 79 15
- Dakṣa-pañcanada—V Dh. S 35 51 (the com. Vajrayanti says that the five rivers are Kṛṣṇā, Venā, Tuṅgā, Bhadrā and Konā)
- Dakṣinaprayāga (known as Molsaveni in Saptagrāma in Bengal) 'tat-Dakṣinaprayāgam tu Gaṅgāto Yamunāḥsgatā | snānāt tatśāśyam pūnyam Prayāga' iva labhyate' quoted by Gaṅgāvākyaṅkaḥ p. 296, which is itself quoted by T P. p. 355. Dey p. 52 says that it is Triveni on the north of Hughly in Bengal.
- Dakṣa-mudhu—(a tributary of the Chambal) V 82 53, P I 24. 2, Meghadūta I 30
- Dālhyāśrama (hermitage of Baka Dālhyā, half a yojana from where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were in the company of Sugrīva and his hosts P VI 46. 14-15
- Dāmin (masculine noun) V 82. 71-75
- Dāmodaranāga—a spring in Kāśmīra, which is the upper hamlet of village

- Khunamoh (Khonamusa), the birth-place of poet Bilhana. Vide SM p. 166.
- Damstrāṅkura (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 68-70.
- Danda—V 85. 15.
- Dandaka (name of a territory, location being vague and probably it means no more than Dandakāranya) Rām. II. 9 12 (dāśm-āsthāya Kaikeyī dakṣiṇām Dandālān prati).
- Dandakāranya or Dandakavana—V. 85 41, 147. 32, Var 71. 10 (where Gautama performed *tapas*), B 88. 18, 110. 96 (Gautamī is in Dandaka), 123. 117-120 (Gautamī was five yojanas from the beginning of D.), 129. 55 (quintessence of the world), 161. 73 (D. is the seed of dharma and of mukti), Śal 39. 9-10 (Janasthāna is in D.), Rām. II. 18. 33 and 37, III. 1. 1, Vām. 84 12 (refers to Dandakāranya brāhmanas) and 43, P V 34. 58-59 (origin of name). Vide my paper on the 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāstra' in JBRAS for 1917 at pp. 14-15 and the note and Pargiter in JRAS for 1894 on 'the Geography of Rāma's exile' p 242. Dandakāranya probably comprised all forests from Bundelkhand or Bhopal in Central India right down to Godāvari or to Kṛmā Br. S. XI. 56 says that a malignant comet in Hasta nakṣatra kills the chief of Dandakāranya.
- Dandakhāta (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90.
- Dandīśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90.
- Dardura or Durdura (Nilgiri Hills) V. 282. 43, Mār. 54. 12, Var 214. 52, Raghuvamśa IV. 51 (near river Tāmtaparni), Br. S. 14. 11.
- Dāruvana—K. II. 39. 66, same as Devadāruvana, which see.
- Darvisāṅkramana—V 84 45, P. I 32. 9.
- Daśakanyātīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. 1. 21. 14.
- Daśārnā—(r. rising in m. Rīṣa, on which śrāddha, japa, dāna most efficacious) M. 22. 34, K II 37. 35-36, Vā. 45 99, 77, 93. Wilson (vol. II. p. 155) says that it is now called Dasān, which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa. Mbh. cites Vārtikas 7 and 8 on Pān VI. 1. 89 which explain the formation (vol. III p. 69). Daśārnā is a word meaning a country having ten forts or 'a river (Daśārnā) having ten waters' The Vārtikas are 'pra-vat-satara-kambalavasaṇḍānam carne' and 'rnadaśābhyām ca'. Meghadūta I. 23-24 show that the capital of the Daśārnā country was Vidīśā (modern Bhilsā) and the Vetravati (Betwa river) was near it. It is the Dosaron of Ptolemy (p. 71) Br. S. 10. 15 says that Saturn in Uttarāṣādhā destroys Daśārnas.
- Daśāśvamedhika or-medhaka or-medha—A (a tīrtha on the Gaṅgā) V 83. 14, 85 87, Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45, K II 37 26, M. 185 68 (in VS); B (under Prayāga) M. 106 46; C (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 45, N. II. 47. 30, D (under Narmadā) M. 193. 21, K II 41, 104, P. I. 20 20, vide Bom G. vol II. p. 348 for its sanctity, E (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 23, F (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26 12; G (under Go) B. 83. 1; H (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116.
- Ḍattātreyā-jñga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113.
- Daurvāsika—(under VS) K. I 35. 11.
- Devadāruvana—A (in the Himālayas near Badrināth) Ann 25 27, K. II. 37 53-60, II. 39. 18 and 66, M. 13. 47 (Devī is called Pustī here); B (Aundha in the Nizām's dominions) P. VI 129 27, C (near Vijayēśvara in Kāśmīra) HC. 10 3.
- Devāgama—(under Go) B. 160 1.
- Devagiri—(a hill under Mathurā) Var 164. 27, Bh V 19 16.

Devahradā—A (under Gandakī) Var. 143, 71, Anu 25, 44, B (under Kṛṣṇa-Venā) V. 85, 37

Devahradā—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 146

Devakūta—(sacred m.) V. 84, 141, P. I 38, 57.

Devalesvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 92

Devaparyāta—(probably Aravali hills) Devāla q by T K p. 250

Devapātha—V. 85, 45, P. I 39, 42

Devaprabha—(under Gandakī) Var. 145, 59

Devaprayāga—in Tehri State. Vide Alakanandā above (it is confluence of Bhāgirathī and Alakanandā), vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 p. 214

Devāranya—(a forest on r. Lauhitya) Vā. 147, 11 (devāranyam isokam na tasya tīre)

Devāsila—(Vānu is worshipped under name of Trivikrama here) Nr 65, 15 q. by T. K. p. 252

Devatirthā—A (on north bank of Go) B. 127, 1; B (under Narmadā) M 191, 24, 193, 81, K. II 42, 15, P. I. 18, 24; C (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 161, 1

Devās—(under VS) P. I. 37, 9

Devēśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 65

Devikā—A (r. rising in Himālaya and being after Sindhu and Pañcanada and before Sarasvatī) V. 82, 102-107, 222, 22, 74 yojanas in length and one-half yojana in breadth, B 27, 27, Vā. 45, 95; Anu 165, 19, Vām. 21, 5; The VI. IV 24, 69 says that Vratyas, Mlecchas and śūdras will rule over the banks of the Sindhu, Dāvikorvī, Candrabhāgā and Kāśmīra. Here 'Dāvikorvī' means, as Śrīdhara says, the country on the Devikā, B (r. that joins Gandakī) Var. 144, 83, 112-13 (Devikā nāma devānām prabhāvāca tapasyatām ī nitya-mārtā samu-

dbhūtā Gāndalyā mihā subhā), Var. 214, 48; C (under Gayā) Vā 112, 30, 77, 41 (Vīra-kūpa for śrāddha on), Br III. 13, 41. Anu 25, 21 and 165, 19, K II 37, 25, P I 25, 9-14, N. II 47, 27, Vā II 15, 6, Vām. 78, 37—all these extol Devikā, but it is not clear what river is meant. NM 152-153 say that it is holy like Īṣvatī, is identified with Umā and located in Madra, i. e. between Rāvi and Chenab. Pān (VII.3) expressly mentions the river Devikā and the Mbh thereon gives the illustration, 'Dāvikākūlāh śālayah' (paddy grown on the banks of the Devikā is so called). Pānī probably mentions some river in the Punjab. Dey p. 55 says that the southern portion of Sarayū is called Devikā or Devā. Vām 84, 12 refers to Devikā-tirtha brāhmanas. ŚK VII Prabhāsa-māhātmya, chap. 278, 66-67 speak of Mūlasthanā (modern Multan) as situated on the Devikā, P I, 25, 9-14 (5 yojanas long and 1/2 yojana wide). In VI. II 15, 6 the city called Vīranagara is said to be situated on the bank of the Devikā and as founded by Pulastya. Devikā is not Sarayū, as in the Anu. 165, 19 and 21 they two are separately named. Br. S. 11, 35 says that a certain malignant Kṛtū would strike down even Devikā in the north. Fargiter (tr of Mār, p. 492) identified it with the river Deeg or Degh in the Punjab. Dr. V. S. Agrawala with the Vular lake in Kashmir (J. U. P. H. S. vol. 16 pp 21-22) and Mr. Jagannātha (in J. U. P. H. S. vol 17 part 2 p. 78) supports Fargiter. With respect I agree with Mr. Jagannātha

Devikā-tapa—(Devī is called Nandini here) M 13, 38

Devipūthas—eight are enumerated in Kāhikā-purāṇa 64, 69-91

Devikūta—Kal. 18 41, where the feet of Satī's corpse fell

Devīsthāna—Devī-Bhāgavata VII 38 5-30 (enumerate numerous Devīsthānas such as Kolāpura, Tulajāpura, Saptasīga). The Matsya (13.26-54) enumerates 108 Devīsthānas

Dhanaśeṣvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 70

Dhanuḥpāta—(under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66, 33.

Dhanvatīrūpā—(r. rising in Pāriyātra m) M 114 24.

Dhānyātīrtha—(under Gomatī) B 120 1 Dhārā—(r.) P I 28. 26, M. 22. 38

Dhārānīrtha—(śrāddha most efficacious here) M 22, 70.

Dhārāpatanaka-tīrtha (under Mathurā) Var. 154 8

Dhārātīrtha—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 6

Dharmahrada—(under VS) N. II 51 14

Dharmānada—same as Pañcanada, which see.

Dharmaprastha—(under Gayā) V. 84 99

Dharmaprastha—(4 miles from Bodh-Gayā) P V 11. 74, N. II. 44. 54-55 and 78, K II 37, 38

Dharmarājatīrtha—(on the western bank of Jumnā near Prayāga) M 108 27, P I 45 27

Dharmāranya—(under Gayā) V. 82 46, Anu 166 28-29, Vā 111 23, Vām. 54 12 (brāhmanas of Dharmāranya), Ag 115 34, N. II 45 100, vide Dr Barua on 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol. I, pp. 16-17 for the view that it is part at least of the precincts of the Bodhgayā temple representing the jungle of Uruvelā or Uruvilvā of Buddhist Literature Rām I 32. 7 states that Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarajas, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā; vide p 661 about Gayā, B (near Mahākālā) P I 12. 6-8, B. S. 14 2 mentions it, but location is uncertain

Dharmasāstresvara—(under VS) SK IV 33. 133

Dharmasīlā—(under Gayā) Vā. chap 107 and Ag 114. 8-28 Vide above pp 657-58 for the story

Dharmatīrtha—(under VS) P. I 35 4, Ag 109 16, K I 35 10, P VI 135 17

Dharmāvatī—(river that falls into Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135. 16

Dharmesvara—A (under VS) L. q by T. K p 53; B (under Gayā) N. II 45 103, Vā 111. 26

Dharmodbhava—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 44-46

Dhautapāpa—vide Pāpaprāṇāśana Dhautapāpā—(r. rising in Hīmālaya) M 114. 22

Dhautapāpesvara—linga (under VS) SK IV. 33. 156

Dhavalesvara—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 144 7 ff (supposed to be established by Indra)

Dhenuka—(under Gayā) V. 84. 87-89, P. I. 38. 7-10, N. II. 44. 68

Dhenukāranya—(under Gayā) Vā. 112. 56, Ag. 116. 32

Dhenuvaṭa—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 40-43

Dhruva-tapovāna—P. I. 38 31

Dhūmāvatī—V 84. 22, P. I. 28 23 (Dhūmavantī)

Dhundhi-Vināyaka—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 126 and SK. IV. chap. 57. 33 (give the etymology of Dhundhi; for 56 Gaṇeśas, vide p. 638 above)

Dhūtāpāpa or Dhautapāpa or Dhautāpura—A (on Narmadā) M. 22. 39, 193. 62, K. II. 42. 9-10; B (at Gokarnā) Br. III. 13 20 (Kudra practised tapas here); C (under Gayā) Ag 116. 12, N. II. 47. 35 D (under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148 58 (less than five krosas from Stutasvāmin), T. K. p. 223. AG. p 401 says that Dhōpāpura is on the right bank of the Gomatī (popularly

(Gauri)—18 miles to the south-east of Sultanpur; E (near Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnagiri District) vide I.G.I. vol. XXII. p. 50

Dhūtāpā—A (r. in VS); vide p. 636 above; B (r. rising in Himālaya) Vām. 57. 30, Br. II. 16. 26

Dhūtāvāhini—(r. rising in Rāvavanta) M. 114. 26

Dīdīpūyakara—(śit for śrāddha, probably in Deccan) M. 22. 77

Dīpeshvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 38, K. II. 41. 25-27 (it is Vyāsātīrtha-tapovana)

Dīptoda—(probably the same as Bhrgutīrtha) V. 99. 69 (where Bhrgu, great-grand-father, and the father of Parāśurāma performed most severe penance)

Dīrghasattra—V. 82. 108-110, P. I. 25. 15-16

Dīrgha-Viṣṇu (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 63

Divākara—līṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65

Divankah—pūskarīṇī V. 84. 118, P. I. 38. 35

Drona—(m. in Bhāratavarsa) M. 121. 13, Bh. V. 19. 16, P. VI. 8. 45-46

Droṇaśarmaspaḍa—Ann. 25. 28 q. by T. K. p. 256. (reads Dronadharmā)

Droṇeshvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66,

Droṇī—(r.) M. 22. 37 (krāddha on it inexhaustible).

Drumakpetra—L. I. 92. 129 (probably near Kurukṣetra)

Dhruva-tapovana—P. I. 38. 31

Dhruvatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 58 and 180. 1

Drsadvatī (r.). Vide p. 682 above. In Rg. III. 23. 4 it is mentioned along with Āpayā and Sarasvatī as a holy river for the worship of Agni. V. 90. 11, Manu II. 17 (calls it *devanadī*), N. II. 60. 30, Bh. V. 19. 18. It is identified by some with the Ghaggar and by others with

the Chittang (Cambridge History of India, vol. I. p. 80). No trace of the river appears in any modern name. Cunningham's identification of it with Rāksbi river 17 miles to the south of Thānesar has much to recommend it (A. S. of India, vol. XIV. p. 88).

Drumacandeshvara—(a lunga in VS) L. I. 92. 136

Dugdeshvara—(under Sābhrmatī) P. VI. 148. 1 (to the south of Khadga-dhara). Vide Bom. G. vol. IV. p. 6

Durdhreshvara—(on Sābhrmatī) P. VI. 146. 1 ff.

Durgā—(acc. to Bār S. III. 128 Durgā dwells on Vindhya).

Durgā—sābhrmatī-sāngama—P. VI. 169. 1.

Durgā—(r. rising from Vindhya) Vā. 45. 103, Br. II. 16. 33.

Durgātīrtha—A (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 14-15, B (under Go) B. 132. 8.

Dvādaśāditya-Luṇḍa (under Badarī) Var. 141. 24

Dvādaśa—Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 9 (Dvāta lake named after King Dvātavana of the Matsyas, V. 11. 68, 24. 10 (commentary gives a fantastic etymology), 237. 13 (it had a lake), Śal. 37. 27 (visited by Balarāma on Sarasvatī), Vām. 22. 12, 47. 56 (it was near Sānnibatya pool)

Dvārakā—A—the name of this holy city does not occur in the Vedic Literature but the references to it in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are plentiful. It is one of the seven holy cities. Vide p. 678. It appears that there were two Dvārakās, one more ancient than the other. The ancient Dvārakā was situated near Kōṭinār. A little mound which rises on the sea-shore between the mouths of the rivers Somat and Singāvra

three miles from Kodinar is surrounded by the ruins of a temple which popular Hindu belief declares to be the original Dvārakā, where Kṛṣṇa resided and whence transferred himself to Dvārakā in Oḥhamandala. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. VIII. (on Kathiawar) pp. 518-520 for Kodinar and p. 552 for Mūla Dvārakā. It was founded by Kṛṣṇa (with Rājavataka as a park and Gomanta as a hill) owing to constant invasions and harassment by Jarāśandha; it was two yojanas long and one yojana broad. Vide Sabhāparva 14. 49-55. The Var. (149. 7-8) makes it 10 yojanas long and 5 broad. Vide p. 688 above under Mathurā. B (14. 54-56) says that the Vraṇis and Andhakas left Mathurā through fear of Kālayavana, took counsel with Kṛṣṇa, ran to Kuśasthali and built up Dvārakā: Vi V. 23. 13-15. B 196 13-15 say that Kṛṣṇa begged of the ocean a strip of twelve yojanas, built Dvārakā with large parks, mansions and strong walls and established the people of Mathurā there. When Kṛṣṇa passed away, the city was flooded by the sea and swept away, as stated in a prophetic vein by Mausala-parva 6.23-24 and 7. 41-42, B 210. 55 and 212. 9. Vide also Vi. V. 38. 9 (the whole of Dvārakā except Kṛṣṇa's palace was swept by the sea) and BV IV. 129. 44 (except Rukmiṇī's palace). It is called the capital of Ānarta (Udyoga 7. 6) and was first called Kuśasthali (Sabhā 14. 30) Vide M 69. 9 = P. V. 23. 10, B. 7.29-32 and Ag 273. 12 (Kuśasthali being the earlier name of the capital). The present Dvārakā is near Oḥhā in Kathiawar. The Harivamśa II (Viṣṇu-parva) chapters 58 and 98 deal with the founding of Dvārakā. Some ancient Jain works like the Uttarādhyāyasūtra (SBE. vol. 45 p.115) mention Dvārakā and Rājavataka park

(Girnar). The Jātakas also refer to Dvārakā. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's work on 'India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism' pp. 102, 239. The Prabhāsakhaṇḍa of the SK has a sub-section on Dvārakā in 44 chapters and over 2000 verses for the glorification of Dvārakā. It says 'the reward that is secured by (pilgrimage to) Vārāṇasī, Kurukṣetra and Narmadā can be secured at Dvārakā in half a twinkling (4. 52)'; 'Pilgrimage to Dvārakā is the 4th means of muktī. Maṇ secures muktī by acquiring correct knowledge about Brahman or by dying at Prayāga or by mere bath in Gomatī near Kṛṣṇa" (SK. VII. 4. 4. 97-98). The BV. (Kṛṣṇajanma-khaṇḍa, Uttarārḍha chap. 103) has a hyperbolic description of the creation of Dvārakā, which is said to have been one hundred yojanas in extent. There is a work called Dvārakā-pattalaka compiled by Binābhāyī (the only Ms. of which is the one at B. O. R. I. in Poona) which has been published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri (1940). The Ms is dated *samvat* 1574 (1518 A. D.). It summarises the Dvārakā-māhātmya in SK. A pilgrim on reaching Dvārakā first worships Gaṇeśa, then Balarāma and then Kṛṣṇa; he visits Rukmiṇī's temple on the 8th, 9th or 14th tithi, then visits Calra-tīrtha, then Dvārakā Gaṇḍā, then Saṅghoddhāra, then Īthas in the Gomatī. The temple of Dvārakā-nātha is on the north bank of the Gomatī creek. The main temple has five stories, is about 100 feet high from the ground and is surmounted by a conical spire rising to about 150 feet. Vide Dr. A. D. Pusalkar's paper in the Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume I pp. 218 ff. for further information on Dvārakā;

B (there is *Dvārakā* in *Indraprastha*)
P. VI. 202 4 and 62

Dvārakā—*Kṛṣṇatīrtha*—M. 22 39

Dvāravatī—Same as *Dvārakā* It contained the temple of *Nāgeśa*, one of the twelve *Jyotirlingas* The *Kāśikāṇḍa* {7. 104-105} states: 'since in this city there are entrance gates for all the four *varṇas* it was named *Dvāravatī* by the learned Where even the bones of beings are marked with the sign of the wheel (discus), what wonder is there if the hands (of men) are marked with the figures of a conch or wheel?' In a *Dvārakā-māhātmya* stated to be taken from the *Śāṇḍa-purāṇa* (D. C. Ms. No. 49- of 82-83, copied in *sanvat* 1529 i. e. 1472-73 A. D.) it is stated that *Mathurā*, *Kāśī* and *Avantī* are easy of access (*sulabha*), but *Ayodhyā*, *Māyā* and *Dvārakā* are difficult of approach in the *Kali* age and in Ms. D. C. No. 63 of 1875-76 it is said (at the end that the city is called *Dvāravatī* because it is the way to mokṣa. It is identified by *Yule* and others with *Barak* of the *Periplus* {*Ptolemy* pp. 187-188.}

Dvīdevakula—(under *Śrīparvata*) L. I. 92. 158

Dvīpa—(probably the island at the mouth of the *Ganges*) Nr. 65 7 q. by T. K. p. 251 (where *Viṣṇu* is worshipped as *Ananta Kapila*)

Dvīpeśvara—(under *Narmadā*) M. 193 80, P. I 18 38 and 23. 76

E

Ekādadhāra—(under *Sābhramatī*) P. VI 136. 12

Ekahamsa—V 53. 20

Elāmra—(in *Utkala*, *Orissa*, about 20 miles from *Cuttack*) This is *Rudra-tīrtha* *Elāmra* is the ancient name, the modern one being *Bhuvaneśvara*. It was also called

Kṛttivāsa B (chap. 41. 10-93) describes and glorifies this *tīrtha*, all those verses being quoted in T. C. pp. 176-180 It is said to be the destroyer of sin, equal to *Benares*, and as having eight sub-*tīrthas* and it was so called because in former ages there was one mango tree (B. 34 6 and 41 10-93) Vide *Hunter's 'Orissa'* vol. I p. 231-241 and *Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa'* vol. II pp. 56-98 for history, description, daily services and festivals &c. The chief temple is 160 feet high from the base to the top of the *kālāśa*. In the *Bhuvaneśvara* Inscription (edited by Dr L. D. Barnett) in E. I. XIII p. 150 it is stated that *Candrikā*, daughter of the *Ganga* king *Anāṅga-Bhīma* and widow of *Haiḥaya* prince *Paramardīn*, built a temple of *Viṣṇu* at *Elāmra*. In that inscription among other matters there is a laudation of *Utkalā*, of the sanctuary of *Ekāmra* and of the lake *Bindusaras* (mentioned in B. 41. 53-54). The date of the inscription is doubtful. But it is between *śale* 1101-1200. There is a vast number of temples and shrines here, Vide *Archaeological survey of India* Report for 1902-3 pp. 43-44, *Parasottamatantva* (Jiv. I. p. 573) where *Raghunandana* quotes several verses of B. chap. 41. There is *Ekāmrapurāṇa* in five *amśas* (parts) and 70 chapters (vide *Mitra's Notices* vol. IV pp. 138-140 No. 1561 for detailed analysis of contents and *Elāmra Candrikā* which is a guide to pilgrims visiting *Bhuvaneśvara* and contains extensive quotations from *Kapilasamhitā*, *Ekāmrapurāṇa*, *Śivapurāṇa* and other works (vide *Mitra's Notices*, vol. IV. pp. 136-137 No. 1560 for analysis of contents

Ekavirā—(under *Go*) B. 161. 3

Elāpura—(probably modern Ellora) M. 22.50 (a place very fit for śrāddha). A G. p. 319 identifies Elāpura with modern Verāval in Kathiawar. Talegaon copperplates of Rāstrakūta Kṛṣṇarāja I dated śake 690 (768-769 A.D.) indicate that the king built the famous Kailāsanātha temple in imitation of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī (E. I. XIII p. 275), vide also E. I. vol. XXV p. 25 (Ellora plates of Dantidurga of śake 663 i.e. 741-42 A.D.)

Erandīnarmadāsāṅgama—M. 194. 32, K.II. 41. 85 and II. 42.31, P.I. 18 41

Erandītīrtha—(r. tributary of Narmadā in the Baroda territory, called Uri or Or) M. 191. 42, 193 65, P. I. 18 41.

G

Gabhastīśa—(under 15) SK. VI 33. 154

Gabbhīraka—(a l. under Māndāra to the south) Var. 143. 42

Gadākunda—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 49

Gadālola—(a pool at Gayā on east side of Brahmayoni) Vā. 109. 11-13, 111 75-76, Ag. 115 69, see above p. 665

Gājābhaya—(same as Hastināpura) Svargā-rohanaparva 5 34

Gajakarnā—(one of many pītītīrthas) M. 22. 38

Gājakesetra—a Sivakesetra acc. to Bār S. III 122

Gajasaila—(m. south of Mānasa lake) Vā 36 24

Gajasābhaya or Nāgasābhaya—(same as Hastināpura) Vi. V 35 8, 19, 30-32, Vām 73. 8, Bh I. 4 6 (com. explains 'gajena sahita ābhayo nāma yasya'), Br S 14. 4 calls it 'Gājābhaya.'

Gajeshvara—(under Śrīśaila) L. I 92 156

Gālava—Vide Pāpaprāṇāśana

Gālavēśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p. 98

Galkū—(r. same as Gaṇḍakī) P. VI. 76 2 (where the Sālagrāma stones are found), VI 129 14

Gambhīrā—A (a r. that joins Vitastā below Vijayēśvara) HC X. 192, SM. p. 170. Stein in note on R VIII 1063 says that it is the name of the lowest portion of the Viśolā river before it falls into Vitastā, B (r. in Central India) Meghadūta I 40, Br. S 16.15 mentions Gāmbhīrīkā r. It falls into the Sīprā

Gāṇapatyatīrtha—(near Sābhramatī on a hill called Viṣṇu) P. VI. 129. 26, VI 163.1.

Ganātīrtha—A (one of many tīrthas where śrāddha leads to highest goal) M. 22. 73; B (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 24

Gaṇḍakī—(rises in Himālaya and falls into Gauges at Sonapur in Bihar). It is the Kondochates of Arrian (A. I. p. 188) Ādi 170 20-21 (one of the seven great rivers that destroy sin), S 20. 27, V. 84. 13, V 222. 22 (Gaṇḍasābhaya is probably the same as Gaṇḍakī), P. I. 38, 30, IV. 20. 12 (it has pebbles marked with cakrā). The river is said to have sprung from the perspiration on Viṣṇu's cheek in Var 144-106, Br II. 16. 26. Viṣṇu gave a boon to it that he would always remain inside her in the form of Sālagrāma stone (Var. 144. 35-58) Gaṇḍakī, Devīkā and a r. from Pulastyaśrama make Trivenī (Var 144. 84) It is known in Nepāla as Sālagrāmī and in U P. as Nārāyanī.

Gandhavatī—A (sacred r. near Ekāmra, rising in the Udayagiri hills, though the Śivapurāṇa says it rises in the Vindhya). See 'Antiquities of Orissa' by Mitra, vol. II. p. 98; B (a small tributary of Sīprā) Meghadūta I. 33

Gaṅgā—Vide pp. 588-596 above

Gaṅgādvāra—(the same as Handvāra) V. 81. 14, 90.21, 142 9-10, Anu 25 13, K I 15. 41 and 47 (here Dakṣa's sacrifice was destroyed by Virābhadrā), II. 20 33 (as one of the

- best places for śrāddha), V. Dh S. 85. 28, Ag. 4. 7 (Vāmana approached Bali here), P. V. 5. 3 and V. 26. 103. It is a Śaivaksetra acc to Bār. S III 129. M. 22. 10 (mentions Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpurī separately in the same verse)
- Gandhakālī—(r.) Vā. 77. 74, Br III. 13. 76
- Gandhamādāna—(m. on which Badrīnāth is situated) Nr. 65 10 q by T. K. p. 252; Vi. II. 2. 18 (to the south of Meru), Mār. 51. 19, V. 140. 22, 158. 38, Vi. V 24. 5 (location of Nara-Nārāyaṇāśrama), M. 13. 26
- Gandharvakūṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var 163. 13
- Gandharvanagara—q. by T. K p. 247
- Gandharvatīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 13, Sal. 37. 10 (near Gargasrotah on Sarasvatī)
- Gaṅgā-Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama—T. P p. 357
- Gaṅgā-Gomati-saṅgama—T. P. p. 358
- Gaṅgāhrada—P. I. 27. 63 (under Kurukṣetra), V. 83. 201, Anu 25. 34
- Gaṅgā-Kauśikī-saṅgama—T. P. pp. 357-358
- Gaṅgā-Mānuṣa-saṅgama—(near Kāśmīra) NM. 1457
- Gaṅgāvat—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20. 16 (near Gangeśvara)
- Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama—V Dh S 85. 28, M. 22. 11 (it is 'sarvatīrthamaya'), P. I. 39. 4, T. P. pp. 355-356 (for Māhātmya)
- Gaṅgā-Sarasvatī-saṅgama—V. 84. 58, P. I. 32. 3
- Gaṅgā-Sarayū-saṅgama—Raghuvaṃśa VIII. 95, T. P. p. 357
- Gaṅgā-vadana-saṅgama—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 20
- Gaṅgāvarana-saṅgama—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 45
- Gaṅgā-Yamunā-saṅgama—(i. e. Prayāga, which see) V. 84. 35
- Gaṅgeśvara—A (under VS) N. II. 49. 46; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 14
- Gaṅgodbheda—V. 84. 65, M. 22. 25, P. I. 32. 29, Ag 109. 18
- Gargasrotas—(on Sarasvatī) Sal. 37. 14
- Gargeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 82
- Gārhapatyapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 50
- Garteśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 19, 176. 6
- Gāruda—(under Go) B 90. 1
- Garudaleśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 67
- Gaurī—(r.) Bhī 9. 25. It is probably the Gouraios of the Greek writers. Vide Ptolemy p. 111
- Gaurī—(sacred to Lakṣmī) Br. IV. 44. 98
- Gaurīśikhara—A—V. 84. 151, M. 22. 76 (fit place for śrāddha), B (a tīrtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1448-1449 (where Umā who was in complexion like a blue lotus became fair by practising *tapas*)
- Gaurītīrtha—(under VS) M. 22. 31, K I 35. 3, P. I. 37. 3
- Gautama—(on Mandara m.) P. VI. 129. 6
- Gautamanāga—(in Kāśmīra, to the north of Anantanāga and on the way to Bavan) S M p 178
- Gautamāśrama—(near Tryambakeśvara) P. VI. 176. 58-59
- Gautama-vana—V. 84. 108-110
- Gautameśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 22. 68, 193. 60, K II. 42. 6-8, P. I. 20. 58, B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
- Gautami—(= Godāvarī). Vide pp. 707-711
- Gavām-bhavana—P. I. 26. 46
- Gayā—A—see pp 643-679; B (one of the five dhārās at Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58
- Gayākedāraka (under Gayā) Ag 115. 53
- Gayānīskramana—Nr q by T. K. p. 252 (Viṣṇu's *guhya* name is Hari there).
- Gayāśūras—(hill named after *rājarsī* Gayā) V. 95. 9, 87. 11, Vā 105. 29 (it is one krośa in extent), Vā 22. 20

- (it is the eastern *vedi* of Brahmā), Ag. 115, 25-26 (it is called Phalgu-tirtha). Acc. to Barua in 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol I p 7 it is the modern Brahmayoni hill. Vide p 646 note 1470 above.
- Gayāśirsa—(a set of rocky hills near Gayā town) V.Dh. S 85.4, Buddha went to Gayāsira near Gayā with 1000 bhikkhus, vide Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S B E. vol XIII p 134) Vide pp 646 and 668 above
- Gayātirtha—(under VS) P I. 37 5
- Gāyatrīsthāna—V. 85, 28
- Gāyatrīsthāna—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 70.
- Gāyatrītirtha—(under Gayā) Va. 112, 21.
- Ghantābharanaka—(under Mathurā) Var 154 15
- Ghantākarnabhrada—(to west of Vyāseśa under VS) N II 49. 28-29, L. q. by T. K. p 86
- Ghanteśvara—M. 22, 70
- Gharghara or-rā (modern Gogra or Ghagra, a holy river that rises in Kumaon and is the great river of Oudh) P II 39 43, M 22. 35 and P V 11 29 (both the latter have the same words 'nadau tau Sona-Ghargharau') Vide TP p 502 for Sarayū-Gharghara-saṅgama The combined waters of Gogra and other rivers including the Sarayū are called Gogrā or Sarjū from Bahrapur. Vide I. G I vol 12 pp 302-303.
- Ghateśvara—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 159 3
- Ghatotkaca—(under VS) K I 35 8, P. I. 37, 8.
- Ghṛtakulyā—(a r. under Gayā) V 105 74, 112 30
- Girkarnikā—M 22 39 (Dey p 65 identifies it with Sabarmati).
- Girikūñja—P. I. 24. 34 (where Brahmā resides)
- Girikūñja—(under Gayā) N. II. 47, 75.
- Girinagara—(modern Junāgad in Kathiawar). The hill near it was called Ujjayanta or Ūrjayanta in former times, but now it is called Girnar. Dey has a long note (pp 65-66) on it. The *pādūkās* (stone with footprints) of Dattātreyā are shown on a spur of the hill. As there are Aśoka's edicts engraved here it follows that it was a well-known place in the third century B. C. The Junāgad Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A D) mentions it in the very first line (E. I. vol VIII, p. 36 at p 42) Vide under Vastrāpatha
- Girivraja—Capital of the kings of Magadha from Jarāsandha and his son Sahadeva, called Rājagṛha in Buddhist times It is about 62 miles from Patna Dey has a very long note on it (pp 66-69), S. 21. 2-3 (it was surrounded and guarded by five hills called Vahāra, Vipula, Varāha, Vṛṣabha, Rṣigiri) Vide under Rājagṛha Rām. I 32 7 states that it was founded by Vasu, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.
- Gobhuleśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 94
- Gocarnesvara—(under Sripurvata) L. I 92 152
- Godāvari—Vide pp 707-711
- Godhana—(m) Br II 16 22
- Gograha—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42 6
- Gohāmuka—(m) Bh V 19. 16.
- Gokarna—A (a place sacred to Siva on the western coast about 30 miles south of Goa in the Kumtā Talukā of North Kanara District) V. 85. 24, 88, 15, 277. 55, Ādi., 217. 34-35 (ādyam paśupateh sthānam darsanādeva multidam), Vā 77 19, M. 22. 38, K. II 35. 29-32, Br. III 56. 7-21 (described as 1½ yojanas in extent in verse 7), Vām. 46. 13 (lūga set up by Rāvana), Br III. 57-58 and N. II. 74 (narrate story of its

- being flooded by the sea and of people going to Parasurāma for succour. Vide Epi. C. vol. VII Shikarpur No 99 (of 1113 A. D.) where Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla's tributary is styled 'lord of Gokarnapura'. The Lingapurāna speaks of two Gokarnas (I. 92. 134-135), Kūrma II. 35 31 mentions Utlara-Gokarna and the Varāhapurāna (213. 7) mentions a southern and a northern Gokarna, B (on Sarasvatī) Var. 170.11, C (under Mathurā) Var. 171-173; D (under VS) L. q. by T. K p 113. M. 13 30 says that Devi is styled Bhadrakarnikā at Gokarna Gokarnahrnda—V. 88. 15-16
- Gokarnesvara (on a peak of the Himālaya) Var 215 118
- Gokula—(a mahāranya) Vide Vraja P IV. 69 18, Bh II 7 31
- Gomandalesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I 92. 162 (established by Nanda and others)
- Gomanta—(a hill) A—M. 13 28 (Sati is called Gomati on Gomanta). B (a hill in the Sahya range near Karavīrapura, Kraundapura and near river Venā) Harivamsa (Vishnuparva 39. 11 and 19-20), C (hill near Dvārakā where Kṛṣṇa and the Vṛṣṇis migrated from Mathurā through fear of Jarāsandha's attacks) S 14 54, V 88 15-17, N II 60 27. Pargiter's identifications (p 289 note) are unsatisfactory
- Gomati—(r) A. In Rg. VIII 24 30 and X. 75 6, it is invoked between Kubhā and Kramu (in X. 75 6), hence it is probably modern Gomati a western tributary of the Indus, B (a river near Sarasvatī) V 87. 7, P I. 32 37, Vām. 63. 61 and 83. 2, C (near Dvārakā), SK, VII. 4 4 97-98 and 5. 32, P. IV. 17. 69-70 and VI 176. 35-36, D (the Gumti in Oudh, rising in Himālaya and falling into the Ganges below Benares) M. 114. 22, Br II. 16. 25, Rām. II 49. 11
- Gomati-gangā-sangama—P I. 32. 42, Bh V 19. 18, Ag 109. 19.
- Gopādri—(m. in Kashmir, in the immediate vicinity of Śrinagara near its southernmost corner, now known as Takht-i-Sulaiman) SM p. 157, R I 341 (mentions Gopādri which is modern Gopāl on the Dal lake), vide K, R 17
- Goniskramana—(also Gosthaleka) Var. 147 3-4 and 52
- Gopīśvara—(under Mathurā) Var 157. 18 (where Kṛṣṇa sported with gopīs)
- Gopracāra—(a site under Gayā) Vā. 111 35-37 (where there is a grove of mango trees), Ag 116 5
- Gopratāra—(Guptar in Fyzabad in Oudh) V 84 70-71 (where Rāma gave up his physical body along with his army and servants), Vām 83.8, N II 75 71, Raghuvamsa XV 101
- Gopreksa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K, p 42, P. I 37. 16, N. II. 50 43 (Gopreksaka)
- Gopreksaka—(hūga under VS) L. I. 92. 67-68
- Gopreksesvara—(under VS) Sk q. by T. K p 131
- Goraksaka—Var 215 93
- Gorabagiri—(in Magadhaksetra) S. 20. 30
- Gotirtha—A (in Naimisa forest) V 95.3; B (under Prayāga) M 110.1, C (under VS) K I 35 13, D (under Narmadā) M 193 3 P I 20 3, E (under Sābhramati) P VI. 156 1
- Govardhana—A (a hill near Mathurā) M 22 52, K I. 14 18 (where Pṛithu practised austerities), P IV. 69. 39, Var 163 18, 164 1 and 22-23, Vi V. 11 16 Vide p 691 above, B (a town under Gautamī established by Rāma) B. 91.1, Br II 16 44 Inscription of Usavādāta near Nask mentions Govardhana several times (Bom. G. vol 16 p.5C9). Vide p. 710 above.

Govindatīrtha—(under Go) B 122, 100, P. I 38 50 (appears to be near Campalāranya)

Grdhrakūta—A (a hill under Gayā) Vā 77 97, 108. 61, 111 22, Ag 116 12, N II 45 95 and 47. 78, B (on the confluence of Sarasvatī and Śuddhā, where Parasurāma's hand stained with blood became clear) NM 1394-5

Grdhravana—K II 37. 38

Grdhravata—A (on the Grdhrakūta hill of Gayā) V 84 91, Ag 116 12, P. I 38, 11 (bhasmanā snāna there), N. II 44. 72, Vā. 108 63; the tree does not now exist, B (under Sūkaraśetra where a Grdhra became a man) Var 137 56

Grdhreśvara-linga—(under Gayā on Grdhrakūta) Ag 116. 11, N, II 47 78

Guheśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 102

Gurukulyatīrtha—(on Narmadā) SK. I. 1. 18 153 (where Balī performed Aśvamedhas)

H

Hamsadvāra—(near Kashmir) NM 1464
Hamsakūnda—(under Dvārakā) Var, 149 46

Hamsapada—(near Viśākhayūpa) Vām. 81 10

Hamsapratāna—(under Prayāga) V. 85 87, M 106 32 (to the east of Gangā and north of Pratiśthāna), K I, 37 24, P I 39 80, Ag 111 10

Hamsatīrtha—A (under Gayā) Ag 116. 30, N II 47 30, B (under Narmadā) M 193. 72, C (under Śālagrāma to its east) Var 144. 152-155 (explain why so called). Vide Yātsatīrtha

Hanūmat-tīrtha—(under Go. on north bank) B 129. 1

Hārakūnda—(near Hārapura) L I 92. 164

Haramukuta—(Harmukh in popular language in Kāśmīra) NM 1320, 1322, 1231, peak of the Himālaya

on the east of which is lake Kālodaka and which is itself near Uttaramānasa Vide H C IV. 87-88 and Vik. 18 55 Al (vol 1 p 207) says that the Jailam rises in the mountain Haramakot, where also the Ganges rises Vide Stein's note on R. III 448.

Haramunda—(a tīrtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1455

Haridvāra—(same as Gangādvāra and Māyāpurī) It is in the modern Sabaranpur District in U. P. and on the right bank of the Ganges. It is one of the seven holy cities (vide pp 501 and 678) P. IV 17 66, VI 21.1, VI 22 18, VI 135.37 (Māndavya practised penance here) See Beal's BRWV vol I p. 197, where Hiouen Tshang states that men of the five Indies call it the Gate of Gaṅgā and that hundreds and thousands of people gather to bathe and wash. I do not agree with Cunningham (A G. p. 353) that Haridvāra is a comparatively modern name, since Alberuni mentions only Gangādvāra Both SK IV and P IV mention Haridvāra and it cannot be said that they both are later than Alberuni (i. e. 1030 A D.). Probably Gaṅgādvāra was a more popular name in the 11th century than Haridvāra. Al (vol. I p 199) tells us that the source of the Ganges is called Gangādvāra

Haribara-ṣetra—A (on Tungabhadra) Nr 65 18 (q. by T. K p 253), P VI 176. 46 and VI. 183 3, Var. 144 145 (also called Devāṭa). It is on the boundary between Mysore State and Bombay State, B (the junction of the Gandakī with the Ganges at Sonapur, where Gajendra-moksa took place) Var 144. 116-133 Vām. 85. 4-76 places the story of Gajendramoksa on mountain Trīkūta

Harikeśhvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 113

- Harikeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 34 (probably the same as above)
- Hariscandra**—A (tirtha under VS) M 22.52 (very fit place for śrāddha) 181 28, Ag. 112.3, B (on south bank of Go.) B 104 86 and 88
- Hariscandra**—(a m) Devala q. by T. K. 250
- Hariscandresvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 117
- Hariparvata**—(hill in Śrinagara)—same as Sārikāparvata or Pradyumnāpitha K. R p 17, Vik 18. 15
- Hārīta-tīrtha**—(eminent place for śrāddha) M 22. 68 (beyond Vasisthatīrtha)
- Hārītākivana**—Vide Vaidyanātha p. 678, and a. 1536 above
- Haritesvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 120.
- Harīyūpiyā**—(a r.) Rg. VI. 27. 5. Probably in Kurukseira.
- Harodbheda**—(fit place for śrāddha) M 22. 25
- Harapathā**—(Śaci at Kasyapa's prayer became H. in Kāmūra) N M 309
- Hastatīrtha**—(v. 1. Hamsatīrtha) K. II. 42. 13 (on Narmadā)
- Hastinapura or Hastināpura**—(capital of Kurus, named after king Hastu, great-grandson of Bharata Daug-yanti,). It is to the north-east of Delhi Ādi 95. 34, Rām II. 68. 13 (Hastinapura), Vi IV. 21 8, Bh IX 22. 40. After it was swept away by Ganges, Nīlakaṇṭha, grandson of Janamejaya, made Kauśāmbī his capital Pān. VI 2. 101 (na Hastināphalaka-mārdeyāḥ) appears to know it as Hastinapura The Mbh (vol. I p 380 on Pān. II. 1. 16) offers the illustration 'anu-Gangam Hastinapuram'.
- Hastipādesvara**—(a Sivaliṅga to the east of Sthānnavata) Vām 46 29
- Hastipādesvara**—(under VS) L q by T. K. 76
- Hātala**—(removes sins of crores of murders) P. IV. 17, 67
- Hātaleśvara**—Vām. 63.78 (on Saptagodāvara)
- Hayamukt**—(under Mathurā) Var. 160, 23
- Hayaśiras**—(fit place for śrāddha) Br. III 13.46, Vā. 77.46
- Hayatīrtha**—M. 22 69
- Hemakūta**—(another name of Kailāsa, which see) Bhī. 6, 4, Br II 14.48 and 15 15 (Himavat and Hemakūta distinguished)
- Hetukeśvara**—(under VS) L q by T. K. 92
- Himālaya**—see Himavat
- Himavat**—In Rg. X. 121 4 and A V. IV. 2. 5 the plural is used (Viśve himavantah) But in A. V V. 4 2 and 8, VI. 24.1 the singular is employed. In Kenopanisad III. 25 Umā Himavati is mentioned. In V. 158.19, Udyoga 11.12 and Pān. IV. 4 112 Himavat is mentioned and in K. II, 37 46-49 its length is given as 1080 yojanas. It is the Varsaparvata of Bharatavarsa and the other seven chief mountains mentioned in note 1260 are 'Kulaparvatas'. M 117-118 contain fine descriptions of trees, flowers, birds and beasts on it Himālaya occurs in non-vedic works, e. g. Gītā X. 25 Himavat meant the whole mountain range stretching from Assam in the east to the mountains west of Panjab. Mār 51.24 states that Kailāsa and Himavat stretch from east to west and are situated between two seas and that Himavat is to the north of Bharatavarsa (which has seas on south, west, and east) like the string of a bow (Mār 54.59)
- Himavat**—aranya-Devīpurāṇa q by T. K. 244
- Hiranvatī**—(carried a girl to Kosala) Vām. 34 8 (one of seven or nine very holy rivers), 64 11 and 19, 90, 32, Anu 166 25, Udyoga 152. 7 (in Kuru

- Isētra, where Pāṇḍavas pitched their camp), 160.1, Bhī 9.25
- Hiranyabāhu—(The Erannoboas of Greek writers, river Sona). Vide A.I. p. 68. It falls into the Ganges near Bankipore Arrian (A. I. p 186) regards Erannaboas and Sonos as distinct. It was called 'golden armed' probably owing to the colour of the sand in its bed or because particles of gold were found in it
- Hiranyabindu—(on m. Kālāñjara) V. 87 21, Anu. 25.10
- Hiranyadvīpa—(under Narmadā) M. 193 68, P. I 20 66
- Hiranyagarbha—(a lūga under VS) K. I 35.13, L I 92 76, P. I. 37. 16, L q, by T. K. p 48
- Hiranyakṣipulīga—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 43
- Hiranyākṣa—M 22 52 (most efficacious about *dāmas* here)
- Hiranyākṣeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K 47
- Hiranyāsaṅgama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI 135.1
- Hiranyavāha—same as Sona and as Arrian's Erannoboas, which was the third great river, the other two being Indus and Ganges (vide A. G p 452)
- Hiranyavati—(r. on which stood the Sāla grove of the Mallas and the Upavattana of Kusinārā) SBE, vol. XI. p. 85 It is the same as the Gandakī. Vide A. G p 453
- Hlādīnī—(r.) Rām II 71 2 (Bharata coming from Kekaya country crossed it first and then Śatadrū)
- Homatīrtha—(under VS) K. I 35 11
- Hṛīkēśa—(on the Ganges about 24 miles north of Haridvāra) Var 146 63-64 (Viṣṇu is deemed to stay there)
- I
- Iksu—A (r from Himavat) Vā 45. 96 Dey, p 77 identifies it with Oxus. He equates Aśmanvatī (p. 13) and Caksus (p 43) with Oxus Hence such identifications of his cannot be taken seriously; B (r. falling into Narmadā) M 191. 49
- Ikṣumatī—A (r. flowing through Kumaon and Kanoj). From Pān IV. 2. 85-86 (nadyām matup, madhvādibhyaś-ca) it follows that Pāṇini was aware of this river, as 'Ikṣu' is included in the madhvādi-gana) Rām II 68. 17 (going from Ayodhyā one first meets Mālinī, then Gaṅgā at Hāstinapura, then Kurukṣetra and then Ikṣumatī), M 22 17 (favourite of the pitrs and falls into the Ganges), P. V. 11 13; B (r. of the Sindhu-Sauvīra country) V. II. 13. 53-54 (there was Kapila's āśrama on it where the king of Sauvīra came and asked what is most beneficial in this *samsāra* which abounds in pain and sorrow), Bh. V. 10. 1
- Ikṣu—Narmadāsaṅgama—M 191. 49, K. II 41.28, P. I. 18. 47
- Ikṣudā—(r rising in m. Mahendra) M 114 31, Vā 45. 106 (reads Iksulā)
- Ilāspada—P I 26 73
- Ilātīrtha—(under Go) B 108. 1
- Ilalapura—(same as Manimatīpurī) V. 96 4
- Indirā—(r.) Vā 108 79
- Indrabhaja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164 36
- Indradyumnasaras—A (under Puruṣottama, vide pp 694-95, 700 above) B 51 29-30, B V 199 9-11, Ādi 119 50 (beyond even Gandhamādāna, where Pāṇḍu practised *tāpas*)
- Indradyumneśvara—lūga of Mahākāla, SK I 2. 13. 209
- Indragāmatīrtha—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P VI 144 1
- Indrakūla—(m. beyond Gandhamādāna) V 37. 41-42, M 22 53 (sacred to pitrs), NM 1443, Bh, V 19. 16
- Indraloka—(under Badarī) Var 141. 10-13
- Indramārga—Anu 25. 9 and 16, P. I. 27 68
- Indranadī—(r.) Vā 43. 26

- Indrānīrtha**—N. II. 40 93
- Indraprastha**—(the modern village of Indrapat in Delhi District on the Yamunā, Old Delhi) Ādi 217. 27, Mausala 7. 72, Vi, V 38.34 (Yāda Vajra was crowned king here by Arjuna after Kṛṣṇa passed away), P VI 196. 5, 60, 75-76 (it extended up to four yojanas to the south of Yamunā), 200. 5 (it was in Khāṇḍavavāna), Bh X 58.1, XI 30.48, XI 31.25 Indraprastha is only one of five prasthas, the others being Sonapat, Pāṇipāt, Pīlpat and Bāghpat
- Indratīrtha**—(under Go) B 96. 1
- Indratoyā**—(r. on Gandhamādāns) Anu 25. 11
- Indreśvara**—A (under Śrīparvata) L I. 92.152; B (under VS) L q. by T. K. 71
- Irāvati**—(modern Rāvi river in Panjab called Hydroates by Greek writers) Nir IX. 26 notes that the river Parusnī invoked in Rg X 75. 5, was also called Irāvati, VDb.S 85. 49, M 22. 19 (fit for śrāddha), Vā. 45. 95 (rises in Himālaya), Vām. 79. 7.81.1, NM 149 (Irāvati tābhā punyā sarva-kalmasanāśini) The city of Lahore stands on it. The Mbh. (vol I p 382 on Pān. II. 1. 20 cites as examples 'dvīrāvātiko deśah, trīrāvātiko deśah'. Vide under Candrabhāgā.
- Irāvati—nadvalā-sangama**—Vām 79. 51
- Īśānādhyakṣa**—V 84. 8
- Īśāna-linga**—(under VS) L I. 92. 106 and 137 q. by T. K. p. 105
- Īśāna-śikhara**—(under Kedāra) Devī-purāṇa q by T. K. p. 230
- Īśatīrtha**—(under Narmadā) P. I 20. 69
- J
- Jagannātha**—see under Puruṣottama
- Jāhnavi**—(name of Gaṅgā) Vā. 91. 54-58 (story of sage Jahnu), N II 41. 35-36 (Jahnu drank it and let it off through his right ear), Br III. 56. 48 (Jahnu let it off from his belly), III. 66. 28.
- Jahnubhadrā**—N. II. 40. 90
- Jaigīśavyaguhā**—(under VS) L. I. 92. 53
- Jaigīśavyeśvara**—(under VS) L q by T. K. 91
- Jāla**—a Śāltaksetra, acc. to Bār. S. III. 124
- Jalabindu**—(under Kōlāmukha) Var. 140. 16
- Jālandhara**—A (hill) M 13. 46 (Devī was called Viśvamukhī on it), 22. 64 (hill sacred to pitrs), according to Kal chap 18. 51 Devī is called Candī on Jālandhara hill, whereon her breasts fell when Śiva carried her corpse, B (a town on the Sutlej in the Panjab) Vā 104. 80 (Jālandhara pītha seen on the chest of Veda-purusa personified), one of the pīthas of Laṭiā is probably Jālandhara. P VI 4. 19-20, Br. IV. 44. 95 (Jālandhara) Vide A. G. pp 136-139
- Jalesvara**—A (a Śivatīrtha, one of the eight sthānas) M 181. 28 and 30, K II 40. 35, B (under Narmadā) M 186. 15 and 38 (a hrada named Jalesvara), K II. 40. 22, P. I 14. 3. Its utpatti in M 187, C (Jalesvara near Śālagrāma) Var 144. 139-140
- Jalpīśa**—T P pp 602-603 quoting Kōlikāpurāṇa
- Jāmadagnya-tīrtha**—A (where the Narmadā falls into the sea) M 194. 34-35, P I 21. 34-35 (calls it Jamadagnitīrtha), B M 22. 57-58 (on Godāvari, very efficacious for śrāddha).
- Jambīra**—campaka (under Mathurā) Var. q by T. K. p 190
- Jambukeśvara**—(under VS) K I 35. 4, P I. 37. 4, L. I. 92. 107, N. II. 50. 67 (where demon Jambuka was killed by Śiva)
- Jambulā**—(r rising from Rākṣapāda) Vā 45. 100
- Jambūmārga**—A (an āyātana) Devata q. by T. K. 250, V. II. 13. 33 (on the Ganges), Devata q by T. K. p. 250

- separately mentions Jambūmārga and Kālañjara as āyatanas, B (near Kuruksetra) V 82 41-42, 89, 13 (on Asita m), Anu 25 51, 166 24, M. 22 21, Br. III 13 38, C (near Puṣkara) P. I, 12 1-2, Ag 109.9, Vā 77 38.
- Jambūnadi—(rising from Candraprabha lake on slopes of Meru-Mandara peak) Br II. 18 68-69, Bh. V. 16 19
- Janakakūpa—(under Gayā) P I 38 28, V 84 111
- Janakēśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K. 119
- Janasthāna—Vide p 710 above V 147 33, V. 277 42, Sal 39 9 (in Dandakāranya), Vā 88 194, B 88 1 (four yojanas in extent), Rām VI 126 37-39, III 21 20, III 30 5-6
- Janēśvara—(under Narmadā) P I 13. 11 (sacred to pitrs)
- Janmēśvara—M 22 42
- Jāpyēśvara—(or Jāpyēśvara) K. II 43 17-42 (near the sea Nandi performed recitation of three crores of Rudra), Ag 112 4 (under VS)
- Jarāsandheśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 115
- Jatālanda—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150 47 (to the south of Malaya mountain and north of the sea)
- Jātsmarahrada—A (near Kṛṣṇa-Venā) V 85 38, B (uncertain location) V 84. 128, P I 38 45
- Jayanta—M 22, 73, Vām 51 51
- Jayantīkā—Br IV 44. 97 (one of the 50 pītbas sacred to Lalitā)
- Jayapura—(in Kāśmīra, capital of king Jayāpīda, surrounded by water, also called Dvāravatī in imitation of Śrīkṛṣṇa's Dvāravatī) R IV 501-511, K R pp. 13-16, SM pp 197-198 (marked by the present village Andarkot)
- Jayātīrtha—M 22 49
- Jayavana—(modern Zevan in Kāśmīra) R. I 220, Vik 18 70 (1½ gavyūti from Pravarapura) Zevan is mentioned in Ain A (vol II p. 358) as possessing a spring and reservoir considered sacred Taksakanāga is worshipped to this day in the large limpid pool situated close to the village Zevan. Vide A G. pp 101-102 for the situation of Jayavana, under Taksakanāga which is near Zevan
- Jayinī—P I 26, 16 (where there is Somatīrtha)
- Jesthila—(near Campakāranya) V 84. 134
- Jñānatīrtha—(under VS) K I 35.6, P. I 37 6
- Jñānavāpī—SK. IV. 33 (describes the origin and greatness of it), see p. 638 above
- Jvālmukhī—(a Devīsthāna) Devī-Bh. VII. 38 6
- Jvālāsaras—(on Amarakantaka m) Br. III 13 12
- Jvālēśvara—(near Amarakantaka) M 188 80 and 94-95, P I, 15 69, 77, 78 (one of the Tripuras burnt by Śiva fell here) It appears that the reference is to jets of natural gas, which burn when ignited
- Jyestheśvara—(modern Jyethir on the Dal lake near Śrīnagara in Kāśmīra) R. I 113, NM 1323-24. This was a form of Śiva in a temple which was built by king Gopāditya of Kāśmīra Stein in note on R I 113 states that there are three places in Kāśmīra called Jyestheśvara R I 124 says that Jalaula, son of Aśoka, built a shrine of Jyestheśvara, which would be the oldest temple in Kāśmīra
- Jyesthapuṣkara—(on Sarasvatī) V. 200. 66, P V 19. 12, 18, 20 (it is said to be 2½ yojanas long and a half yojana in width)
- Jyesthassthāna—(near Kotitīrtha) V 85 62
- Jyotirathā or—rathiyā—(tributary of Śona) V 85. 8, P. I 39 8
- Jyotismatī—(a tributary of Sarasvatī rising from a lake on Hemakūta) Vā. 47. 63, M 121 65, Br II 18. 66

Jyotsnā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71

K

Kacalūga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 112.

Kadalinadi—(where dāna is most efficacious) M. 22. 52

Kadamba—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149, 52 (where Vṛṇis became purified)

Kadambakhandā—(a kunda under Mathurā) Var. 164. 26

Kadambesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92, 161 (a lūga established by Skanda)

Kādravati—(a holy place for śrāddha, japa, homa etc.) Vā. 77. 82

Kailāpura—(one of the 50 pithas of Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 97

Kailāśaśikhara—(a peak of the Himālaya 22000 feet above sea level, 25 miles to north of Mānasa lake) V. 139, 41 (6 yojanas high), 153. 1, 158, 15-18, M. 121. 2-3; Br. IV. 44. 95 (one of the 50 pithas of Lalitādevī), vide Swami, Pranavānanda's paper in J. U. P. H. S. vol. 19 pp. 168-180 and his book on 'Kailāsa Mānasarovara' and Sven Hedin's 'Trans Himālaya' (1909). Vide Dey pp. 82-83 Whether Kailāsa or the lake Mānasa is the source of four great rivers viz. Satlej, Indus, Brahmaputrā and Karnāl is a moot point

Kākahrada (eminently fit for śrāddha) Br. III. 13. 85

Kākasīlā—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 76, Ag. 116. 4

Kakubha—(a m.) Bh. V. 19. 16

Kakodmatī—(r. rising in Sahya) P. VI. 113. 25 (Koyanā in Satara District) Vide under Kṛṣṇā and TS p. 79. The Koyanā falls into Kṛṣṇā near Karād in Satara

Kālabbhairava—(under VS) L. I. 92, 132

Kālāvanā—western boundary of Āryāvarta acc. to Mbh. vol. I, p.

475 (on Pān. II. 4. 10) and vol. III p. 174 (on Pān. VI. 3. 109). Dr. Agrawala in J. U. P. H. S. vol. 14 part 1, p. 15 says that it was part of Śāketa

Kālakesava—(under VS) K. I. 35. 7

Kālaloti—(in Naimisa forest) V. 95. 3, Br. S. 14. 4

Kālānjara or Kālūjara—A (hill and fort in Bundelkhand) V. 85, 56, 87, 21, Vā. 77. 93, Vām. 84 (temple of Nīlakantha on it), Kālānjara was the capital of the Chandellas, vide E. I. vol. I p. 217, E. I. vol. IV p. 153. For Kālānjaramandala, vide E. I. vol. 19 p. 18 (plate dated *samvat* 893) Ain A. vol. II, p. 159 speaks of it as 'a stone fortress situated on a heaven-reaching hill. It contains many temples and an idol is there called Kālā Bhairava, 18 cubits high, of which marvellous tales are related. Springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks'. Vide I. G. I. vol. VI p. 349; B (as an *Āyatana*) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250, C (under VS) K. II. 36. 11-38 (story of *rājara*: Sveta who constantly muttered Śatarudriya), P. I. 37. 15, D (shrine of Śiva under Go) B. 146, 1 and 43 (also called Yāyāta), E (said to be source of Narmadā called Kālūjari and a Śiva shrine) SK, Kālūkā-khandā q. by T. S. p. 98, F (under Mathurā) Var. 176. 18 (printed as Kālūjara); G R. VII. 1256 (some hill district in Kāśmīra is meant)

Kālānjaraṇa—M. 181. 27 (Kālūjara, a Śiva-tirtha) q. by T. K. p. 241

Kālāpagrāma—(probably near Badarikā) Vā. 91. 7, 99. 437 (Devāpi stays there and will be Kṛtavya-pravartaka when Kalyuga will end), Bh. X. 87. 7.

Kālāpaka—(about 100 yojanas from Kedāra) SK, I. 2. 6. 33-34

Kālāpavana—P. I. 28. 3

- Kalāsāhya-tīrtha—(where Agastya sprang from a jar) N II. 40, 87
- Kālasarpis—(a mahātīrtha of Kāśyapa) K. II 37 34, Vā 77. 87 (very fit for śrāddha), Br III. 13, 98
- Kalāsēvara (under VS) L. q. by T K. p 99, P I. 37. 7
- Kālātīrtha—A (in Kosālā) V. 85 11-12, P I. 39 11 (both have same words), B (under VS) K. I 35 2
- Kalavinka—Anu 25 43
- Kālavimāla—(one of five tirthas in Kāśmīra) HC 4 83
- Kālēśa—(under Gayā) Ag 116 23
- Kālēśvara—A (under VS) L. I 92, 136, L. q. by T. K pp 45, 72, B (under Narmadā) M 191. 85 In Br. IV 44. 97 it is one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā.
- Kālīhrada—(under Śālagrāma) Vār 145 45
- Kālī—A (r flows through Saharanpur District in U P) M. 22 20, Vām 57. 79, this river divides Nepal from Saharanpur, vide I G I vol. XXII p 102; B r. called Kālī Sind which falls into the Chambal
- Kālīkā—(r sacred to pīthas) M. 22.36
- Kālīkā-sangama—V. 84 156, P I 38 63 (same words in both), Ag 109 20
- Kālīkāsāhara—Devipurāna q. by T K. p. 244
- Kālīkāśrama—Anu 25 24 (on Vipāśā) NM 148
- Kālīnadī—(see under Yamunā) P I. 29 I
- Kālīyabrada—(under Mathurā) Var. q by T. K p. 192, T. P p 515
- Kāllokaśvara—(under Narmadā) K. II 41. 88
- Kalmāṣī—(Yamunā) S 78. 16
- Kālōdaka (lake)—A VDh S. 85 35 (acc. to Vajrayantī com.), Anu 25.60, B (lake situated on eastern half of mountain Haramukuta at 13000 feet above sea level) NM 1231-1233
- Kālōdalā—(r. in Kāśmīrā) Anu 25. 60, NM 1545
- Kalpagrāma—(under Mathurā) Var. 166 12 (shrine of Varāha in U. P there), probably modern Kālpī
- Kāma—a Śāltakṣetra, acc to the Bār. S III. 124.
- Kāmadhenupada—(under Gayā) Vā 112 56
- Kāmagiri—(m.) Br IV 39. 105, Bh. V, 19 16, Devī-Bh VIII 11 11.
- Kāmākhyā—A (a Rudratīrtha on Devikā river) V 82, 105, P. I 25.12 (same words in both); B (a Devīsthāna or temple of Tripurabhairavi on the beautiful Nīlācala hill overhanging the Brahmaputrā river) Devī-Bhāgavata VII. 38. 15, Kal. 64 2 (explains the name and the whole chap is mātīrmya) This last is about two miles from Gauhati and was famed even in ancient times; vide TP pp 599-601. Vide Shri B Kakati's paper on the Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā in 'Siddhabhārati' part II pp. 44 ff In Kal 18 42 and 50 it is said that on Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa, the private parts of Satī fell when her corpse was carried by Śiva and Devī is known as Kāmākhyā there
- Kāmakosthaka (Kāmakoti)—Pītha of Tripurasundarī—Kāmāksī, Br IV. 5 6-10, IV. 40 16 (in Kāñcī), IV. 44.94 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā), Bh X 79. 14 (Kāmakosīm purīm Kāñcim)
- Kāmāksī—(in Abhicchatra) a Devīsthāna established by Sumada, P. IV 12 54-60
- Kāmāksī—(in the east) N II 69 (for mātīrmya)
- Kāmālāksa—(here Devī is called Mahotpalā) M 13 34
- Kāmālālaya—M 13 32 (here Devī is called Kāmālā)
- Kāmatīrtha—(under south bank of Narmadā) K II. 41 55, G. I 81. 9.

- Kambalāśvatarau Nāgau—A (under Prayāga) M 106 27, 110, 8, K. I. 37. 19 (on south bank of Yamunā), Ag. 111. 5; B two Nāgas (i.e. springs or pools) in Kāśmīra, NM 1052
- Kambalāśvatarākṣa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 102
- Kamboṭikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18, 60
- Kambutīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 136, 1
- Kāmeśvara-linga—(under VS) Sk IV 33, 122
- kāmeśvarīpītha—(Kal. 84 describes the yātrā)
- kāmīka—(where Gandakī river joins Devikā) Var. 144. 84-85
- kāmodāpura—(on the Ganges) N. II. 68 (contains kāmodāmāhātmya). Four maidens arose at the churning of the ocean viz Rāmā, Vārūnī, kāmodā and Varā, of whom Viṣṇu accepted three and Vārūnī was taken away by the asuras, chap 68 18, It is 10 yojanas above Gangādvāra
- kampanā (r.)—V. 84 115-116, Bhī 9. 25
- Kāmyaka—āśrama (of the Pāṇḍavas) V. 146.6
- kāmyaka-sarna—S 52, 20
- kāmyakavanar—A (on the banks of the Sarasvatī) V 36 41 (where Pāṇḍavas went from Dvāpavāsa), Vām 41. 30-31; B (under Mathurā) 4th out of the 12 vanas
- Kanādeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92
- Kanakā—(r. under Gayā) Vā 108 80
- Kanaka—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. 189
- kanakanandā—(a river to the north of Munda-prsthā at Gayā) N II. 44 62, Vā 77 105 (Kanakanandī), h II. 37 41-43 (reads Brahmaprsthā)
- Kanakavāhinī (r. in Kāśmīra now called Kankana flowing past Buthser i.e. Bhūteśvara) NM 1445, R. I. 149-150 (flows into river Sind). See SM. P 211 NM (1539-42) says that the confluence of Sindhu and Kanakavāhinī is equal to VS
- Kanakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 104
- Kanakhala—A (on the Ganges about two miles from Haridvāra) V 84 30, Anu 25.13, V Dh S 85 14, K II 37 10-11, SK I 1 2 11 (where Rudra destroyed Dakṣayajña), Vā 83 21, Vām. 4.57, vide T. P. p. 377, B (under Gayā between Uttara and Dakṣina Mānasa) Vā 111 7, Ag. 115 23, N. II 46 46, C (under Narmadā) M 183 69, P. I. 20 67 (where Garuda practised tapas), D (under Mathurā) Var 152 40-49 (where a barber Kāmpīya in Pāñcāla country bathed in Yamunā and was born as a brāhmana)
- Kāñcanāśī—(r. near Naimisa forest) Vām 83 2
- Kāñci or Kāñcīpuri—vide pp 711-712 above A—one of the seven holy cities, capital of the Colas and a Devisthāna called Annapūrnā P VI. 110.3, Devī-Bh. VII 38 8, Br IV, 5 6-10 and IV, 39 15, Bh X 79 14, Vā 104 76, P IV 17.67, Bār S III 124 (a Śākta-ksetra). In a new Inscription of Jayavarman I from Cambodia a king of Kāñci appears to be referred to (vide 'Inscriptions du Cambodge' edited by G. Coedès, vol I p. 8 'adharmikajana—dhvāntam navoditavivasatā' ākāñcīpura-orpa (rest lost); B (under Narmadā, P. I 17.8
- Kāñtīpuri—vide p 678 note 1535 above. It may be noted that the text of the Ain A had Kāñtī. Vide Ain A vol. III p 305 n 4, SK IV. 7. 100-102, Māheśvarī Khanda, sub section Kedāra, 27 33 (the luga Alālanātha therein) Kāñtīpuri in the Mirzapur District was the capital of the Bhāraṣyas. Jayaswal in 'History of India' (150-350 A.D.) p 123 quotes as from Vi. the passage

'Navanāgāh Padmāvatyām Kāntipurām Mathurāyām. bhoksyanti'. The Venk ed. of V₁ omits the words 'Kāntipurām Mathurāyām' and Dr Hall in Wilson's translation, vol IV p 217 notes that one of his best mss does the same. Kāntipurī occurs in Br. III. 13 94-95.

Kanvāśrama—A (on the river Mālīnī in the Saharanpur District) V 82 45, 88. 11, V Dh S 85 30, Ag 109 10. In the Śākuntala Act I Kanvāśrama is said to be along the bank of the Mālīnī, in Śat. Br 13 5 4 13 we read 'Śakuntalā Nādapityapsarā Bharatam dadhe,' on which the commentator Harisvāmin states that Nādapit was the name of Kanva's āśrama, B on Carmanvatī, four miles south-east of Kotā in Rajputana Vide Dey p. 89

Kanyā (on the southern sea, same as Kumārī, Cape Comorin) Bh X 79. 17 (Kanyābhyām Durgādevīm dadarsa sah), see under Kumārī

Kanyābrada—Anu 25.53

Kānyakubja—(one of the 50 pīthas of Laṭṭā) Br IV 44. 94, V 87 17 (where Viśvāmītra drank soma with Indra), M 13 29 (Devī is called Gaurī in Kānyakubja i.e. Kanoj), Anu 4.17, P V 35 (Rāma established image of Vāmana here on the southern bank of river Kālīnadī which ultimately falls into the Ganges), P. VI 129 9 The Mbh (vol II p 233 on Pān IV 1.79) mentions Kānyakubjī Rām I. 32 6 says Mahodaya was founded by Kuśanābha, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā The A C p 182 states that Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kanyākubja, Gādhapura are synonyms (verses 973-74). Vide under Mahodaya and A G pp 376-382; Ptolemy mentions it (p 134) as Kanagora and Kanogiza.

Kanyākūpa—Anu 25 19

Kanyā—samvedya—V. 84 136, P. I. 38. 52

Kanyāśrama—V. 83 189, P. I. 12 5, 27 75, 39 35.

Kanyātīrtha—A (near the sea) V. 83. 112, 85 23, K II. 44 9, P. I. 39 21, B (under Narmadā) M 193 76, K II 42 21, C (in Naimisa forest) V 95. 3, P. I 27 1

Kapālamocanātīrtha—A (in VS) V. 83 137, SK IV. 33 116, N II 29. 38-60 (Śiva cut off one of Brahmā's head, which stuck to his hand from which he became free at this tīrtha), Śal 39, 8, M. 183 84-103, Vām 3. 48-51, Var. 97 24-26, P V 14. 185-189, K I 35 15 (same story in these five purāṇas); B (on Sarasvatī, otherwise called Ausānasa) Vām. 39.5-14 (where sage Rahodara got rid of the head of a rākṣasa sticking to his neck and killed by Rāma), Śal 39 9-22 (same story of Rahodara), vide ASR of India vol. XIV pp 75-76 for the situation of this (10 miles to the south-east of Sadhora), legend of Śiva being freed from sin of cutting Brahmā's head and description, C (under Avantī) N II 78.6, D (in Kāśmīra, modern Degām in Śūpiyan pargana) R VII 266 (and Stein's n), HC X 249, XIV 111, E (in Māyāpura i.e. Haridvāra) P VI 129 28

Kapāleśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 58

Kapardīśvara (one of the gubya lingas in VS) K I. 32.12, I 33 4-11 and 28-49, P I. 35 1

Kapatesvara (on the southern side of the Kāśmīra valley close to modern Kothera) R I 32, HC XIV 34 and 135, NM 1178, 1202, 1329-1357 (legend how Śiva shows himself in the disguise of a piece of wood); SM pp. 178-179, Ain A vol II p 358 says 'in the valley of Kothhar

- is a deep spring...when its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandalwood appears'
- Kāpila** (under VS) K I, 35 9
- Kapilā**—A (a stream under Gayā) Vā 108.57-58, Ag 116 5; B (river on the south side of Narmadā) M 186.40, 190.10, K. II 40 24, P I, 13 35 (same verse in last two). It joins Narmadā at Barwani in Central India
- Kapiladhārā**—Vām, 84 24 Dey p 4 (under Amarakantaka) says that the first fall of the Narmadā from Amarakantaka is called Kapiladhārā in Shandapurāna
- Kāpiladvīpa**—(Ananta is Vismu'sgnhya name there) Nr 65 7 q. by TK p. 251 (which reads 'Anantam kapilam dvīpe')
- Kapilabhrada** (under VS) V 84 78, N II. 50 46, P I 32 41, L I. 92 69-70, N. II. 66 35 mentions under Handvāra a tirtha of that name
- Kapilānāgarāja**—V 84 32, P. I 28.32 (same verse in both)
- Kapilāsāṅgama**—A (with Narmadā) M. 186 40, P. II 18 1, VI 242, 42, B (under Go.) B 141 1 and 28-29
- Kapilātirtha**—A (under Viraja in Orissa) B 42 6, B (on north bank of Narmadā) M 193.4, K II 41. 93-100, P I 17 7, V 83.47, T. S p. 100, C (on the south bank of Go.) B 155 1-2 (also called Āṅgurasa, Āditya and Saimbikēya).
- Kapilātirtha**—(under Kapatesvara in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 113
- Kapilāvata**—(near Nāgatirtha and Kanakhala) V 84 31, P. I. 28. 31
- Kapilśahnga**—(under VS) SK IV 33. 158
- Kapatesvara-linga**—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K pp 57, 107; B (under Narmadā) P II, 83 26
- Kāpisi**—(r. in Utkala & Orissa) Raghu. IV. 38. May be identified with Kasai flowing through Midnapur.
- Kāpisi**—(r.) Pān. IV. 2.99 mentions it; it is the Kapisene of Greek writers.
- Kāpota**—(under Go.) B 80. 5 and 92
- Kāpotalatirtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 155. 1 (here the r. turns to the east).
- Kapotesvara**—(under Śrīparvata) L. I 92 156
- Karahātala**—(modern Karad in the Satara District on the confluence of the Krmā and the Koyanā) S 31. 70, Vik 8 2 It is mentioned in inscriptions from about 200 B. C. Vide Cunningham's 'Bharhut stūpa' p 131 for a donation of the guild of Karahātala, pp 135 and 136 for gift of pillars by certain inhabitants of Karahātala Coins of the Ksatrapas ruling up to 300 A. D. were found at Karad Vide Bom G. vol I part 1 p 58; and Talegaon copperplates of Rāstrakūta Kṛnarāja I dated *śaka* 690 (768 A.D.) in E. I. vol XIII p. 275
- Kārandhama** (on the south sea) Ādi 216 3
- Karāñjatirtha** (under Narmadā) M. 190 11
- Kārantuka** (under Kuruksetra) Vām 22 60, Vide p. 683 above
- Kārapacava** (on the Yamunā) Pañcavimśa Br. 25 10.23, Āśv Sr XII 6, Kātyāyana Śr S. 24.6 10
- Karapāda** (shrine of Śiva) Vām q by TK p. 235
- Kārapavana** (near source of Sarasvatī) Śal. 54 12 and 13
- Karatoyā** (r. flowing through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra in Bengal and being the western boundary of Kāmarūpa) V 85 3, S. 9 22, Anu. 25 12 The Amarakośa says that Karatoyā and Sadānirā are synonyms Acc to Mār 54 25 it rises in the Vindhya, while Vā 45 100 says it rises in Rāsapāda In Sm. C I. p. 132 the

mantra in invoking the river begins 'Karatoye Sadānīre' (thus identifying the two)

Kāravatī (a place fit for śrāddha) Br. III 13 92

Karavīra—A (modern Kolhapur) M. 13.41 (*Karavīre Mahālakṣmī*) = P. V. 17 205, M 22 76, Anu 25 44, P VI 108 3, L I vol III p 207, 210, a grant of Śilāditya Vyayāditya of *śake* 1065 mentions Kṣullakapura which appears to be meant for Kolhapura. It occurs as Kollāpura in Miraj plates of Jayasimba II (a Cālukya) in 1024 A D (E I vol XII p 303, 306) Vide I A vol 29 p. 280 for the spelling of the name, B (capital of Brahmāvarta on Drśadvatī) Kāhāpurāna 49.71, NM 147, C (city in Sahya near Gomanta hill) Harivamśa (Viṣṇuparva) 39 50-64

Karavīraka-tīrtha—A (under VS) L. q by T K p 70, B (under Kubjāmraha) Var. 126 48-51

Kardamāla—A (under Gayā) M 22 77, Ag 116 13, N II 60 24, B (under Sābhramatī) P VI 165 7 and 10

Kardamāśrama—(near Bindusaras) Bh III. 21. 35-37

kardamila—V 135 1 (where Bharata was crowned).

Karkandha—Vām 51 52

karkotalakṣvara—(under Narmadā) M 191 36

Karmāvarohana—(under Maṭhūrā) Var q by TK p 190

Karmesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L I. 92 152

Karmābrada—(near Gaṅgāsarasvatī-sangama) P I 32 4

Karnaprayāga—Vide under Alakānandā and U. P Gazetteer, vol. 36 (for Garhwal) p 172

kartīkeya—A (Devī is called Yaśaskarī here) M 13 45, B (under Go) B 81, 1, G I 81. 9

kārtīkeya-kunda—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151 61

Kārtīkeyapada—(in Gayā) Vā 109. 19, 111. 54

Kāśī—Vide pp. 618-642 above It is probably the Kassida of Ptolemy (p. 228). AC (p 182) notes that Kāśī Varānāsī, Vārānāsī and Śivapurī are synonyms (verse 974)

Kāśmīra-mandala—The ancient name seems to have been Kāśmīra. The Mbh (vol II p. 119) on Pān III. 2 114 employs this form (ābhijānāsī Devadatta Kāśmīrān gamīsyāmah) Kāśmīra as the name of a country occurs in the Sindhvādigaṇa (Pān. IV. 3. 93). In NM the country is called Kāśmīra in many verses such as 5, 11, 43, 50, but sometimes Kāśmīra also Later works also like H. C 14 45 employ the form Kāśmīra, the Vik (18 1 and 18) uses the form Kāśmīra. NM (292-93) derives the name from *ka* meaning water (lam vārī Harinā yasmād-deśād-asmād-apālitam | Kāśmīrākhyam tato hyasya nāma loke bhāṣyati ||) Ptolemy speaks of it as Kasperia and states that the country was situated below the sources of Bidaspes (Vitastā), Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and Adris (Irāvātī) Vide Ptolemy pp 108-109 and NM 43. The Vanaparva speaks of the whole country of Kāśmīra as holy (130 10) An. A. (vol II p. 354) notes that the whole of Kāśmīra is regarded as holy ground Vide also V 82. 90, S 27 17, Anu 25. 8 According to a treaty in 1846 with the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu the territories of the Maharaja are 'situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Rāvi' I G I vol. XV p 72. The Kashmir valley is approximately 84 miles in length and 20 to 25 miles in breadth (I. G I vol XV p 74) Stein (SM p 63) says that its extent is confined to the great valley drained

by the head waters of the Vitastā and to the minor slopes of mountains that surround it. Hiouen Tshang (Beal's B R W W vol 1. p 148) states that 'Kāśmīra kingdom is about 7000 *li* (one *li* being equal to about 5½ miles), that as the country is protected by a dragon it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people, that they love learning and are well instructed and that (p. 149) the country was once a dragon lake and that afterwards it became dry'. The words of Hiouen Tshang refer to an ancient legend according to which Kashmīr was originally a lake (called Satīśaras) 6 yojanas long and 3 yojanas wide and later became Satīdeśa (NM 64-66), that Umā herself is the country of Kāśmīra (NM 31), that the divine Vitastā rising in the Himālayas is like the *śmānta* (line parting the hair) of this holy land (NM 45). The legend runs that Viṣṇu conferred a boon on Vāsuki-nāga who prayed to Viṣṇu when Garuda began to devour all nāgas that he should stay in the Satīdeśa along with the other nāgas, that no enemy would kill any nāga (NM 105-107) and that Nīla was made king of nāgas in the Satīdeśa (NM 110). The residence of Nīla is the famous fountain near the village of Vērnāg in the Shahabād *pargana*. A certain demon called Jalodbhava grew in the Satī lake and killed men (NM 111-123 and Vām. 81 30-33). Nīla approached the sage Kāśyapa the father of all Nāgas, at whose intercession Viṣṇu asked Anantanāga to pierce the hills and make the lake dry and then killed the demon Jalodbhava (R I 25). Then Viṣṇu asked the Nāgas to live in peace and harmony with men. Satī became the river Vitastā. Vide Kūrma II. 43 4. Nāga in Kashmīr means the tutelary

deity presiding over the several holy springs, pools and lakes in which Kāśmīra abounds. Both NM (1130-31) and R (I 38) state that there is not a spot in Kāśmīra even as small as a grain of sesamum which is not a tirtha and has not a nāga as its presiding deity. In Ana A (vol II p 354) Abul Fazl notes that there were in his day 45 shrines of Mahādeva, 64 of Viṣṇu, 3 of Brahmā and 22 of Durgā and that in 700 places there were graven images of snakes which were worshipped and about which wonderful stories were told. R (I 72) and NM (313-314) say that the country of Kāśmīra is Pārvatī, that the king thereof should be deemed to be a part of Śiva and that none who desires prosperity should disobey (or disrespect) the king. R (I. 42) summarises in one verse the peculiar features of Kāśmīra viz 'learning, lofty dwellings, saffron, water containing ice and grapes, these are common here, although rare in the three worlds'.

Kāśyapapada—(under Gayā) VĀ 109, 18, 111 49 and 58

Kāśyapatīrtha—A (called Kālasarpik) VĀ 77 87, Br. III 13 98, B (under Sābhrawatī) P VI. 157 1

Kāśyapeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 75

Katheśvara—(near Candrabhāgā) M. 191. 63-64

Kātyāyaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 120

Kauberā—one of the Sārasvatīrthas, Devala q. by T. K. p 250

Kauberatīrtha—Śat 47 25 (where Kubera secured the lordship of wealth)

Kaumārātīrtha—(a lake) Br. III. 13. 86

Kaunata—Vām 51 53

- Kaundinyasaras—(Kramasāra is so K called in Kāsmīra) NM 1481-1483
- Kauśāmbi—(modern Kosam, about 30 miles to the west of Allahabad on the Jumūā), Rām I 32, 6 states that it was founded by Kuśāmba, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā, T K p. 246 The Mbh. mentions it several times (vide vol III pp 50, 134 on Pān, VI, 1 31 and VI 2 130) Vide AG pp 391-398 and under Hastinā-pura A. C. (p. 182) says it is the capital of the Vatsa country Vide 'Early History of Kauśāmbi' by Nagendranath Ghosh The Kauśāmbi Pillar edict of Aśoka (C. I I vol 1 p 159) mentions the mahā-mātras of this city In JRAS for 1898 pp 503-519 Vincent Smith disputes the identification of modern Kosam with Kauśāmbi. Vide E. I vol XI p 141 on different views about the location of Kauśāmbi
- Kauśikabrada—(on r Kauśikī) V 84 142-143, P I 38 58 (where Viśvāmitra obtained the highest *siddhi*)
- Kauśikī—A (r from Himālaya, modern Kusi) Ādi 215 7, V 84 132, M 22 63, 114 22, Rām I. 34, 7-9, Bh IX 15. 5-12 (Satyavatī, daughter of Gādhi, became r Kauśikī), Vām 54 22-24 (so called because it was the dark *kośa* of Kālī cast off by her when she became fair), 78 5, 90 2, Vā 45 94, 91 85-88. This river was called Pārā by Viśvāmitra (Ādi 71 30-32), B (under Gayā) V. 87. 13, Vā 108 81 (Kauśikī brahmadā jyesthā) Here brahmadā is apparently an adjective of Kauśikī and not the name of another river as Prof Dikṣitar (Purāna Index, vol. II, p 507) thinks
- Kauśikī—Kokā-saṅgama—Var 140 75-78
- auśikī-mahā-brada—Vā 77. 101, Br. III. 13. 109
- Kauśikī—saṅgama (with Drsadvatī) P. I. 26 89, Vām 34. 18 This seems to be another Kauśikī apart from the two mentioned above
- Kauśikī-tīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194 40
- Kauśikīyārūṇā—saṅgama—V. 84 156, P I 38 63
- Kaustubheśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K 60
- Kāverī—A (r in south India rising in Sahya m.) V 85 22, Anu 166 20, Vā 45 104, 77. 28, M. 22 64, K, II 37 16-19, P. I. 39 20, P. VI. 224. 3, 4 and 19 (is called Marudvrdhā), Nr 66, 7 (says that Kāverī is Dalsana-Gaṅgā), there is a fine description of it in the Tamil epic Śilappadikāram (X 102 ff, pp 160 ff of Prof Dikṣitar's translation), B (a r rising in the Rajpipla hills and falling into Narmadā on its northern bank opposite Śulla-tīrtha) M 189 12-14, K, II 40, 40, P. I. 16 6-11 (Kūbera got *yakṣādhipatya* here), Ag. 113 3
- Kāverīsaṅgama—(with Narmadā) Ag. 113 3 and vide under B above.
- Kāyāsodhana—V 88 42-43
- Kāyāvarohana—A (modern Kārvān, 15 miles south of Baroda and in the Dabhoi Taluka) Vā 23 221-222 (here Nakulī or Lakulī, the founder of Pāśupata doctrines, flourished), M 22.30, K, II 44 7-8 (state that this was a shrine of Mahādeva and the doctrines of Mahēśvara were promulgated here). E. I. vol XXI pp. 1-7 (Mathurā Inscription of Candragupta II dated in Gupta year 61 i.e. 380 A D shows that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the 2nd century A D. B (a Śivatīrtha in Benares) M. 181 26. In M 13 48 Devī is said to be styled Mātā in Kāyāvarohana)

- Kedāra**—A (one of the eight Śivātirthas in Benares) V. 87. 25, M 181. 29, K I. 35. 12 and II 20. 34 (a very fit place for śrāddha), Ag. 112. 5, L. I. 92. 7 and 134. B (in Tehri: Gadhwal and called Kedāranātha) VDb S 85. 17; it is 11750 ft. above sea level, there are five Kedāras, viz. Kedāranātha, Tunganātha, Rudranātha, Madhyameśvara and Kalpeśvara Vide U. P. Gazetteer, vol 36 p 173 (for Garhwal), C (in Kāśmīra) HC 8. 69 (one krośa below Vijayeśvara), D (under Gayā) N. II 46. 46, E (of Kapīsthala) P I. 26. 69.
- Keśava**—A (in Benares) M. 185. 68, B (under Mathurā) Var 163. 63
- Keśinīrtha**—(under Narmadā) P. I 21. 40
- Kesitīrtha**—(under Ganges) TP p 515
- Ketakīvana**—Vide under Vaidyanātha.
- Ketumālā**—(r. in the west) V. 89. 15
- Khadgadharīrtha** or **Khadgadhareśvara**—P VI 147. 1 and 67. Vide Bom G vol. IV p. 6 for description
- Khadgapuccanāga**—(in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 251 (about 1½ krośa above Vijayeśvarakesetra, now called Khanbal in Anantanāg pargana)
- Khadgatīrtha**—A (under Sābhramatī) P VI 140. 1, B (under Go.) B 139. 1 (on the northern bank)
- Khadiravana**—(under Mathurā) Var. 153. 39 (7th vana out of 12)
- Khandatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 137. 12 (also called Vrsatīrtha)
- Khāndava** (vana)—boundary of Kurukṣetra in Tas Ā V 1. 1. Vide above p. 681. The name occurs in Tāndya Brāhmana 25. 3. 6, Ādi 223-225. Bh I 15. 8, X 58. 25-27, X 71. 45-46, P. VI. 200. 5
- Khāndavaprastha**—(a city) Ādi 61. 35, 221. 15, Bh X 73. 32 (where Kṛṣṇa, Bhīma and Arjuna returned after destroying Jarāśandha)
- Khatvāṅgeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T K 56
- Khonamusa**—(in Kāśmīra) Birth place of poet Bilhana and famous for saffron cultivation Vb I 72, XVIII. 71 (reads Khonamulka), SM p 166 (modern Khonamoh, which has two hamlets).
- Kikilēśa**—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 31.
- Kimdatta**—Kūpa-V 83. 98
- Kimsukavana**—Vā 38. 27-32 (between Vasudhāra and Ratnadhāra)
- Kimsulūka**—name of a m acc to Pān. VI. 3. 117 (vanagurjoh sañjñānam kotara-kimsulūkaśāśinām) The Kāśikā mentions five forests (including Kotaravana) and six girs (including Kimsulūka), which cannot be identified with certainty.
- Kimyañā**—P. I 26. 74.
- Kindāna**—P I. 26. 74, V 83. 79
- Kinkinikāśrama**—Anu 25. 23
- Kiranā**—(r.) Vām. 84. 5 Vide p 636
- Kiraneśvara-lāga**—(under VS) SK IV 33. 155
- Kishindhā**—(about two miles from late Pampā to the north-east) V 280. 16, Rām IV 9. 5, IV. 14. 1 & Mbh. (vol III. p 96) on Pān VI 1. 157 mentions 'Kishindhā-guhā' The word occurs in the Sindhvādī gana (Pān IV. 3. 93) It is identified with modern Vijayanagar and Anegundi Vide I G I vol. XIII p 235 Br S 14. 10 calls Kishindhā a country in south-east.
- Kishindhaguhā**—Vā 54. 116 (probably the same as Kishindhā)
- Kishindhapārvata**—M 13. 46 (Devī is called Tārā on that m.)
- Kolā**—(r.) Var 214. 45, B 219. 20
- Kolāmukha**—(or Varāhakesra, on the Trivenī above Nāthapura in Purnea District) V 84. 158, Anu. 25. 52, Var. 122 (is Kolāmukha-māhātmya), 123. 2, 140. 10-13 (q by T. K pp 213-214), B 219. 8-10 (gods asked a damsel 'Kūśa bhadre prabhuḥ ko vā bhavatyāh'), K. I. 31. 47, II. 35. 36

- (it is a Visnutīrtha), P. I. 38.65; Var. (140.60-84) says that the kṣetra is five yojanas in extent and that there is an image of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation Vide E I vol. 15 pp. 138-139 for an Inscription of Budhagupta recording the installation of Kōkāmukhasvāmīn, and Dr B. C. Law Presentation Volume I pp 189-191, I H. Q. vol. XXI p. 56
- Kokila—(under VS) P. I. 37 16, P V 11. 10
- Kolāhala—(a m.) Vā. 45 90, 106. 45, Br. II 16 21, Mār. 34 12, Vi. III 18. 73; same as Brahmayoni hill according to Dr. Mitra. Vide pp. 646. 656 above. According to the Ādi. 63. 35 it is in Cedi country and barred the flow of river Śuktimatī
- Kolāpura—(modern Kolhāpur, one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII 38. 5, P. VI. 176. 42 (where there is a shrine of Lakṣmī), 182. 1 (astī Kolhāpuram nāma nagaram Dakṣiṇā-pathe) and 11. Acc. to Br. IV. 44. 97, it is sacred to Lalitā. In a grant of Śīlābhāra Vijayāditya of śaka 1065 (1143 A.D.) occurs the word Kullalāpura, which is another name of Kolhapur; E. I. vol. III. p. 207 at pp. 209-210. The grantor is described as 'one who has obtained the favour of a boon from goddess Mahālakṣmī'. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I of śaka 793 (871 A.D.) it is stated that the king, in order to ward off some public calamity, cut off his left finger and dedicated it to goddess Mahālakṣmī (E I vol. 18. p. 235 at p. 241). This Mahālakṣmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur. Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for Kollāpura.
- Kolla—a Śāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124
- Kollaguri—Ag. 110 21, Bh. V. 19. 16
- Konārka or Konāditya—(in Oḍra i. e. Orissa, about 24 miles north-west of Jagannātha Purī). It means 'the sun of Kona'. Konālona appears to have been the ancient name. It is a most exquisite memorial of sun-worship. It contains magnificent ruins of a temple of the Sun, which was built by the Gaṅga king Narasimhadeva (1238-1264 A.D.). It is a glorious and most beautiful example of north Indian Hindu architecture ever erected. It had a tower over 180 feet in height and a porch (*mandapa*) in front of 140 feet high. See Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol II pp. 145-156 and Hunter's 'Orissa' vol I p. 238 and 'Sungod of Konārka unearthed' (with illustrations) in *Modern Review* for 1945 pp 67-72 The Sun temple shows some of the finest animal sculptures executed in India. Vide B. 28, verses 2, 9, 11, 47, 63 and 29.1 and T. C. pp. 180 ff. It is probably the Kannagara of Ptolemy (vide Ptolemy p 70)
- Kosālā—(r. near Ayodhyā) P. I. 39. 11, VI 205 13, 207. 35-36, 208. 27. In a grant of Vākātaka king Narendrasena he is praised as honoured by the kings of Kosālā (Kosala), Mekala and Mālava. Vide E. I. vol. IX p. 271.
- Kotarā-tīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 152.2 and 13 (associated with Anuruddha for whom Kṛṣṇa fought with Bānāsura)
- Kotarā-vana—named by Pān. VI. 3 117 and VIII 4 4 Vide under Kimsuluka and Pān VIII. 4. 4 for the names of five *vanas*.
- Kotkeśvara—(under Narmadā) P I. 18.36
- Koṭīśvara—A (under VS) L q. by T.K. 54. B (under Śrīparvata) L I 92. 157, C(under Pañcanada) Vām 34.29, is it the Koṭīśvara, which is a famous place of pilgrimage on the western shore of Kachh, Close to the Indus and the ocean? A. G. pp 303-4 and Bom. G. vol. V. pp. 229-231
- H. D. 97

- Koūtīrtha—A (near Prthūdaka) Vām. 51 53, 84. 11-15 (where Śiva assumed one crore of forms for crores of sages eager to see Śiva); B (near Bhartṛsthāna) V. 55. 61; C (under Prayāga) M 106 44, D (under Mathurā) Var 152. 62, 154. 29, E (under Narmadā) M. 191 7, K II 41. 34, P I 13 33 and 18 8 (a crore of asuras were killed there); F (on south bank of Go) B 148. 1, G (near Gaṅgādvāra) V. 83 49, V. 84. 77, N II 66 29, H (under Gayā) Ag 116 6, I (in Pañcanada) P I 26. 14, Vām 34. 28 (so called because Hara collected there the waters of crores of tirthas) J (in Kāśmīra near Bāramūla, modern Kotisar) K R. p. 12
- Kotivata—(under Kōkāmūlha) Var. 140. 47-50, 147 40
- Kramasāra—(a lake in Kāśmīra, called Viṣṇupada also) NM 1481-82
- Kratutīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I. 21 9
- Krauñcapāda—(under Gayā) Vā 108 75-77 (a sage in the form of Krauñca bird practised *tāpas* on it), N II 46 52, Ag 116 7
- Krauñcapadī—Anu. 25. 42
- Krauñcaparvata—(part of Kailāsa on which Mānasa lake is situated) Tai. Ā. I. 31. 2 mentions this m. (Sudarsane ca Krauñce ca Maināge ca mahāgīrau), Rām IV 43. 26-31, Bhī. 111. 47 (pierced by the missile of Skanda), Śal 17 51, and 46 83-84.
- Krauñcāranya—(three krosas from Janasthāna) Rām III 69. 5-8
- Kriyā (r. rising from R̥savatī) Br. II. 16. 29
- Kṛbalāsātīrtha—(also called Nrgatīrtha) T. P. p. 543. Anu. 6. 38 and chap. 70, Rām (VII. 53) narrates how King Nrga became a chameleon.
- Kṛmicandēśvara—(one of the eight Śivasthānas in Banaras) M. 181. 29
- Kṛśodaka—Var. 215. 87-88
- Kṛpā—(r. rising in m. Suktimat) M. 114. 32, Br. II. 16. 38
- Kṛpātīrtha—(on hill Mundapṛstha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1253, 1460
- Kṛsnā—A (r. rising in Sahya at Mahābalesvara) B 77 5, P. VI. 113 25, Vām. 13 30, B Vām 78. 7, 90, 2 (Viṣṇu as Hayaśīra on the river); compared to its length and modern importance the river Kṛsnā is rarely mentioned as Kṛsnā, but generally as Kṛṣṇa-Venā or-Venā It is the third largest river of the Deccan and southern India, the other two being the Godāvari and the Kāverī In the Mahābalesvara *mahātmya* (JBBRAS vol. X, at p. 16 five rivers called Gangā are said to rise from the top of Sahya near Mahābalesvara viz. Kṛsnā, Venā, Kākudmatī (Koyṇā), Sāvitrī (that falls into the Arabian sea near Bāṅkor) and Gāyatrī (supposed to combine with Sāvitrī).
- Kṛṣṇa gaṅgā—(under Mathurā) Var. 175. 3
- Kṛṣṇagabgodbhavatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 176 43 (the whole chap. deals with its *mahātmya*).
- Kṛṣṇagiri—(m.) Vā 45 91, Br II. 16, 22
- Kṛṣṇatīrtha—(near Kuruksetra) Vām. 81. 9
- Kṛṣṇa-Venā—Bhī. 9. 16, M 22, 45, Ag. 118. 7, B 27. 35, Vā 45. 104, occurs in Emperor Khāravēla's inscription in E. I. vol XX at p. 77 as Kanhabemā The Anu 166, 22 mentions Venā and Kṛṣṇa-Venā separately. In the Alas plate of Rāstrakūta Govind II dated *śaka* 692 (769 A D.) the confluence of Kṛṣṇavernā and Musī is referred to (E I vol. VI. 205).
- Kṛṣṇa-Venā—(as one river and same as above) P. VI. 108. 27 (confluence of Kṛsnā and Venā), VI. 113 3 and 25 (Kṛsnā is the body of Kṛṣṇa), Sm. C I p 132 gives a mantra for the bath in Kṛsnā-Venā Vide. TS pp. 67-83, of which p. 70 states that all

- rivers rising from Sahya destroy sins the moment they are remembered and that Kṛṣṇa-Venā is the best of all such rivers. Māhuk about four miles from Satara is at the confluence of Kṛṣṇā and Yennā (which stands for Venyā).
- Kṛṣṇa-Venī—(same as above two) M. 114. 29, Rām V 41. 9 In T. S. pp. 67-83 there is a *māhātmya* of Kṛṣṇavenī from SK.
- Kṛtāmālā—(r. rising in Malaya) Vā 45 105, B 27 36, M 114 30, Br. III. 35 17, Bh VIII 24 12, X 79. 16, XI 5. 39, Vi II 3. 13. Dey p. 104 says that it is the river Vaiga on which Madurā is situated. See under Payasvinī. The Bhāgavata says Manu practised penance on this river and helped the fish (avatāra) to grow
- Kṛtāsaucā—M. 13. 45, 179. 87, Vām. 90. 5 (has an image of Nṛsiṃha), P VI. 280 18
- Kṛtikāṅgārālā—Anu. 25. 22
- Kṛtikāśrama—Anu 25. 25
- Kṛtikātīrtha—(under Go.) B 82 1
- Kṛtīvāsā—(under VS) L q. by T. K p. 40
- Kṛtīvāsasvarālūga—(in VS) K I. 32. 12 (verses 16-18 explain why it is so called), P. I 34 10, N. II 49. 6-9 (different names in different yugas, this being the one in Tretā yuga)
- Kṛmū—(r.) Rg. V 53 9 and X. 75 6. It is generally held to be modern Kurram that falls into the Indus on its western side near Isakhel. Vide Dey p. 105 for other views
- Kṛmā—(r. rising from Rāvāt) M. 114. 25
- Kṛṣṇesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K 117
- Kṣiprā—(r. rising in Vindhya m.) M. 114 27, Vām. 83 18-19 Some printed works write it as Śiprā (Vāyu 45. 98) or Śiprā The printed Matsya says that Kṣiprā rises from Vindhya, while in 114. 24 it mentions Śiprā as rising from Pāriyātra m. The printed Brahma (chap. 27) mentions Śiprā twice, one rising from Pāriyātra (verse 29) and the other rising from Vindhya (verse 33). It is doubtful whether there were two rivers of the same name The Brahmanda II 16 29 and 32 (Kṣiprā in both places) is just like the Brahma
- Kṣiravatī—(r.) V 84 68 (reached after Sarasvatī and Bāhudā)
- Kṣīrikā—(where there is Nīlakantha) Vām q by T, K p. 238
- Kṣudhātīrtha—(under Go) B 85 1
- Kuberatunga—(a fit place for śrāddha) Vā 77 78, K II. 37. 31, Br III 13 80
- Kubhā—(probably modern Kabul river) Rg. V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6. It is the Kophes of Ptolemy and Kophen of Arrian (A I. p 179) The Kabul river joins the Indus at Obind, a few miles north of Attock. Pāṇ. V 1. 77 (Uttarapāthenābhṛtam ca) mentions Uttarapātha (the road in the north that crossed the Sindhu near Attock)
- Kubjaka—N. II. 60 25, G. I 81. 10 (Kubjake Śrīdharo Hariḥ)
- Kubjāmālā—(it had a hermitage of Raibhya near Gangādvāra) V 84. 40, M. 22. 66, P I. 32 5. V Dh. S 85. 13, K. II. 20 33, G. I. 81. 10 hold it a very eminent place for śrāddha Var 125. 101 and 132 and 126. 33 appear to identify it with Māyātīrtha (i. e. Haridvāra) Var. 126 contains a *māhātmya* of this place and 23 verses of it are quoted in T. K pp. 206-208 without a single word by way of comment Chap. 126. 10-12 explain why it is so called (a mango tree was seen by sage Raibhya as informed by God and he became bent in reverence). There is doubt about its exact

location. Var. 179. 26-31 aver that Mathurā is superior to Saukara-tirtha, which again is superior to Kubjāmraka. Var 140.60-64 explain how the holy place Hṛṣīkeśa came to be so called. On the whole it is better to take Kubjāmraka as a sacred spot in Haridvāra itself or very near it.

Kubjāsāhgama—(with Narmadā) P. II. 92 32

Kubjāsrama—(a Viṣṇusthāna with an extent of one yojana) K. II. 35. 33-35.

Kubjāvāna—P I. 39. 34

Kubjikāpītha—(where Satī's private parts fell while her corpse was being carried by Śiva). Kāhikā 64. 53-54 and 71-72

Kudmalā—(a r.) M 22. 46 (śrāddha performed here is very efficacious)

Kuhū—(r. sprung from Himālaya) M. 114. 21, Vā 45.95, Br II. 16. 25, Vām 57. 80, B 27. 26; In M 121. 46 the word 'Kuhūn' occurs as the name of a people or a country after Gāndhāras and Aurāsas. It cannot be definitely identified with any modern river,

Kukutesvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K 98

Kulampuzā—V 83. 104, P I 26 97

Kuleśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55

Kuliś—(r.) Rg. I. 104. 4

Kulyā—(r.) Anu. 25. 56 q. by T.K P. 247

Kumāra—P I. 38 61

Kumāra—dhārā—V. Dh. S. 85. 25, Vā. 77. 85, V. 84. 149 (which springs from Pitāmaha's lake), Vām. 84. 23, K. II. 37. 20 (near Svāmitirtha), Br. III. 13. 94-95 (near Vyāsa's seat for dhyāna and Kāntipurī)

umāra—kośalā—tirtha—Vā. 77 37

Kumārakotī—V. 82. 117, P I. 25. 23, Ag. 109. 13

Kumārātirtha—Nr. 65. 17 q. by T.K p. 252

Kumāreśvaralinga—SK. I. 2. 14. 6 ff, Vām, 46. 23

Kumārī—(Cape Comorin, where there is a temple of Kumārī Devī in which there is a fine image of the goddess as a maiden). Ptolemy mentions it as Koumaria while the Periplus refers to it as Komar or Komarei, V. 88 14 (in the plural as 'Kumāryah' in the Pāṇḍya country), Vā. 77. 28, Br. III 13. 28. Br. II 16 11 and M 114. 10 state that the 9th dvīpa of Bhāratavarṣa extends from Kumārī to the source of the Ganges. Śabara on Jaimini, X. 1. 35 asserts that the word 'Caru' is used in the sense of *sthālī* from the Himālaya to the Kumārī country.

Kumārīla—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) Vām 81 11

Kumbha—(a place fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77 47

Kumbhakarnāśrama—V. 84. 157, P I. 38 64 (same verse in both)

Kumbhakona — (modern Kumbhakonam) in Tanjore District) SK. III, Brahmakhanda 52. 101

Kumbhīśvara — (under VS on the eastern bank of Varanā) L. q. by T.K p. 45

Kumudākara — (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126, 25-26

Kumudvatī—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45. 102, B 27. 33

Kundaleśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 12, B (near southern gate of Śrīparvata) L I 92. 149

Kundavāna—(third out of the twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 32

Kundeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K p. 68

Kundina—Nr. 65. 19, Vām. q. by T K p. 239; also called Vidarbhā (acc to A. C. p. 182 verse 979)

Kundiprabha—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148

Kundoda—(a hill near Kāśī) V. 87. 25-26

Kuñjātīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 9

Kuraṅga—Ann. 25. 12

Kuruṅgāla—(Sirhind in Punjab, fit place for śrāddha) M. 21. 9 and 28, Vā. 77. 93, Vām. 22. 47 (it is between Sarasvatī and Dṛśadvatī), 84. 3 and 17, K. II. 37. 36, Bh. III. 1.24, X. 86 20. Vide p. 688 above

Kuruṅgālāranya—Devīpurāṇa q by T.K. p 244

Kurukṣetra—Vide pp 681-686 above. The Kurukṣetra-māhātmya mentions 180 holy places in it, though popular belief is that there are 360. Vide A. G. p 332

Kuśāplavana—V. 85. 36

Kuśastamba—Ann. 25. 28 q. by T.K. p. 246

Kuśasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 16

Kuśasthali—A (same as Dvārakā and capital of Ānarta) Vi. IV. 1. 64 and 91, M 12. 22, 69.9, Vā 86. 24 and 88 1, Bh. VII. 14.31, IX. 3. 28 (Revata, son of Ānarta, founded this city inside the sea and ruled over Ānarta), XII. 12.36 (Kṛṣṇa founded this city), Br. III 61 20 (in Ānarta). Vide p. 746 above, B (capital of Kosala, where Kuśa son of Rāma began to rule) Rām VII 107. 17, Vā 88 199; C (same as Kuśāvati former name of Kusinārā where occurred Buddha's Nirvāṇa) SBE vol XI. p 248 note

Kuśatarpana—(under Go) B 161. 1 (also called Prāṇitāsāṅgama)

Kuśātīrtha—(under Narmadā) K. II 41 33

Kuśāvarta—A (near Nasik Tryambakeśvara) V Dh S. 85.11, B. 80 2 M 22. 69. Vide Bom. G. vol 16 p. 651, B (near Haridvārā) Ann. 25 13, N II 40 79, Bh. III. 20. 4

Kuśāvati—(capital of Kosala on the Vindhya slopes where Kuśa ruled) Vā 88.199, Rām. VII. 107. 7. In the Mahāśudassana śūta (SBE XI.

p 248) it is stated that Kusinārā was the city of king Mahāśudassana under the name Kuśāvati

Kuśeśaya—(v. I. Kuśeśvara) M. 22 76

Kuśikasyāśrama—(on r Kauśikī) V. 84. 131-132

Kuśiṣaṭa—Nr. q. by T.K p. 252

Kuśmāṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K p 103

Kuśumeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 112-117 and 125

Kūtala—(m) Bh V. 6.7 (Kutala), V. 19 16 (Kūtaka)

Kūtasāila—(m.) Vā 45. 92, Br. II. 16 23 (probably the same as Kūtaka above)

L

Lalsmanācala—N. II. 75. 74

Laksmanatīrtha—A (under Go.) B 123. 215; B (under Setu) SK III. Brahma-khanda 52. 106-7 (tonsure of the head only at this tīrtha). The tīrtha is on a river rising in Brahmagiri on the southern frontier of Coorg and falling into the Kāverī IGI vol 16. p. 131

Laksaneśvara—(under VS) N. II. 49.64

Lalsmitīrtha—(under Go.) B 137.1

Ālītā—(in VS) N. II. 49 41, L. q. by TK. p. 96, M. 22. 11 mentions it, but it seems that it was on the Ganges somewhere.

Lalitāla—(tīrtha of Santanu) V 84 34, FI. 28 34, N II. 66.37

Lāṅgala-tīrtha—(under Narmadā) F I. 18 51

Lāṅgala-linga—(under VS) L q by TK p 105

Lāṅgalīnī—(r.) S. 9.22, Mār. 54. 29 (Lāṅgulīnī from Mahendra), Vām. 83. 14 q. by TK. p. 235 The town of Chicacole in Ganjam District of Madras State stands on the left bank of the Lāṅgulya, 4 miles from its mouth. I.G.I. vol. X. p. 217

Lapentā—(r) V. 85. 15

- Lauhitya**—(r. Brahmaputrā) V. 85, 2, Vā 47. 11, 77. 95, M 121. 11-12 (a *nada* which springs from a lake called Lohita at the foot of Hemasringa mountain), Anu 25.46, P.I. 39 2 (same verse as in V 85.2) and V 52 54, Kāhāpurāṇa 86. 26-34. From Raghuvamśa IV. 81 it appears that Lauhitya was the western boundary of Prāgyyotisa Vide TP. pp. 601-602 for *māhātmya*. The form Lauhitya occurs in Yasodharman's inscription (about 532-33, A. D.), vide 'Gupta Inscriptions' p 142 at p. 146
- Laukika**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 13
- Lavanā**—r. flowing close by the city of Padmāvati situated on confluence of Pārā and Sindhu Vide Mālatīmādhava, Act IX. verse 2
- Lavarnakatīrtha**—(on Sarasvatī) P I, 26 48
- Lāvīdhikā**—(near Campā) P I. 38 71
- Lūṅgāsāra**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 51
- Lūṅg-Janārdana**—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 61.
- Lohadanda**—M. 22 65, Vām 90 29 (Vṛṣṇu as Hṛṣīkeśa here) Śrāddha is most efficacious here.
- Lohajāṅghavana**—(9th out of twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 41
- Lohakūta**—N, II. 60. 24
- Lohārgala**—(a Vṛṣṇuṭhāna in Himālaya) Var. 140. 5 (that Mleccha kings support or resort to it), 144 10, 151. 1-83 (verses 7-8 say that thirty *yojanas* from Siddhavāta in the midst of mlecchas is Lohārgala). Var. 151 verses 13-14 explain why it is so called, 151. 79 says it is twenty-five *yojanas* in extent. The T. K. (pp. 228-229) quotes twelve verses on it from, Var. 151. Dey p. 115 surmises that it is probably Lohāghāt in Kumāon.
- Lohita**—(same as Śona) Anu. 166. 21; in Br. II. 16-27 Lohita seems to be meant for Brahmaputrā.
- Lohita-Gaṅgaka**—(same as Lauhitya) Kal. 86. 32-34
- Lokapāla**—(under Badarī) Var 141. 28-31
- Lokapāleśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by TK. p 105
- Lokoddhāra**—V. 83. 45, P. I. 26 41 (same verse in both)
- Lolārka**—(under VS) M. 185 '68 (one of the five principal tīrthas in Banaras), K. I 35, 14, P. I 37. 17 (reads Lokārka), Vām. 15 58-59, Vide p. 634 above
- Lonārakunda**—(in Viṣṇu-Gayā) P. VI, 176. 41. Lonār is a salt lake in the Buldana District of Berar, the fabled den of the giant Lonāsura whom Viṣṇu vanquished. It is a place of great antiquity and held in great veneration, An. A. vol. II. describes it (pp 230-231) and states that brāhmanas call it Bishan Gayā. One of the best remaining examples in Berar of the medieval temples is that at Lonār known as 'the temple of Dattāśūdana. It is a Vaiṣṇava shrine, Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Deccan' (1931) pp. 68-72 for description of the great temple and of several temples around the margin of a lake in an extinct volcanic crater and plates CHH-CV.

M

- Madavāvartanāga**—(on the Vitasā in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 252.
- Mādhavātīrtha**—(on Śrīlaṅka) P. VI. 129 12
- Mādhavavana** M. 15. 37 (Devi is called Sugandhā here)
- Madhūdakā**—(r) Vām. 57. 80
- Madhukaitabha-lūṅga**—(in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Madhūkavana**—(between Agastyāśrama and Pañcavati) Rām. III. 13. 23
- Madhukulyā**—(r. under Gayā) Vā 106 75, 112. 30.

- Madhumati**—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM 144 (falls into Vitastā), 1444 (shrine of Durgā established on it by Sāndilya), Vik 18. 5; B (river that flows through Nadia and Backergunge Districts of Bengal and falls into the bay of Bengal; C (r. that joins the river Sindhu in Central India), vide Mālatīmādhava, 9th Act prose passage after verse 3.
- Madhunandini**—(r.) Vām. 81. 16
- Madhupura**—(under Pṛthūdaka) P. I. 27. 38
- Madhupurī**—same as Mathurā; Bh VII. 14. 31, Vā I 12. 2-4
- Madhurā**—A (the same as Mathurā, capital of Śūrasena country) Br. III. 49.6, Vā I. 12. 4 Vide pp 687-690 above and Rām. VII 70.5, B (modern Madurā, the ancient capital of the Pāndyas, called Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā), Vide 'Manimekalai in its historic setting' (p. 20) by Dr S. Krishna-swamy Aiyangar Madhurā is only the Tamil way of pronouncing Mathurā. Vide Journal, Mythic Society, for 1942, vol. 32 pp. 270-275 for Madurā and Tamil literary tradition and Prof Dilakṣita's translation of the Śilappadikāram pp. 201-208 for a fine description of it and p 255 for the conflagration in Madurā due to the curse of Kānnaki
- Madhurātīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135. 18
- Madhusravā**—(r.)—A (under Gayā) Vā 106. 75, 112 307 34. N. II. 47. 27; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34. 7, 39. 36-38, V B. 150 (both read Madhusravā)
- Madhuvana**—A (under Mathurā) V. I. 12. 31 so called because demon Madhu occupied it), K II 36.9, Var. 153. 30, Vām 83.31, 90 14, Bh IV. 8. 42 (on the banks of Yamunā) IX 11. 14 (Śatrughna founded Mathurā in Madhuvana) Crowe in 'Mathura' identifies it with Maholi five miles to the south-west of present Mathurā (pp. 32, 54); B (one of seven *vanas* in Kurukṣetra) Vām 34. 5
- Madhuvatī**—(a Devisthāna) P. I. 26 88
- Madhvatīrtha**—G Uttarakhaṇḍa, Brahmakāṇḍa 25 46-47. This is rather suspicious
- Madhuvilā**—(r.) same as Samaṅgā. V. 135.1
- Madhyama-Puskara**—(see Puskara), P V. 19. 38, Vām. 22 19.
- Madhyameśvara-līṅga**—A (under VS) K. I. 32. 12, K I. 34. 1-2, L. I 92. 91, 135, P I 34 10 (one of the five main līṅgas in Banaras), B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 151
- Madhyandiniyaka-tīrtha**—(under Mathurā) Var. 177 46 (to the west of Vaiṣṇuntha tīrtha)
- Madotkata**—P VI. 129 B (9th among 108 tirthas of Jambudvīpa)
- Madrā**—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā 45. 102
- Madravā**—(a bill) Br III 13. 52 and 57. This probably is the same as Maṇḍavā below
- Māgadharanya**—K. II 37. 9, Vām. 11 7, 84 35
- Mahābala**—A (Mahābaleshwar in Satara District) P VI 113 29 Vide JBBRAS. vol X. pp 1-18, for Mahābalesvara-māhātmya, B Mahābaleśvara of Gokarna Vide Gokarna plates of Kadamba king Kāmadeva in *śale* 1177 (1236 A. D.) in E I vol. 27 p 157
- Mahābhairava**—(one of eight Śiva-tīrthas) M. 181 29, K II. 44 3 Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
- Mahābodhitaru**—(the pipplā tree at Gayā under which Buddha obtained Enlightenment) Ag. 115. 37, M. 22. 33, N. II 45. 103, Vā 111. 26, verses 27-29 of Vā 111 are addressed to the tree. P VI 117. 26-30 explain how Bodhitaru became touchable on Saturday and untouchable on other days. Vide Dr. Barua in 'Gaya

being Ariasthala, Virasthala, Kuśasthala and Punyasthala.

Mahāsrama—V 84 53, P I 32 17

Mahāśona—same as Śona—S. 20 27

Mahatākunda—(under VS) L by T.K. p 70

Mahatī (r from Pāriyātra) M 114 23, V 45 97

Mahāvana—(the 8th vana out of 12 at Mathurā)—same as Vraja Var 153 40, 161 8 Modern Mahaban town is near the left bank of the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa spent his childhood here

Mahātīrtha—K.II 37.12 (tatrābhyarcya Hṛīkeśam śvetadvīpam sa gacchati)

Mahāvena—P V. 11. 27

Mahendra—(a m range extending from the mouths of the Ganges or Orissa to Madurā) Bhī 9 11, Ud;oga 11. 12, M 22 44, P. I. 39. 14 (inhabited by Parāśurama), V. 85 16, Bh V. 19 16, Vām. 13 14-15, 83 10-11, K. I. 47 23-24. A Śālistetra according to Bār S.III 124 In the Ganjam District there is a peak called Mahendragiri about 5000 feet high. Rām. IV, 67.37 shows that Hanūmān used it as a springing board when he jumped off towards Lankā. Raghu-vamśa (IV.39-40) shows that Kālīṅga country had some portion of Mahendra in it Pargiter (p 284 n) holds that it is the portion of the Eastern Ghats between Godāvarī and Mahānadi and hills in Berar I do not agree. Rām. IV 41. 19-21 speak of Mahendra after Pandyakavāta and as entering the ocean, while Bh. X 79.11-12 speak of it after Gayā and before Saptagodāvarī, Venā, Pampā. Allahabad stone pillar Ins of Samudragupta mentions it (C. I. I vol III at p 7)

Mahēśvarapura—(where Vrsadhvaja : e. Śiva was to be worshipped) V 84. 129-130.

Māhēśvara—(modern town in the

Indore State on the north or right bank of the Narmadā) M 188. 2, P. I. 15.2. I. G I. Vol 17 p 9 asserts that it is the ancient Māhismatī

Mahēśvara-dhārā—V. 84. 117, P. I. 38. 34

Mahēśvarakunda—(under Lohārgala) Var 151. 67

Mahēśvarapada—P I. 38 36, V 84.119 Mahī—One of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' SBE vol 35 p. 171; Mahī occurs in the Nadyādi-gana (Pān IV. 2 97); B (a r rising in Gwallor state and falling into the sea southwards near Cambay) SK I 23 23, I 2 13.43-45 and 125-127, V. 222. 23, Mār. 54 19 (rising from Pāriyātra). It is the Mophs of Ptolemy (p 103) and Mais of Periplus

Mahisāgarasangama—SK. I 2 3. 26

Māhītīrtha—Vām. 84 36

Māhismatī—(on Narmadā). Pargiter identifies with Omkāra Māndhātā (an island) while Mr. Haldar and others hold that it is Mahēśvara Māndhātā island is attached to Nemat District of Central Provinces. Udyogaparva 19 23-24, 166. 4, Anu 2, 6, P. II. 92 32, VI 115 4, Bh. IX 15. 22 (Sahasrārjuna imprisoned Rāvana); the Mbh (vol II, p. 35, Ujjayinyāh prasthito Māhismatyām sūryodgamanam sambhāvayate) on Vārtika 10 to Pān III. 1 26, in the Suttanipāta (SBE vol X part 2 p 188) the disciples of Bāvarī going to the north to meet Buddha first go to Patutthāna of Atala and then to Māhissatī, vide 'Mahisamandala and Māhismatī' by Dr Fleet in JRS for 1910 pp 425-447 and Barwani plate of ling Subandhu in E. I. vol. XIX. p. 261 of the year 167 issued from Māhismatī (It belongs to the end of the 5th century).

Mahodaya—(generally identified with Kanoj) Vām. 83 25, 90. 13 (Haya-

grīva here). Vide Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I in Harsa *samvat* 100 (corresponding 'to about 706 A.D.) in E. I. vol. V p 208 at p. 211 It was also called Kūśasthala; vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 28, 30 where Rāstrakūta Indra III is said to have devastated Mahodaya, but in Bara copperplate of the Gurjar Pratihāra Bhojadeva dated *samvat* 893 (836-7 A.D.) Mahodaya is said to be a skandhāvāra (encampment) and Kānyakubja is separately mentioned in the same record, thereby showing that the two were not quite identical (E. I. vol. 19 at p. 17)

Mamāka—(m. near Badari) A. V. 139. 17, V. 145. 44, Anu. 25. 59, Br. III. 13. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16, B (m. in west near Gujarat) V. 89. 11; E (m. near Sarasvatī) K. II. 37. 29. Both Dey p. 121 and Prof. Aiyangar p. 29 (of T. K.) hold that it is the Senah range Vide Pargiter pp. 287-288 note, which makes out three mountains named Mamāka, that are slightly different from those stated here.

Mastreyī-linga (under VS) L. g. by T. K. p. 47

Makruṇā (r. rising from Rikṣa) Vā. 15. 101.

Mālā (a river) S. 20. 28

Malada—(in Kāśmīra) P. I. 25. 4

Malandarā—(r.) M. 22. 41 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible)

Malaprabhārī or Malāpabārī—(r. rising from Sabya about 22 miles south-west of Belgaum) modern Malaprabhā, SK. g. by T. S. pp. 80 and 101. Vide Bom. G. vol. XXI. on Belgaum District p. 12 for legend The famous village of Ayyāole or Ayalī or Aihole is on this river, 16 miles to the east of Badāmi Vide I. A. vol. VIII. p. 243 for Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D. Parāśurāma is said to have washed his blood-stained axe in the Malaprabhā here Vide Bom. G. vol. 23 p. 545

Malāpabā—(r. in the south). There is

a town called Muniparnā on its bank where there is 'Pāṇḍuraṅga Mahādeva'.

Mārka—(shrine of the Sun under Sūbhramat) P. VI. 141. 1 and 142. 1

Malaya—(one of the 7 principal mountains of India) V. 252. 43, 313. 22, Bh. 9. 11, K. I. 7. 23 (the sea could be seen from its top), Vā. 45. 88, B. 27. 19. Raghu (IV. 45. 51) shows that Malaya was on the Kāśī where it falls in the sea and that cardamom and sandalwood grew thereon, and also on Tāmraparā It is the mountain of the Pāṇḍya country (Raghuvarṇa IV. 47-51) Agastya had his hermitage on it

Malayaja—P. VI. 129. 12 (one of the numerous tirthas where Viṣṇu and Śiva resided)

Malayārjunala—tirtha (under Mathurā beyond Yamunā) Var. 157. 1.

Mālinī—(r. on which was situated Kanakakuma) Aḍi. 70. 21 and 72. 16 According to Hsien Tsang it was on this river that the Jivika of Mālikāra in west Rohilkhand was situated Vide V. G. pp. 311-352

Mallāla—(on western bank of Gomā) P. V. 5. 24 (where Satī fell from the top)

Mallikārkhye—(tirtha) P. V. 17. 64

Mallikārjunaka—(under Narmadā) I. 92. 155

Mallikāra—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 6

Mālyavat—(The second of the Tuṅgabhadra) Kām. III. 71. IV. 27. 1-4 (on north of it in a deep cave on Prastavaṅga River a deer for four months in the rainy season). V. 250. 26, 252. 1 (for its food Arundhī)

Mālyavati—(r. near Citrakūṭa) P. II. 56. 38

Mānasa—A lake in Himālaya which had been formed in the rain and Ganga Mānasa on its banks V. 150. 12 P. II. 13. 15 and IV. 151

- 16-17 (from which the Sarayū rises), Vām 78.3, 90 1 (where Visnu appeared in the Matsya form), vide under Kailāsa Sven Hedin in vol. III of his Trans-Himalaya (1913) p 198 says 'there is no finer ring on earth than that which bears the names of Manasarowar, Kailas and Gurla Māndhātā, it is turquois set between diamonds' The Mānasa lake is at a height of 14950 feet above sea level, B (under Kubjāmra) Var 126 29, C (to the west of Mathurā) Var 154. 25, D (near Prayāga on the north bank of the Ganges) M 107.2, E (in Kāśmīra, modern Mānasbal) Vā 18 55, K R. p 9, F (under Narmadā) M 194 8, P I 21 8; G (under Gayā, there are two pools, Uttaramānasa and Dakṣiṇa-mānasa) Vā 111 2, 6, 8, 22
- Vandagā—(r rising from Suktimat) M 114. 32, Vā 45, 167
- Mandākinī—A (near mountain Citra-kūṭa and rising from Rikṣat) V. 85 58, Anu 25 29, Rām. II 93. 8 and III 5 37, Vā. 45. 99, Ag 109 23, Br. II 16 30, M 114 25, B (a sub-tīrtha under VS.) L q by T.K p 86, C (r springing from a lake Mandodaka at the foot of Kailāsa) M 121 4, Br II. 18 1 D (near Kiskindhā) Rām IV 1. 95
- Mandalesvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 66
- Mandara—(m.) V I II 2 18 (it is to east of Meru) and Mār 51 19, V 139 5, 142 2, 163 4 (extended up to the sea in the east), and 31-33, Udyoga 11 12, L I 92 187 and 188. 6-12 (gods afraid of Andhaka took refuge on Mandara), N II 60 22, Vām 51 74 (from Prithūdaka Śiva came to Mandara), and practised tapas, M 184 18 13, 28 (Devī is styled Kāmacārini on m. Mandara), Bh VII 3 2 and VII. 7 2 (Hiranyakaśipu here)
- Mandāra—Var. 143 1-51 (Mandāra-māhātmya) Var. 143. 2 says it is a sacred place on the south bank of the Ganges and situated on Vindhya and dear to all Bhāgavatas It puts forth flowers only on dvādāśī and caturdasi (verse 13) T.K (pp 217-218) quotes ten verses from Var 143 without any comment, A. G p 508 conjectures it to be south of Bhagalpur in Bihar.
- Mandavā—Vā 77. 56 (a hill very fit for śrāddha)
- Mandavāhinī—(r. from Suktimat m.) M 114. 32, Vā 45. 107.
- Māndavya—(a tīrtha where Devī is styled Māndavyā) M 13. 42
- Māndavyeśa—(under VS) L q by T.K. p 119
- Mandodarītīrtha—M 22 41 (removes sins at sight and śrāddha most efficacious)
- Mangalā—(a Devīsthāna in Gayā) Devī-bhāgavata VII. 38 24
- Maṅgala-prastha—(hill) Bh. V. 19 16
- Maṅgalā-saṅgama—(under Go) B 122 94 and 100 (otherwise called Govindā)
- Mangalesvara—(under Narmadā) P II 92. 33
- Manikarnī or Manikarnikā—(under VS) M 182 24, 185 69, N II 40 87 and 49 44, P VI 23 44, vide p 635 above
- Manikarnīśvara—(under VS) N II 49 45, L q by T.K p 103
- Manikunda—(under Stutasvāmīn) Var 148 52
- Māntkeyeśvara—(in Kāśmīra) P VI 176 80-82
- Manimat or Manimanta—(near r Devikā) V 82 101, P I 25 8 (same words in both), Vām 81 14
- Manimati—(r) M. 22.39 (vary efficacious for śrāddha), Br S 14. 20 says Manimat is a m
- Manimatihrada—Vām 90 7 (Śiva was called Sambhu here)
- Manimatipurī—(the same as Vāṭāpi.

- puri and Durjayā) V 96. 1 and 99 30-31.
- Manināga—V. 84. 106, P. I 38 24 (same verse in both)
- Manipūragiri—(under Śtutasvāmin) Var. 148. 63 ff.
- Mañjulā—(a r.) Bhī 9 34
- Māhikūṭā—(near Malaya) Vām 83 16
- Mañkutī—(r. from Rksavat) Br. II. 16. 31
- Manohara—(under Narmadā) N. 194 7, K. II. 42. 20, P. I. 21 7 (the same verse in all three)
- Manojaya—P. I. 26. 87, V 83. 93 (same verse in both)
- Mantresvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 137
- Manujesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p 104
- Manuhga—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 114
- Mānusa—(under Kuruksetra) P I 26. 60-63, Vām. 35. 50-56
- Manyutīrtha—(under Go) B. 162. 1, Bh. X. 79. 21 (puts it somewhere between Māhismatī and Prabhāsa)
- Māricesvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p. 71
- Mārjāra—(under Go) B. 84 19
- Mārkanḍeya-hrads—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67, B (near Purusottamatīrtha) B. 56. 73, 57 2, 60. 9 (bath in it on Caturdaśī specially destroys all sins), N. II 55. 20-22
- Mārkanḍeyatīrtha—A (on the Gomati-Gangāsangama) V. 84 81, P. I. 32 41-42. Prof. Aiyangar's note on p. 291 of T.K. that it is at the junction of the Sarayū and Gangā is not correct, B (under Go) B 143.1
- Mārkanḍeyesvara—A (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 154-155, B (under Gayā) Ag. 116 11, C (under Purusottama) N. II. 55. 18-19
- Markatīrtha—(in Tripurī i. e. modern Tevar on the Narmadā, 7 miles to the west of Jabalpur) mentioned by T. S. p 101
- Mārtāṇḍa (temple of the Sun in Kāśmīra) Modern Martan or Matan, 5 miles to north-east of Islamabad, its popular name is 'Bavan' (Bhavana) It overlooks the finest view in Kāśmīra. The temple originally built by king Lohitāditya in the 1st half of 8th century is now in ruins There are two magnificent springs traditionally called Vimala and Kimala about a mile from the temple. Vide R IV.192, NMI 1073 (for Vimalanāga), Stein's translation of R vol. I p. 141 and II. pp 465-466 An A (vol. II pp 358-359) describes Matan. The tīrtha has remained to this day one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Kāśmīra
- Mārtandapādāmūla (under Gayā) Brahmapurāṇa q by T.K. p 166
- Marudgana—Anu 25. 36
- Marudīrḍhā—A (r) Rg X. 75 5 The Nir. IX. 26 takes it as an attribute of all rivers named in Rg X 75 5, meaning 'that are swollen or lashed up by the wind or Maruts'. It appears that it is a river in Kashmir called Maruwardwan, a tributary of the Chenab, as Stein says (vide JRAS for 1917 pp 93-96), Bh. V. 19. 18; B hāveri is called Marudīrḍhā in P VI. 224. 1 and 19
- Marusthala (under Purusottama) N. II 60. 22
- Mārutālaya (under Narmadā) N. 191. 86, K. II 41. 41 (to the west of Mārtīrtha), P I. 18.81 (same verse)
- Māśeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I 18 77
- Māṭaliśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p 76
- Mātangaksetra—(under Lokīmukha) Var. 140 58-59 (a stream that falls into Kauśikī)
- Matangapada—(under Gayā) N. II. 44. 57, Vā 108 25
- Matahgasya śrāma—A (under Gayā) V 84. 101, Ag 115 34, B (in VS) V. 87.25

- Matāṅgasya Kedāra—V 88 17, P I 39 15 (same verse in both)
- Matanga-vāpi—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111 23-24, Ag 115 34, N II. 45 100, VDB S 85 38, B (in Kosalā) Vā 77 36, C (on Kailāsa) Br III 13. 36
- Matangeśa—(under Gayā) Ag 115. 35
- Matāṅgeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 87
- Mātharavana—(near Payoṇī) V 88.10, Vā 77 33, Br III 13 33
- Mathurā—Vide pp 682-692 above and A G pp 373-375 for Mathurā and Vrindāvana
- Mātr—Śal. chap 46 enumerates numerous Mātrs
- Mātrgrha—(where śrāddha yields *anantiya*) M 22 76
- Mātrtirtha—A (under Kuruksetra) V 83. 58, P. I 26 54, B (under Narmadā) K II 41 40, C (under Go) B 112 1
- Matsyanadi—(holy r.) M 22 49
- Matsyaśilā—(under Kolāmukha) Var. 140 79-83
- Matsyodapāna—Nr q by T K p. 251
- Matsyodari—(near Omlāreśvara and to the south of Kapileśvara in VS) L. q by T K pp. 58-59, SK. IV 33 120 and IV 73 155. The Tri S, p 140 remarks 'matsyālāram Kāśī-śetram udare yasyā iti vyutpattyā Gaṅgaiva Matsyodārī-sāñña'
- Māyāpurī—(same as Gaṅgādvāra and Haridvāra) M. 13 34 (Devī is called Kumārī here), 22. 10, Vā 104 75, G I 81 7, SK IV 7 114 (lecid-ūcur-Haridvāram molsadvāram tatah pare i Gaṅgādvāram ca kepyābuh lecīn-Māyāpuram punah ||) Māyā occurs in the Nadyādīgana (Pān. IV. 2 97) It is one of the seven holy cities of India Vide p 678 above and p 762 under Kanakāla. Hiouen Tssang mentions it as Moyūlo (Māyura). Māyāpura is now a ruined site at the head of the Ganges canal. Vide A G. pp. 351-354
- Māyātirtha—(under Kubjāmraka and on the Ganges) Var. 125. 101, 126. 33
- Medhātithi—(a holy river) V 222 23
- Medhāvāna—P I 39 52 (place for śrāddha)
- Medhāvika—V. 85 55
- Meghalara—M. 22 40, P V 11 34
- Meghanāda—(under Narmadā) P II. 92 31
- Meghankara—(a town on r Prānītā) P VI. 181. 5
- Megharāva—(under Narmadā) P. I. 17. 4
- Mehatnu—(r.) Rg X 75 6 (a tributary of the Krumu, which see)
- Mekala—(a range of hills in C. P.) Narmadā is called Mekalakanyakā (daughter of Mekala)
- Mekalā—P V 11 34 (is it a river?)
- Mekalā—is a country or people in Rām IV. 41.9, Bṛ. S. 14. 7 and 16.2
- Mekhalā—(a tirtha in Meghankara town) P VI 181 16, M 22. 40-41 (from this it appears that Mekhalā here means probably the middle part of the town Meghankara)
- Merukūta—Nr 65 q by T K. p. 253
- Meruvara—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 32-35
- Mināksi—(temple of, is situated in Madurā) Devī-Bh. VII. 38 11
- Mirilāvāna—(near Mekala regions) Br. III 70. 32
- Misraka—(under Kuruksetra) P. I. 26. 85-86 (Vyāsa mixed all tirthas here), V. 83. 91-92 It is possible that the Misrakavana occurring in the Kotarādī-gana (Pān VI. 3 117) refers to this
- Mitrapada (a tirtha on the Ganges) M 22. 11
- Mitravana (Konārka or Sāmbapura in Orissa) SK Prabhāsakhanda I. 100. 3 (there are three Ādityasthānas, Mitravana, Mundira and Sāmbāditya)
- Mitravaruna (under VS) L q. by T.K. p. 47

Mūlāvarunayor—śrama (on r Ya
munā near Kārapavana) Śal. 54
14-15

Modāgiri (m) S. 30. 21

Mokṣaśvara (under VS) L. q. by
T K p. 112.

Mokṣārāja—(under Mathurā) Var 164
35

Mokṣatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var.
152 61 (to the south of Rstīrtha).
T. S p 101 quotes three verses
from Revāḥanda about it

Mokṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K
p 48

Mrgadhūma—(there is Rudrapada) P I
26 94, V 83. 101 (it is on the
Ganges)

Mrgakāmā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br.
II 18 71

Mṛgaśrngodaka—(on r Vāgmatī) Var
215 64

Mṛtyuñjaya—(under Viraja) B 42 6

Mucukunda—(under Mathurā) Var.
158. 28

Mucukundeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by
T K 114

Mukti-kṣetra—(under Śālagrāma) Var.
145 105

Muktimat—(a m) Br. III 70 32 Is it
a misreading for Śuktimat?

Mukusthānas—26 sthānas such as
Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, Gāṅ-
gādvāra, Kānti, Tryambaka, Sapta-
godāvara are named in SK, Kṣā-
ḥanda 6 21-25

Mukutā—(r. from Rāvavanta) M 114.
26, M. 13. 50 (Devī is worshipped
here as Satyavādīnī)

Mūlāsthāna—(modern Multan)—anci-
ent capital of the Mallas A G pp.
220-224 and 230-236. It was known
under various names such as Kāśya-
papura, Śāmbapura, Prahāḍapura,
Ādyasthāna (Al. Sachau I 298)

Mūlatāpī—(river Tāpī is so called,
from its source at Mūlā, which is
a corruption of Mūlatāpī) M 22 33
(Mūlatāpī Payosni ca). Multā is a

village in Betul District, C. P. and
contains a sacred tank which is
popularly deemed to be the source
of the Tāpī. In the printed Padma
V 11 25 the words 'Sūlatāpī Payo-
ni' are a misreading of 'Mūlatāpī
Payosni'. Vide I. G. I. vol. 18
p 21 for Multā

Mūli—(r. rising from Makendra) V.
114. 31

Mundaprstha—A (a hill situated on
the western bank of the Phalgu river
at Gayā) K II 37 39-40, V. II
45, 96, Ag 115 22 and 43-44, Vā
77 102-103, 109. 12 and 111 15.
Br. III. 13 110-111 (Mahādeva
practised severe tapas here). It is
no other than the hill on which
there is Viṣṇupada, the very centre
of Gayāśātrā. On this hill, accord-
ing to the legend of Gayāśura, the
back of the giant's herd rested
Vide pp 656, 665 above; B (a hill in
Kāśmīra) NMI 1247-1254

Mundesa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K
p 116

Mūjavat—A (a m) In Rg. X. 34. 1
soma plant is called Mūjavat and
the Nir. 15. 11 explains that Mūjava
is a mountain on which soma grows
In A. V. the form Mūjavat occurs
and *lakṣman* (evil spirit of disease)
is asked to go to Mūjavat and to
Bālīhika beyond it. In A. V. 22 3
the form is Mūjavatī. It appears
to be some m. far to the north-west
of India

Mūjāvāt—(m. in Himālayan range)
Āśamedhika parva 8. 1 (where
Śiva practises penance), Br 11. 18
20-21 (where Śiva resides and from
which rise Śālotā lake and Śālotā
river), Var. 213 13 (to the north of
Mandara)

Mūjāvātā—(on the Ganges which is =
Śvāsthāna) V. 15 67, P I. 32 63
(same verse in Loth)

Murmurā—(one of the several rivers that are the mothers of fires) V. 222 25

N

Nābhī—(under Gayā) N II 47 82

Nādantīā—V Dh S 85, 19 (very fit place for śrāddha)

Nādesvara—A (under VS) L q. by T K p 127, B (probably same as Bindusaras) N I 16 46 (on Himavat, where Bhagīratha practised *tapas*)

Nadiśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 103

Naga—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 108 28

Nāgadhanvan—(not far to the south of Sarasvatī) Śal. 37 30 (Vāsuki's image is established there)

Nāgalūta—(included under Gayāśīras) Vā. 111 22, N. II. 45 95

Nāgapura—Hastināpura, V. 183 36

Nāgasāhvaya—Hastināpura, on the right bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to north-east of Meerut. Vā. 77 271, M 50 78, Nr 65 11 q by T K p. 232 (Govinda is *guhya* name of Visnu here). The printed text (Govindam nāma sāyake) is corrupt. It should be 'nāgasāhvaye.' Vide under Hastināpura.

Nāgatīrtha—A (under VS) M 22 33, K I 35 7, P I 28 33, B (under Go.) B 111. 1; C (under Tripustara) P V. 26. 51, D (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 14, E (location uncertain) V 84, 33

Nāgesvara—(a *tapovana* on Narmadā) M 191 83

Nāgodbheda—(where Sarasvatī is seen, though lost in the desert elsewhere) V 82 112, Ag 109. 13

Nahūśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 115

Naimisya or Naimisā—(a forest) A country round Nimsār on the Gomati, 45 miles from Lucknow In *Āthaka Samhitā* X. 6 we have

'Naimisya vai sattram-āsata'; while in Pañcavimsa Br 25. 6, 4 occurs Naimisiya and Kausitaki Br 26 5 has Naimisiyānām' and 28 4 also In the great Epic and Purānas it is mentioned very often, vide V 84 59-64 (all tīrthas on the earth are centred in Naimisa), V 87. 5-7 (on Gomati in east), M 109 3 (most holy on the earth), K. II 20 34, K II. 43 1-16 (very dear to Mahādeva), Vā 28, Br. I 28 (bo'h derive it as 'bhramato dharmacakrasya yatra nemir-asīryata' from 'nemi' rim of a wheel and śr 'to be shattered'), B 1. 3-10 (fine description), Vāyu (I 14-15) makes it clear that the great sattra of the sages of Naimisiyanya was in Kuruksetra on the Dradvatī But Vā 2,9 and Br I. 2 9 say that it was on the Gomati. It is possible that Gomati is only an adjective. It was here that enmity between Vasistha and Viśvāmitra flourished, Kalmāsapāda was cursed by Śakti and Parāśara was born. VI. III. 14 18 states that by a bath in Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Naimisā-gomati and other rivers and by honouring pitrs one destroys all sins B—Br S XI. 60 says that a malignant Ketu in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā destroys king of Naimisa,

Naimisā—Kūñja (on Sarasvatī) V. 83 109, P I 26 102

Nairṭtesvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K. p 117

Nakulagana—(under Kuruksetra) Vām. 46 2. This probably refers to the followers of Lakulīśa (often written as Nakulīśa) Vide E I vol XXI pp 1 ff (Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II dated Gupta-samvat 61 i e 380 A. D) which shows that Lakulī founder of Pāśupata sect flourished in 1st quarter of second century A D; compare Vāyu 23 22-25 for Nakulī and Kāyārohana as his siddhiksetra

- Nākuleśatīrtha**—(Lakulīśatīrtha?) M 22 77, Vām 7. 26 (Nākulesvara on Narmadā where Cyavana bathed).
- Nakulī**—(r. rising from lake Viṣṇu-pada) Br II. 18. 68
- Nakulīśa**—(under VS) L. q. by T K p. 107
- Nakulīśvara**—K II 44. 12
- Nalakūbareśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103
- Nahinī**—A—one of the three streams of Gaṅgā proceeding east, Vā. 47. 38 and 56, M. 121. 40, Rām I. 43. 13, B (a r. in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 101
- Nandā**—V 87 27, Vā. 77 79. Ād. 215. 7, V 110 1 (near Hemakūta), Anu. 166. 28, Bh VII 14. 32, Var. 214. 47 Even all these passages do not convey the exact position. Bh IV. 6.24 (in the context) indicates that it was near Kāśīśa and Saugandhī-lavana Bh. (IV 6 23-24) places Nandā and Alakanandā near Saugandhika-lavana
- Nandanā**—(r. rising in Rāsavat m.) M. 144 25, Vā 45. 97, B 27. 28 (both last read *candanā*, which seems to be a misreading)
- Nandanavana**—(under Mathurā) Var. q by T K p 187
- Nandāsarasvatī**—the r Sarasvatī came to be so called Vide P, V 18 436
- Nandāvarī**—(r) Devala q. by T K p. 249 mentions after Kauśikī. Prof Aiyangar (TK p 289) takes it to be the Mahānandā in U P east of the Kosi river
- Nandigrāma**—(where Bharata as representative of Rāma during latter's exile guarded the kingdom) V 277. 39, 291. 62, Rām. II 115 22, VII 62 13, Bh IX 10 36 It is Nundgaon in Oudh about 8 miles to the south of Fyzabad.
- Nandigubā**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p 193
- Nandiksetra**—(in Kāśmīra) R I 36, NM 1204-1328 (story of Nandin being born as son of Sīlāda). It is the high valley at the east glaciers of Haramukha peaks which contain the sacred Kālodala lake
- Nandikesa**—(under Narmadā) M 191 6
- Nandikunda**—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu 25. 60, NM. 1459, Ag. 219. 64; B (from which Sābhramatī rises) P. VI. 132. 1 and 13
- Nandikūta**—(v 1 Nandikunda) Anu. 23. 60 q. by T K p 248
- Nandinī**—(r)—V 84 155, P I 88 62
- Nandinī-saogama**—(under Go.) B 128.1 and 73-74
- Nandiparvata**—(in Kāśmīra) HC. 4 30 and 32 (near Haramukta-Gaṅgā)
- Nandiśa**—(Śiva worshipped in Nundkol in Kāśmīra, but in its extended sense applied to the whole sacred territory from the lakes on Haramukta down to Bhūtesvara) R I 124
- Nandīśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T K, p 57
- Nandītata**—(under Go) B 152.1 and 40 (also called Ananda)
- Nandītīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 191 37, K. II 41 90, P I. 18, 37 (same verse in latter two)
- Nārada-kunda**—(under Lobārgala) Var. 151 37
- Nārada-tīrtha**—(under Narmadā) K II 41. 16-17, P I 18. 23 (same verse in both)
- Nāradeśvara**—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 5, B (under VS) L. q by T K p. 53
- Narala**—V 83. 168 (some mss. read Anarala and some 'Narala')
- Narala**—(under Narmadā) P I 18 36, 20 1-2
- Nārasimha**—(under Gayā) N II 46 46
- Narasimhāstama**—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1520
- Nārasimhatīrtha**—A (on the north bank of Go.) B 149. 1, B (destroys sin at very sight) M. 22. 43

- Nārāyanasaras—(at the mouth of the eastern branch of Indus called Korn) Bh VI 5. 3 and 25, Śivapurāna II 2 13, 13. It is Sindhu-samudra-saṅgama. It is 81 miles north-west from Bhuj, capital of Cutch and between Koteswar and the sea. There was a great lake in ancient times and a temple of Ādi Nārāyana. Vide Bom. G vol V pp. 245-248
- Nārāyanāśrama—(near Badari) V 145. 26-34, 156. 14 (Naranārāyaṇa-sthānam Badarītyabhiśrutam), Bh. VII 14 32, IX 3.36 (Badarīākhyam gato rājā Nara-nārāyanāśramam), X. 87 4-7
- Nārāyanasthāna—V. 84 122, P I. 38. 39
- Nārāyanatīrtha—A (under VS) P. I. 37.5, B—B 167 1 and 33 (also called Vipratīrtha under Go)
- Nārīrthāni—(in the Dravida country on the sea) V 118. 4, Ādi. 217 17 (daksine sāgarānūpe pañca tirthāni santī vai) Vide Pañcāpsaras
- Narmadā—Vide pp 703-707 above
- Narmadā—Erandī-saṅgama T P. p 383
- Narmadāprabhava—TP p. 383, P. I 39 9; V 85. 9 reads 'Somasya Narmadāyāśca prabhede'
- Narmadēsa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 73, P. I. 18, 69
- Narmadēśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 194 2
- Nāsiya—(modern Nash) Vide pp. 709-710 above and Vā 46. 130
- Naubandhana—(mountain peak to the west of Kāśmīra) NM 62-63
- Naubandhanasaras—(on the border of Kāśmīra and Panjab) NM 64-66, 165-166 (also called Visnupada and Kramasāra), HC 4. 27
- Nepāla—(modern Nepal) Var 215 38, Vā 104 79, Devī—Bh. VII 38 11 (Gubyaśālī is a mahāsthāna in). Vide A.G. pp 450-452; Br IV 44 93 (one of the fifty pīthas), Br. S. 4 22 The country is named
- in Allababad Ins of Samudragupta (C. I I III p 14)
- Nigamodbhodhaka—(one gavyūti to the west of Prayāga) P VI 196 73-74, 200. 6 (in Indraprastha) Dey p 140 says that it is Nigambodhāt in old Delhi on the Yamunā
- Nihkīrā—(a lotus pool on Krauñcapada in Gayā) Vā 108 84, N II. 44. 64, 47 35, Ag 116 8 (reads Nīścīrā)
- Nihkīrā saṅgama—N II. 47. 35
- Nīlacala—A (a small hill or mound at Purī in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannātha is deemed to be situated) Vide Nīlaparvata. B (hill near Gaubati on which temple of Sati stands)
- Nīlagangā—(under Go. and rising in Nīlaparvata) B 80 4
- Nīlakantbaliṅga—(under VS) L. q by T K p 118
- Nīlakantbatīrtha—(under Sābhrāmāti) P VI 168 1
- Nīlakunda—A (a pītīrtha) M 23 22, B Nīlakunda, Vitastā and Śūlaghāta are three names of the same tīrtha or spring in Kāśmīra NM 1500, HC 12 17
- Nīlanāga—(king of Nāgas and protector of Kāśmīra) NM 295-301, R I 28, HC. 12 17, SM p 182. It is to the south of Brūg in Shahabad *paigana*, popularly known as Vērṇāg, the traditional source of Vitastā. An A vol II. p. 361 describes Vērṇāg as the source of Bībat (Vitastā) and remarks (p 363) 'Nīlanāg, the basin of which measures 40 bighas Its water is exquisitely clear and is considered a sacred spot and many voluntarily perish by fire about its border'
- Nīlaparvata—A (near Haridvāra) Anu 25 13 'Gāṅgādvāre Kuśīvarte Bīlvake Nīlaparvate tathā Kanakhale snātā dhūtapāpmā divam vracet' L. q by T K p.245, V D h S 83 13

- M. 22. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16, K. II 20 33, Devī-Bh. VII 38 (Devisthāna Nīlāmbā), B (mound on which Puruṣottama shrine stands) P IV 17. 23 and 35, IV. 18. 2, SK. q, by T. P. p 562
- Nilatīrtha—Vām q. by T K p. 238
- Nilavana—Rām II 55.8 (one krośa from Citrakūta)
- Nīlopalā—(r. rising from Rksa m) Vā. 45 100
- Nimbārkatīrtha—(on Sābhramatī) P VI. 151 1 and 14 (near Pippalāda-tīrtha)
- Nimnabheda—(on north bank of Go.) B 151. 1
- Nirajeshvara—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 6
- Nirāñjana—(An Ādityatīrtha on the north bank of Yamunā near Prayāga) M. 108. 29, T.K. p. 149 (reads Nīrūjana)
- Nirāñjanā—a river which has Mohanā as tributary and after confluence it flows past Gayā, it is famed in Buddhist works They are Magon and Erchenyis of Arrian (Ptolemy p. 97)
- Niravindaparvata—Ann. 25. 42
- Nirjalesvara—(under VS) L q by T.K. p. 103
- Nirvindhya—(river rising in Vinḍhya and falling into Chambal) B 27 33, M. 114 27, Mār. 113. 33, Br. II. 16. 32, Meghadūta I. 28 Acc to Bh. IV. 1. 17-19, Vi. II. 3 11, the river starts from m. Rksa and sage Atri had his hermitage on it, Mār chap. 113 narrates the story of Vidūratha whose capital was near Nirvindhya and Vatsapri, son of Bhalandana
- Nirvirā—(r.) V 84 138-139 (it had Vasisthāśrama on its bank)
- Nisadha—(m) V. 188. 112, Al. (vol. II p. 142) says that near the mountain Nisadha is the lake Visnupada whence comes the river Sarasvatī Therefore Nisadha seems to be a part of the great Himālayan range. Vide also Vāyu 47. 64
- Nisadhbā—(r. rising in Vinḍhya) Br. II. 16. 32 Vā 45. 102
- Nisākaraṭhga—(under VS) L q by T.K p 65
- Niscirā—appears to be a variant reading for Nirvirā, M 114. 22 reads 'niscirā'
- Nispheśa—K II 41 8
- Nisthāssangama—(where there was Vasisthāśrama) P I 38 56
- Nisthāvāsa—P, I. 38. 54
- Nisthivī—(r. rising in Himavat) Br. II. 16. 26
- Nivāsahga—(under VS) L q by T K p. 89
- Nūpā—(r. rising from Pānyātra m) Br II 16. 28, Mār 54. 23 (reads 'Nūpi')
- Oghavatī—(r. in Punjab) Bhī. 9. 22, M 22. 71 (śrāddha and dāna very efficacious here), Vām, 46 50-57 83, 58. 115, Prthūdaka (modern Pehoa) was situated on it From Śal 38. 4 and 27 it appears that it was a name of Sarasvatī. Vide Dey p. 142 for different views about identification
- Ojasa—(under Kuruksetra, probably same as 'Aujasa' above) Vām, 41 6, 90 17
- Omlāra—A (one of five guhya ligas in VS) K I 34 1-11, L. I 92 137, P I 34.1-4, B (Omlāra Māndhātā, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas on an island in Narmadā about 32 miles north-west of Khandwa) M 22. 27, 186 2, P. II. 92. 32, VI 131. 67, SK. I 1. 17. 209 In the Halāyudha-stotra engraved in the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā on the left bank of the Narmadā dated in samvat 1120 (1063 A.D.) in E. I. vol. 25 p. 173 it is said that Omlāra dwells in Māndhātapura on the confluence of Narmadā and

Kāveri. Vide above under Māhismati

Omkāreśvara—(under VS) SK IV 33 118

P

Padmāvati—*Saṁ.* 46, 9 (one of the *Mātṛs*), the city is called Narwar. Vide A G p. 250 and the Khajurāho Inscription of *śamvat* 1058 (1001–2 A. D.) for a description of the town which was the scene of Bhavabhūti's *Mālātī-Mādhava* (E.I vol. I. p 147 at p 151). Narwar is supposed to be the home of Nala, King of Nīlādha

Paśācatīrtha—(On the south bank of Go.) B 84 1–2 and 18 (also called *Ājāna*). B.150 I speaks of a Paśācatīrtha on the north bank of Go. It is doubtful whether these two are entirely different tirthas.

Pañcamahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 4–5, K. II. 42 18

Pālamañjara—(near Sūrpāraka) Br. III 13 37

Pālapañjara (m.) Vā 77. 37 (śrāddha here most efficacious), Br III. 13. 37 (reads Pālamañjara)

Palāsaka—(where Jamadagni performed sacrifices) V. 90 16 (Palāsakesu punyeṣu)

Palāśinī—(r.) A (near Girnar in Kathiwar) Vide under Raiyataka and Rudradāman's Junagadh Inscription (E I. vol. VIII p 36 at p. 43) and Skandagupta's Ins of 457 A D. (C I I III. at p. 64); B (r Paddair which falls into the sea near Kalūgapatam in Ganjam) Mār. 54. 30 (rising from Suktimat), Vā. 45. 107

Palēśvara—(under Sābbramatī) P VI. 134. 2 (where image of Candī is established)

Pampā—(r. tributary of Tuṅgabhadra) Bh. X. 79. 12, Vām 90. 16

Pampā—(v. I. Japā or Jayā) P. I 26. 20–21 (said to be the door of Kurukṣetra)

Pampāsaras—(Lake Pampā near Rśyamūka in the District of Bellary) V. 279. 44, 280. 1, Rām. III 72, 12, 73. 11 and 32, VI. 126 35, Vanaparva 280. 1, Bh VII. 14. 31, X 79 12 (saptagodāvarim Venām Pampām Bhūmarathim tatah)

Pampātīrtha—M 22 50, Bh VII 14 31

Pañcabrahma—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 62

Pañcagangā—The five rivers called Gangā are Bhāgīrathī, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Pīnākīnī (Pennar) and Kāveri. But in Drona 54 23 (Pañcagangāsu sā punyā) only northern rivers seem to be meant

Pañcakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p 65

Pañcālakesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p 65

Pañcakundā—A (under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T. K p 226, B (under Lohārgala) Var 151. 43 (where five *dhārās* from *humakūta* fall)

Pañcanada—(the five rivers in Punjab) V 82. 83, Mausala 7 45, Vā 77. 56, K II 44. 1–2, L I. 43. 47–48 (near Japyeśvara), Vām 34. 26, P I. 24 31 The Mbh. (vol. II, p 239 on Pān. IV. 1 88) derives Pāñcanadab (Pañcanade bhavaḥ) from Pañcanadam The five rivers in Vedic times were Sutudrī, Vipāsī, Parusnī, Asīnī and Vitastā and in modern times they are called Sutlej, Bias, Rāwī, Chenab and Jhelum The union of these five rivers is called Panjnad in modern times and then the combined stream unites with the Indus a few miles above Mithankot Br S. XI 60 states that a malignant Ketu in Dhanisthā kills the king of Pañcanada and Br. S 14. 21 states it is a country in the west Vanaparva 222. 22 mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and Pañcanada separately (Sindhunadam Pañcanadam Devikātha

- Var. 141) For Pañcanada as a country, vide Śubh' Sparśa 32 11
- Pañcanadātīrtha—(under the Ganges) Pr. III 13 57, N II 51. 16-36 Vide p. 626 and note 1458 above
- Pañcanadī—(near Kōlhapur) P VI 176 43 (the image of Mahālakṣmī near it).
- Pañcanadīvra—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 96.
- Pañcapurva—(under D. ārakē) Var 149 36-40 (where a man of good deeds uses lotuses of silver and gold, but not an evil-doer) T. K p 326 reads Pañcalunda.
- Pañcaprayāga—Dey p 146 mentions (1) Pañcaprayāga (confluence of Māpīrīthī and Aśvīnandā), (2) Kārnāprayāga (Mālakandā and Pindara), (3) Rudraprayāga (Vikarandā and Mandā) in 18 miles from Kārnāpur, capital of Terri, (4) Nandaprayāga (Mālakandā and Nandā), (5) Viśvuprayāga near Joshimatha (Vikarandā and Virugāgā).
- Pañcāśvārāṣṭra—(or the southern sea) Pr. A 79 18 (Śrīdharmasūtrī, com. of Bh. says that this tīrtha is in the Bhāgavata which is Avantapura in the Madras State vide (216 1-4) names them as Agastyatīrtha, Svābhadrā, Pauloma, Kārandhama and Bhāradvāja. They were shunned by all, but Arjuna plunged into them and relieved the Asvārāṣṭras who had been reduced to pools by a curse. SK, Māheśvara-tīrtha, Kaumārīkā section, chap 1 is Pañcāśvārāṣṭra samuddharaga (by Arjuna)
- Pañcāśvārāṣṭra—(to north of Stūta-sūtrīn) Var 148 45
- Pañcasaras—A (a pool under Lobhāgala) Var 151 31, B (a pool under Dvārakā) Var 149 23
- Pañcasikha—(under Badarī) Var 141. 14-16
- Pañcāśvārāṣṭra—(under VS) L. q by T. K p. 67
- Pañcasikha—(under Badarī) Var. 141 39-44
- Pañcāśvamedhika—Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45
- Pañcatapa (a Sivatīrtha where pūndāśūna gives inexhaustible results) K II 44 5-6
- Pañcatīrtha—(in Kāñci) Br. IV. 40 59-61.
- Pañcatīrthakunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 164 37.
- Pañcavāna—(under Gayā) Vā 77. 99
- Pañcavāṇa—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41 11, P I 27 50 (probably same as Pañcavāṇi in V. 83 162)
- Pañcavāṇi—A (in the north) V. 83 162, B (on the Go) Rām III 13 13 (calls it 'dela'), III 13. 19 (two joyanas from Agastya-āśrama), N II 75, 30, Ag. 7. 3. Vide pp 709-710 above
- Pañcayaks—(location uncertain) V 84. 10
- Pañcāyatana—(five tīrthas on the Narmadā) M. 191 5-6
- Pāndārakavana—(very fit for śrāddha) Vā 77 37
- Pāndavāśvārāṣṭra—(under Narmadā) P I. 18 58, M. 191 61-62
- Pāndukūpa—Br. III 13 37 (near the sea) very fit for śrāddha
- Pāndupura—Vide Paundarikapura
- Pāncura—Vā. 45 91 (a minor m.)
- Pāndusabha—(one of the guhya-kṣetras of Viṣṇu) Nr. 65 9 q. by T. K p. 251
- Pānduśālātīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 77. 99, Vā. 112 44-48 (read Pānduśālā), T. K p 168 quoting Vā. reads Pānduśālāyā
- Pānikhyāta—P I 26. 84, V. 83 89 (-lāta)
- Pānakavāna—(under Gayā) N II 44 58, Vā. 112 43 (Pānduśālā was in this vana)
- Pāpamoksa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116 8, N. II. 47. 79
- Pāpāramocana—(under Kōlāmukha) Var 140. 51-54

Pāpaprāṇāśana—A (on Yamunā) PI 31 15; B (under Go.) B 92 1 and 48-49, also called 'Dhautapāpa' and 'Gālava')

Pāpasūdanatīrtha—(a spring in Kāśmīra) R I 32, H. C. 14 36 Kapateśvara; Saṅkarsana Nāga and Pāpasūdana are the same Śiva is worshipped as Kapateśvara at the sacred spring

Pārā—A (Viśvāmitra gave that name to Kauśkī) Ādi 71.30-32; B (r rising in Pāriyātra and falling into Sindhu in Malwa) Vā 45 98, M 13 44 and 114 24, Mār 54. 20 Printed Vāyu reads Parā, though some MSS read Pārā In M 13 44 it is said that Devī is styled Pārā on the bank of Pārā Vide Mālati-Mādhava 4th Act at end, and 9th Act, first verse and Br. S 14 10

Parbhāsapura—(modern Pāraspor in Kashmir) built by the great King Lalitāditya R IV 194-195 refer to silver and gold images of Viṣṇu

Pārśāryeśvaralinga—(under VS) L q by T K p 59

Pārplava—(under Sarasvatī) V. 83 12, F I 26 10 (same verse as in V), Vām 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śiprā are said to rise from it Vide K. I 47 24, Bh V 19.16, Vā 45 88 and 98, B 27 29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No 2 of Gotamīputa Śāta-karni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Prākṛit) as विन्ध्यकसवत्पारियात्रसह्यकण्डगिरि—मत्सिरिलमलय-महेन्द्र . पर्वतपते , Bom G vol. 16 p. 550 and as Pāricāta in Nāsik Ins No 10 (Bom G. vol 16 p 569) and in Mahābhāṣya as the southern boundary of Āryāvarta (vol.

I p 475 on Pān II 4.10) and also in Baud Dh S I 1 27

Parjanyaśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p. 115

Parnāsā (or Varnāsā)—A (r Banās in Rajputana which rising in Udaipur State falls into the Chambal) S. 65. 6 (yatkincid anu Parnāsām prāk Sindhorapi Saubala 1 etan mama dhanam &c) Parnāsā would mean 'the hope of foliage' Vā. 45. 97, Var 214 48, M. 114, 23, S. 9 21, B a river of Western India that falls into the Runn of Cutch The first is mentioned as Bārnāsā in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscription No 10 (Bom G Vol 16 p 569 and p 633), in Ins No 14, at Nasik it is spelt as Bārnāsā (Bom G Vol 16 p 577) and also in Karle cave Inscription No 13 in E. I vol VII at p 57. Vide for this river Bom. G vol. V p 283

Parusnī—A (modern Rāvi in Punjab) Rg V 52 9, VII. 88 8-9 (Sudās met his enemies Kutsa and the latter's allies on this river), VIII 74 15, X 75 5 Nir IX. 26 states that Irāvati was called Parusnī, B (a tributary of the Go) B 144 1 and 23

Parusnī-saṅgama—(under Go) B 144 1 Parvatākhyā—(under VS) K I. 35 8, P I 37 8 (same verse in both)

Parvateśvara—(under VS) M 183 62 Pārvatilā—(śrāddha on this river most efficacious) M 22 56 It is a river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal

Pāśā—(r rising from Pāriyātra in) Br II 16 28 Is it a misreading for Pārā?

Pāsānatīrthā—(r) Devala q by T.K. p 249

Pāśnī—(r. rising from Śuktimanta) M 114 32

Pāśupatatīrthā—M 22. 56 (śrāddha at this very efficacious)

Paśupateśvara—(under VS) L I 92 135

- Paśupatiśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 93
- Pātālā—(very sacred to pitrs) M 22, 33
- Pātandhama—(m) Vā. 45, 91
- Patatritīrtha—(under Go.) B 166, 1
- Pathiśvara—(in Kāśmīra¹ beyond Bharatagiri and Vitastā) NM 1245 (temple of), 1398
- Patreśvara—(on north bank of Narmadā) P I. 17, 1
- Paulastyatīrtha—(under Go) B 97, 1
- Pauloma—(vide Pañcāpsarasatīrtha) Xdī. 216, 3
- Paundarīka—(a Viṣṇuksetra, seems to be Paundharpur from context) P VI 280, 18-19 (Kṛtasañce haret pāpam Paundarīke ca Dandake : Māthure Venkatādrau ca)
- Paundra—(Devadāruvane Paundram) P VI 129, 27
- Paundravardhana—Vā 104, 79 (sacred pīṭha), Br. IV. 44, 95
- Pausaka—(in Kāśmīra-mandala) P VI. 129, 27
- Pavanaśya—hrada V. 83, 105
- Pāvanī—(r.) The Ghaggar is Kurukṣetra (Ambala District) Rām. I. 43, 13. Vide Dey p. 155
- Payasvinī—(r.) Bh. V. 19, 18, XI. 5, 39 (persons who dwell on this and other rivers of the south are great devotees of Vāsudeva).
- Payodā—(r.) Br. II 18, 70, Vā 47, 67 (rising from lake Payoda).
- Payosnī—(r. rising from Rkṣa or from Vindhya) Wilson says that it is (vol. II, p 144 n 37) the Pain-Gangā that joins the Waradā or Wardhā river in Central Provinces. V. 85, 40, V. 88 4, 7-9 (it is superior to all rivers including Gaṅgā and is the river of king Nrga), 121, 16, Vi. II. 3, 11. Tāpī and Payosnī are separately mentioned in most Purāṇas e. g. Vi. II 3, 11, M 114, 27, B 27, 33, Vā 45, 102, Vām. 13, 28, N II 60, 29, Bh. X 79, 20, P. IV. 14, 12 and IV. 16, 3 (sage Cyavana had his āśrama on it) Vide under Mūlatāpī V 121, 16 shows that after Payosnī the Pāndavas came to Vaidūrya-parvata and Narmadā Hunter in I G I, vol XX p 412 holds that Payosnī is the modern Purnā river in Berar rising in the Gavilgadh hills and falling into the Tāpī. The Nalacampū VI. 29 says (Parvatābheda pavitram ..Harimiva...vabati payah paśyata Payosnī)
- Payoṇisāngama—(śrāddha yields inexhaustible results) M. 22, 33
- Phalakīvana—(under Kurukṣetra, probably modern Pharal, 17 miles to south-east of Thanesar) V. 83, 86
- Phalgu—(r.) flows towards the north past the town of Gayā and ultimately joins a branch of the Pūnpū Vīde District Gazetteer of Gayā p. 8, Ag 115, 27 derives it from phala and go (yasmān phalati śrīr-gaur-vā Kāmadhenur-jalam mahī Dṛstam-yādikam yasmāt Phalgotīrtham sa phalguvat). Vā 111, 16 says it is superior to Gaṅgā since the latter is only water from the foot of Viṣṇu while the former is Adī-Gaḍādhara himself Vide pp. 648 n, 653, 660 n, 661-62, 664 n
- Phālguna—Bh. VII. 14, 31, X. 79, 18 (Śrīdhara says it is Anantapura)
- Phālgunala—(to the south of Mathurā) Var 157, 32
- Phālguneśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 105
- Phenā—(r. falls into Go) B 129, 7
- Phenā-sāngama—(with Go) B, 129, 1, 7-8
- Pindāraka—(in Khambhalia Mahāl of Kathiawar) V. 82 65-67 (where coins were found marked with lotus), 88, 21, M. 13 48, 22 69, Anu 25, 57, Vi. V. 37, 6, Bh. XI. 1 11 (Kṛṣṇa's son Sām̐ba dressed as a pregnant woman was cursed here by sages), Var 144, 10 (as Viśvausthāna), P I. 24 14-15 Dey

- p. 157 says it is 16 miles to the east of modern Dvārakā Vide Bom G. vol VIII (Kathiawar) p. 613 for legend connected with Pindar
- Piṅgāyāh-āśrama—Anu. 25 55
- Piṅgātīrtha—V 82. 57 (Piṅgātīrtha), P. I. 24 6 (same verse in both)
- Piṅgaśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 32, K II. 41 21, P I 18 32 (same verse in last two)
- Pippalā—(r. rising from Rksavat) Br. II. 16 30
- Pippalādatīrtha—(on Sābhramatī near Dugdhesvara) P VI 150. 1
- Pippalatīrtha—(under Go. near Caḥra-tīrtha) B 110 1 and 226 (Pippaleśvara in this verse)
- Pippaleśa—(under Narmadā) M. 190 13, P. I 17, 10
- Pippalī—(r. rising from Rksavat) M. 114. 25; probably same as Pippalā
- Piśācēśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p. 114
- Piśācamocana-kunda—(under VS) K I 33 2 and 13-14, P. I. 35 2 ff (almost same verses in both)
- Piśācamocana-tīrtha—(in Prayāga) P VI. 250 62-63
- Piśācīlā—(r. rising in Rksavat) Br. II 13. 30
- Pitāmahasaras—same as Puskara—A V. 89 16, B Śal. 42 30 (the source of Sarasvatī), V 84 149
- Pitāmahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194 4, P I 21 4
- Piṭhas—fifty are enumerated in Br IV 44. 93-100 such as Nepālā, Ekavīrā, Elāmra
- Plakṣā—(r) Vām q by T K. p 239 (from that river pilgrim goes to Kundina and then to Sūrpāraka)
- Plakṣaprasravana or praśra—(the source of Sarasvatī) Śal 54 11, K II 37 29, Br III 13 69, Vā 77 67 (very efficacious for śrāddha)
- Plakṣatīrtha—(sacred tank probably in Kurukṣetra where Purūraṇa found Urvaśī) Vā 91 32
- Plakṣā-atarāṇa—V. 90. 4 (where sacrificers performed Sārasvata-sattras); V. 129. 13-14 (Yamunātīrtha where those who performed Sārasvata sacrifices came for the final ceremonial bath called avabhṛtha), K II. 37. 8 (a Viṣṇutīrtha), Mār 21. 29-30 (in Himavat)
- Prabhāsa—A (in Saurāṣṭra near the sea, had a famous temple of Somanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas, broken by Mahmud of Ghaznī) also called Somanāthapaṭṭana, SK. VII 1. 2. 44-53 (several origins of the name suggested), V. 82 58, 130. 7, V. 88. 20, 118. 15, 119. 3, Ādi 218. 2-8, Śal. 35 42 (the moon was cured of consumption here), K II. 35. 15-17, N. II. 70. 1-95 (māhātmya), G. I 4 81, Vām. 84 29 (Sarasvatī falls into the sea near it) It is mentioned as a holy place in Usavādāta's Inscription at Nānak (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 669 and in Cūtra prasasti of Śāraṅgadeva dated samvat 1343 (1287 A. D.)). Prabhāsa is styled Devapattana and it is said that it is on the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the sea [E I. vol. I. p. 271 at p. 283 and Śrīdhara's prasasti of samvat 1273 (1216 A. D.)]; B (on the Sarasvatī) Śal. 35 78, SK. VII 1. 11-14; C (a hill near Gayā) Vā 108. 16, 109. 14, Ag 116. 15; D (under VS) K. I. 35 16, P I. 37. 15, E (under Dvārakā) Mausala 8. 9, Var. 149. 29-33 (there are alligators there but they do no harm), SK. VII. 1 chap. 35-36 (māhātmya of Sarasvatī and Prabhāsa), Bh. XI. 30. 6 (there is pratyak-Sarasvatī there i. e. S. flowing westwards, while in Kurukṣetra it is prāci). Usavādāta's Inscription states that the prince bore the expenditure of the marriages and secured brides for eight brāhmanas at Prabhāsa (Prabhase Punyatīrthe). It was here that Lord Kṛṣṇa left his mortal coil Vide 'The life and

times of Sultan Mahmūd of Gaznī by Dr. M. Nazim pp. 202-214 for origin, legends and sanctity of Somanātha and for date of invasion by Mahmūd (about 1025 A.D.), pp. 219-224 for stories connected with the expedition, and pp. 117-119 for attack on the fort of Somanātha, for the death of 50000 devotees in defence, for the destruction of the līnga with pickaxes and fire and for the immense booty of 20 millions of dinārs of those days (i.e. about £10,500,000 in present money); F (in Kāśmīra) HC. 14, 111, G (one of the five *dhārās* near Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58

Prāci-Sarasvatī—(same as Sarasvatī) A-Bh. VI. 8. 40, Vām. 42. 20-23; B (under Gayā) Vā. 112. 23

Pradyumnagiri or—pīṭha (same as Hariparvata in Śrīnagara) R. III. 460, VII. 1616, Vā. 18. 15, SM. p. 148 and K. R. p. 17

Pradyumnatūtha—N. II. 40. 96 Dey p. 158 says that it is Paṇḍu in the District of Hugli in Bengal

Prahasīteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 39

Prahlaḍeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48

Prājñamukha—(Visṇu to be worshipped as Vasudeva here) Vām. 90. 25

Prajāpatikṣetra—M. 104. 5 (limits defined). It is Prayāga; vide p. 599 note 1358

Prājāpatya—(under VS) K. I. 35. 4, PI. 37. 4 (same verse in both)

Pranīta—(i. falling into Godāvarī) B. 161. 1, P. VI. 181. 5 (on the bank of Go there was a town called Meghaśikara); same as Pranabita

Frāntakapāniya—(near Pañcanada) Var. 215. 109

Pṛāpaṇa—(to the north of Mandāra) Var. 143. 17

Prasravana-giri—A (in Janasthāna) Rām. III. 49. 31; B (on the Tāṅga-bhadra) Rām. IV. 27. 1-4 (in a cave

of which Dāma resided for some months)

Pratīci—(a great r.) Dh. XI. 5. 40 (persons dwelling on this are devotees of Vasudeva)

Pratīsthāna—A (near Prayāga) Vā. 75. 114. 1, Vā. 91. 18 (capital of Purūravas). 91. 30 (on the north bank of Yamunā), K. 12. 18, 125. 23 (on the eastern side of the Ganges), Mā. 108. 15 (given to Śāla Purūravas at Vasistha's request) Vā. IV. 1. 13, B. 227. 151, Bh. IX. 1. 42. B (modern Patthan on the left bank of the Go) B. 112. 23, Var. 165. 1, P. VI. 174. 20, VI. 178. 2 and 5 (refers to spending Mahārāja women at) The Pāṇi-khori Buddhist pillar inscription records the gift of a pillar by the family of a performer Mithara of Patthan; A. S. W. I. IV. 50

Vide A. G. pp. 553-554 for Pratīsthāna being the capital of Mahārāja in Hionen Thsang's times Hiuen Tsiang mentions it as Prithana and the Periplus as 'Prithana'. In the 10th edict of Aśoka at Shahbargarhi and elsewhere we have 'Bog'it-Prithana', which last word probably stands for Pratīsthāna (C. L. I. vol. I. p. 67)

Pravarā—(r. that joins the Godāvarī) B. 105. 45-54 (on which is situated Kṛtvāpura, modern Neriā or Neriā). It joins Godāvarī at Tola in Ahmednagar District, Bom. G. vol. 17 p. 6

Pravarapura—see under Śrīnagara, III. 335-349

Pravarā-saṅgama—(with Go) B. 105. 1 Vide Bom. G. vol. XVII p. 743 for Tola and Pravarā-saṅgam, two holy towns on the left and right banks of the Pravarā at its meeting with the Godāvarī, 7 miles north-east of Neriā

Prayāga—A (modern Allahabad) Var. pp. 595-617, also A. G. pp. 388-391 quoting Hionen Thsang. B (the confluence of the Indus

- and Vitastā i. e. Zhelum) NM 394-395 (Sindhu is deemed Gangā and Vitastā Yamunā)
- Prayāgeśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 45
- Pretakūṇḍa—(under Gayā) Vā 108 68-69, Ag 116 15 It is now known as Brahmayoni at the foot of the Pretaśīlā hill
- Pretakūṭa—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 109 15
- Pretaparvata—(under Gayā) Vā 83 20
- Pretaśīlā—(under Gayā) Vā 110 15, 108 15 It is a peak 580 feet in height situated 5 miles north-west of Gayā. Vide Gayā District Gazetteer p 235.
- Pritikeśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 111
- Priyamelaka—(pre eminent for śrāddha) M. 22 53
- Priyāratēśvara-lunga—(in VS) SK. IV 33 159
- Pṛthivī-tīrtha—P I 26 11 (near Pāṇplava)
- Pṛthūdaka—(on south bank of Sarasvatī, modern Pehoa) Vide p 685 above It was called Brahmayoni in Vām 39. 16-17 and 23 Vide A G pp 336-337
- Pṛthutūṅga—N II 60 25
- Pulahāśrama—Bh VII 14. 30, X 79 10 (near Gomati and Gandakī and same as Śālagrāma)
- Pulastya-pulahāśrama—(near source of Gandakī river) Var 144. 113, Bh. V. 8 30 (near Śālagrāma)
- Pulastyeśvara—(under VS) L by T K, p. 116
- Punahpunā—(r under Gayā, modern Pūn-Pūn) Vā. 108 73, N. II. 47 75
- Punarāvarṭanandā—(r) Anu. 25 45
- Puṇḍarika—A (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126 57, P I 26 78, B (near Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81. 7-8
- Puṇḍarikā—(r rising from a lake called Pavoda) Br II, 18 69-70
- Puṇḍarikāṣṭra—(modern Pandharpur) T S pp 7-21
- Puṇḍarikamahātīrtha—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br III 13. 56, Vā. 77. 55
- Puṇḍarikapura—M. 22 77, N II 73 45
- Punyasthala—(under Mathurā, one of the five sthalas) Var 160 21
- Purāṇeśvara—(in VS) SK IV 33 132
- Pūrṇa—A (r in Berar), it falls into the Tāpī on its left bank Vide An A vol II p 224, Changdev is a village near this confluence and a great tīrtha called Chikar-tīrtha (muddy), B Pūrṇa in Surat District falls into the sea (Bom. G vol II, p 26), C Pūrṇa which falls into the Godāvari in Parbhani District Vide I. G I vol. XII. p 297. Is it the same as the Pūrṇatīrtha in B 105 22?
- Pūrṇamulha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 40-41
- Pūrṇatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B 122 1
- Puru—(m) V 90. 22 (where Purūrasas went)
- Purūrasatīrtha—(under Go) B. 101. 1 and 19-20 (also called Sarasvatī-saṅgama and Brahma-tīrtha)
- Purusottama—(Jagannātha or Purī in Orissa) E chapters 42, 48, 68, 177, 178; M 13. 35, K II. 35. 27, N. II. chapters 52-61 (māhātmya). Vide pp. 692-703 above
- Pūrṇamulha—(a variant reading for Pūrṇamulha in Var 126 40)
- Puskara—(town, lake and place of pilgrimage, six miles from Ajmer). One of the few temples of god Brahmā exists here. There are three kundas called Jyestha, Madhyama and Kanistha (N. II, 71 12, P V. 28 53), Usavādāta's Nasik Ins No. 10 mentions gifts made by him at three pools (Pushkareṣu). Vide Bom G vol. 16 p 570. Vā. 77. 40, K II 20 31 and VDHS S5 1-3 state that śrāddha at Pus-

kara yields inexhaustible results. This is one (western) of the five Vedīs of Brahmā (P V. 15 150), Vām. 22. 19. Br. III 34. 11 and Vām 65. 31 mention Madhyama Puskara and Br III. 35. 39 says that Kanistha Puskara was 1½ yojanas from Madhyama Puskara, and Jyestha Puskara was one krośa to the west of Madhyama Puskara. It is said that the sacred Sarasvatī flowed to the ocean from here (P. V 19. 37) P V. 15. 63 and 82 explain how this place was called Puskara from the lotus (puskara) that Brahmā cast here. Br (III. 34. 7 ff) states that the hero Parasurāma practised *tāpas* here along with his disciple Akṣatavana for 100 years. The T. K. pp 182-185 quote verses 20-39 of Vanaparva chap 82 and twelve verses from P V. 27 relating to Puskara. Al. (vol. II p 147) states: 'Outside the town in three places they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration and are places of worship'. The principal temples are five, but all of them are modern, the earlier ones having been destroyed by Aurangzeb. There are several sub-tīrthas under it (V. 82). Puskara is in the Varanādigana (Pān. IV. 2. 82), B (Puskara, on Sarasvatī, called Suprabha, m) Ādi. 221 15, Śai. 38. 13-15; C HC 14. 111 (in Kāśmīra among the group of tīrthas at Kapatesvara), D (one of the five *dhārās*. at Badarikāśrama) N II 67. 57-58.

Puskarāraṇya—P V 18-217, S 32 8 (Prācī Sarasvatī flowed through it), Br S. XI. 35

Puskarāvati—a r probably known to Pān (IV. 2. 85, on which the Kāśikā mentions it and also several others)

Puskarnī—A (under Narmadā) M 190. 16, K. II. 41. 10-11, F. I 17 12, B (under Gayā) Ag 116. 13

Puspabbadrā—(r on the northern slopes of Himālaya) Var. 51, 2, 98, 5, Bh. XII 8 17, XII. 9. 10, Nr. q by T K p. 253

Puspabbadrā (r) Bh. XII 9. 10

Puspagiri—(one of the lesser mountains in Bharatavarṇa) Vā 45 92, Br. II. 16 22. Vide I. G. I vol. 23 pp. 114-115 for this

Puspajā—(r rising from Malaya) M 114. 30, Vā 45 105 (reads Puspajātī, which means the same thing)

Puspadautesvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 117

Puspasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157 17 (a Śivakṣetra)

Puspavahā—(r.) Bh XII. 9 30 (near Himālaya)

Puspavati—(r) V 85 12, P I 39 12 (same verse in both)

Putratīrtha—(under Go) B 124 1 and 137

R

Rādhākunda—(under Mathurā) Var 164. 34

Rāghaveśvara—M. 22 60 (śāddha renders inexhaustible results).

Raivataka—(hill at Junagadh opposite to Girnar) Ādi 218 8 (near Prabhāsa) and chap. 219 (festivities on it by Vṛṣayandhaka), S 14 50, Var 149 55 (q by T. K. p 227), SK VII 2 1 68 (western part of Udayanta hill near Somanātha in Vastrāpatha), M 22 74. Raivataka i e present Girnar is very sacred to the Jains (vide *Uttarādhyayanaśūtra*, SBE, vol 45 p 115). But the present Dvārakā is about 110 miles from it. The original Dvārakā, which was swept away by the sea, was much nearer. Pargiter (p 289) was not aware of two Dvārakās and hence proposes to identify Raivataka hills with Baradā hills in Hālār, the western corner of Kathiawad. In the Junagadh Inscription of Śālagupta of 136-138 Gupta era

- re 455-458 A D the river Palāśinī is said to spring from Ūrjayat which (C I I vol III at p 64) is opposite to Vātaka
- Rājagṛha—A (Rājgir, the ancient capital of Magadha) V 84 104, Vā 108 73 (punyam Rājagṛham vanam), Ag 109 20, N, II 47 74, P I 38 22, vide A G pp 467-468 and I G I vol. XXI p 72 for the five hills surrounding it, it was also known as Girivraja and was the capital of Jarāsandha under this name, B (in the Punjab) P I 28 13 (it is a Devīsthāna)
- Rājahadga—(on Sābhramatī) P VI 131, 116 and 134
- Rājāvāsa—(Viṣṇu shrine established by Paraśurāma in Kāśmīra) NM 1384, 1447
- Rajeshvara—(under Śrīparvata) L I. 92 156
- Rāmādhivāsa—(śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here) M 22. 53
- Rāmagīryāśrama—G I 81. 8, Meghadūta 1 and 12 (Rāmagīrya is Rāmtak, 28 miles north-east of Nāgpur in C P and two miles from Vākātaka capital Nandivardhana)
- Rāmagraha—(under Sānandūra) Var 150 10
- Rāmahrada—(five lakes on the north of Thaneshwar) V. 83. 26-40, Anu 25 47, Bh X, 84 53, P. I. 26. 23-37 (where Paraśurāma filled five lakes with the blood of ksatriyas killed by him and his piṭṛs transformed them into tīrthas at his request), NM. 1387-99 (it is Brahmāsaras where Bhārgava Rāma practised tapas after washing his bloodstained hands), Bh X. 84 53 Also called Cakra-tīrtha (vide p 742 above)
- Rāmajanma—(to the east of Sarala) P I 26 76
- Rāmalinga—(under VS) L q by T K p 113
- Rāmasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var 150 14-18 (one krośa in extent)
- Rāmatīrtha—A (under Gayā) Vā 108 16-18, M 22 70 (anantam śrāddha-dānayoh), Ag 116 13, B (in Śūrpāraka) V 85. 43, Śal 49 7 (where Bhārgava Rāma gave the earth as dakṣiṇā to Kaśyapa in Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices) Vide Usavādāta's Nasik inscription recounting the gifts he made at Rāmatīrtha in Śorparaga in Bom G vol 16 p 570, C (under the Ganges) N II 40.85, D (on Gomatī) V 84. 73-74, P I 32 37, E (under Go) B 123 1, F (under Mahendra) P I 39 14
- Rambhālinga—(under VS) L q. by T K p 105
- Rambheshvara-linga—(under Sarasvatī) Vām 46 39
- Rāmesvara—A (one of the twelve Jyotirlingas, said to have been established by Rāma himself) M. 22. 50, K II. 30. 23 (bath at R saves from sin of brahmahatyā), G I 81. 9. Vide T Sp 47 which quotes passages from V, K, and Ag. It is situated on the island of Pāmban It is one of the most venerated shrines in the whole of India Vide I G. I vol XXI pp 173-175 for a brief description of the great temple; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I 92 149 (established by Viṣṇu himself).
- Ratneśvara-linga—(under VS) SK IV. 33 165
- Rantuka—(one boundary of Kuruksetra) Vām 22. 31 and 33. 2 Vide p 683 n 1551 above
- Rantukāśrama—(on Sarasvatī) Vām 42. 5
- Rasū—(a river) Rg. V. 53 9, X 75 6. It is difficult to identify it It appears to have fallen into the Indus But from Rg X 108 1 (katham Rasāyā ataraḥ payāmsi) in which the Panis ask Saramā how she crossed the waters of Rasā, it

- appears to be a mythical river. It is identified with Panjkora by E. Thomas in JRAS vol 15 p 361 (n s.)
- Rathacatraka—(a tirtha) P VI 129 9
- Rathaspā—(r.) It was included in the Pāraskarādīgana (Pān VI I 157)
- The Mbh, (vol III p 96) mentions 'Rathaspā nadi' In Mb (Vanaparva 170 20) a river Rathasthā is mentioned between Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī on the one hand and before Sarayū and Gomatī on the other
- Rathākhya r is mentioned in Br. S 16 15 Vide Ādi 170. 20.
- Rāvanasvatīritha—A (under Narmadā) M. 191 26, B (under VS) L. q by T. K p 98
- Ravistava—(under Narmadā) P I 18 19
- Renukāsthāna—(one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh VII 38 5 (probably at Parasurāma, in the Ratnagiri District)
- Renukāstaka—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 5
- Renukāstīritha—V 82.82, P. I. 24.30 and 27.47. Dey (p 168) says it is about 16 miles north of Nahan in the Panjab Nahan is the capital of Sirmur State.
- Retodaka—(under Kedarā) Devīpurāṇa q by T.K p. 230
- Revā—(Narmadā) Vide pp. 703-707 above
- Revantesvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 96
- Revatī-saṅgama—(under Go) B 121 1 and 22
- Rkṣa or Rksavat—('abounding in bears', one of the seven main mountain ranges of Bharatavarṣa) Vā 45 99-101 and 95 31, M 114 17, B. 27. 32, Var. 85 (prose) Rivers like Sona, Narmadā, Mahānadi are said to rise from it Hence it is the eastern part of Vindhya from Bengal to the sources of Narmadā and Sona. Rksavat is mentioned in the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 (Bom. G. vol 16 p 550 as *रिक्षवतः* i. e. *रिक्षव-सप्तवत्* It is the Ouxention of Ptolemy (p 76). Wilson (vol II. p 128) holds that Rkṣa is the mountain of Gondawana There is great difficulty in identification, since the same rivers that are said to rise in Rkṣa in M and V are said to rise from Vindhya in Mār 54 24-25.
- Rnamocana or Rnapramocana—A (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41 6. Vide A S R. of India, vol XIV p 76 (which says that it is situated to the south of Kapālamocana-tīritha on the Sarasvatī), B (near Prayāga) M. 22. 67 (śrāddha gives inexhaustible results), 107 20, C (under Go.) B 99. 1; D (a sub-tīritha under Āmalakagrāma) Nr 66 28 q. by T. K p 235, E (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 117
- Rnamoksa—(under Gayā) N II. 47. 79, Ag 116 8
- Rnātakūpa P I 26 93
- Rnatīritha—(under Narmadā) M. 191, 27, K II. 41. 19 and 29
- Rodhasvatī—(r.) Bh. V 19 18
- Rohitaka (m) Ś 32. 4
- Rabha—(m in Pāṇḍya country) V. 85. 21, Bh V 19 16, X. 79 15, M. 121. 72 and 163. 78. Dey p 119 suggests that it is the Palni hills in Madurā
- Rabha—(r rising in Vindhya) M. 114. 27
- Rabhadvīpa—V 84. 160, P I. 38 67
- Rabhatīritha—A (under VS) K. I. 35 3, P. I. 37. 3, B (in Kosalā : i. e. Dakṣiṇa-Kosalā), vide the Guṇji Rock Inscription of Kumāravaradatta read by M M Prof Mirashi in E I vol. 27. p 48 where it is recorded that at Rabhatīritha of the Bhagavat (probably meaning Śiva) an *amūṣya* of the king made a grant of two thousand cows to brāhmanās Prof. Mirashi points out that Guṇji is a small village, 14 miles north-west of Sakṭi

- in the Chhatisgarh Division of C P, that at the foot of a hill near that village there is a kunda (pool) called Daman Dahrā, that the record is engraved on a rock on one side on this pool, that not many miles from Guñj inscriptions of centuries before and after the Christian era have been found and that the Guñj Inscription is to be assigned to the 1st century A. D. Vanaparva 85. 10 states that the pilgrim who fasts for three days at Rsabhatirtha secures the rewards of Vājapeyaya;ñā Vide V 85, 10, P I 39. 10
- Rabhañjanakathirtha or Usāthirtha—(under Mathurā) Var q by T. K p 191
- Rāikā—(r. from m Suktimat) Vā 45 107
- Rakanyā—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 14
- Rakulyā—(r) V 84 49, P I. 32. 12, M 114 31, B. 27. 37, N. II. 60 30 (rising from Mahendra m) Vā 45. 106 reads 'Rtukulyā It is the river of Ganjam, acc to A G p 516. The famous Jaugada fort in the midst of which on a huge granite mass thirteen edicts of Aśoka are inscribed is on this river
- Rasañghesvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 54
- Rusatira—(under Go) B 173 1
- Ryamūka or Rāyamūke—(m) Rām III 72 12, III 75 7 and 25 (on the borders of lake Pampā), Bh V. 19 16, V. 280 9, V 147 30 (on which Sugrīva resided), 279 44 (near Pampā lake) Vide Pargiter (p. 289 note) for identification which is rather vague
- Ratirtha—A (under Narmadā) M 191 22 and 193 13 (sage Trnabindu became free from curse here), K. II 41 15, P. I 18. 22, B (under Mathurā) Var 152 60
- Rasārngesvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 115
- Rṣyavanta or Rṣya—(m) M. 114 26, Vā 45 101, B 27 32
- Rucikeśvarala—L I 92 167
- Rudragayā—(near Kolhapur) P VI. 176 41
- Rudralanyā—(under Narmadā) P I 20 76
- Rudrakara—(under Kurulsetra) Vām 46 11
- Rudralarna—(under VS) M. 181 25
- Rudrakarnahrada—(under VS) P I 37 15
- Rudrakoti—A (under Kurulsetra and Sarasvatī) V. 82 111-124, Vām. 46. 51, P I. 25 25-30, K II 36 1-8 (where Hara assumed a crore of Rudra forms for the competing sages), B (under VS) M 181. 25, C (under Narmadā) P I 13 12, V. 17 103, M 186 16-17
- Rudramahālaya—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 63, Devala q by T. K p 250
- Rudramahālayatirtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 139 1
- Rudrapada—A (under Gayā) Vā 111. 64-67, Ag 115 48, B (under Kurulsetra) P I 26 94
- Rudraprayāga—on confluence of the Mandākinī and Alakanandā in Garhwal district (I G. I vol XXI p. 338)
- Rudrāvarta—(after Sugandhā) V 84. 37
- Rudravāsa—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 62
- Rukminīkūṇḍa or Rukmīkūṇḍa—(under Gayā) Vā 108 57, Ag. 116 5
- Rūpadhārā—(Viṣṇu's form on Itavātī) Vām 90 5
- Rurukhanda—(under Śālagrāma) Var 145 105, chap 146 explains why it is so called.
- S
- Śabarīrtha—(on Go) P. VI. 269. 277-78
- Śābhramatī—(modern Sābarmatī river that rises in the Mewar hills and falls into the gulf of Cambay) The original of Sābarmatī is given as Śvabhavatī in I. G. I. vol. XXI p 344.

- Vide P. VI 131. Up to chap. 170 of P. various sub-tribes of the river are described at great length. Verses 2-6 of chap. 133 speak of seven streams of it, viz. Sābhramatī, Setikā (Śvetakā), Bakulā, Hiranmayī, Hastimatī (modern Hathimati) Veitravati (modern Vātral) and Bhadrāmukhī Sābhramatī-sāgara-saṅgama — P. VI. 166. 1
- Śacīvara-lūga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105
- Sadānūla—(*Sthāna* of a *nūga* in Kāśmīra) NM 1133-1140
- Sadānirā—(r.) Śat. Br. I. 4. 1. 17 states 'even now this river is a boundary of Kosalas (Oudh) and Videhas. This river came rushing from the northern mountain and though all other rivers were burnt up, this was not burnt'. Sāyana explains Sadānirā as Karatoyā. Bhī (9. 24 and 35) keeps the two distinct S. 20. 27 indicates that it was between the Gandakī and Sarayū, while B (27. 28-29) states that it rises from Pūryātra in Vā. 45. 100 states that Karatoyā comes from Rkṣa range. Pargiter (Mār chap. 57 p. 294) says that it is the Raptī. The Amarakośa regards Sadānirā and Karatoyā as synonyms
- Sagareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51
- Sāhasrakatiritha—V. 83. 158, P. I. 27. 46 (same words in both)
- Sahasrākṣa—M. 22. 52 (*dāna* most efficacious here)
- Sahasrakunda—(under Go.) B. 154. 1, q. by T. S. p. 59
- Sahya or Sahyādri—(one of the seven main mountains of Bharatavarṣa) B. 161. 2, M. 13. 40, Br. III. 56. 22, Ag. 109. 21
- Sabyāpalaka—Vide Āmālaka
- Sabyāranya—Devipūṭana q. by T. K. p. 244
- Saileśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 86, Var. 216. 23, N. II. 50. 57, SK IV. 33. 135
- Saileśvaraśrama—Var. 215. 57 and 83-84
- Sailoda—(lake at the foot of m. Aruna) Vā. 47. 20, Br. II. 18. 21-23
- Sailodā—(r. which springs from Sailoda lake) Vā. 47. 21, Br. II. 18. 22. Vide Dey p. 172 for identification
- Saundhavāraṅga—(where Cyavana resided with Sukanyā) V. 125. 13, Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239. V. 89. 15 speaks of S. as being in the west
- Sākambharī—A (Sāmbhara salt lake in Western Rajputana on the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States) V. Dh. S. 85. 21, in an inscription of Cāhamāna Vīgraharāja dated Vī. Rama era 1030 (973-74 A. D.) Sākambharī is mentioned (E. I. vol. II, p. 116 at p. 124). Vide I. G. I. XXII pp. 19-20 for legends about it. Near the south-eastern extremity of the lake there is Sāmbhar town which is an ancient one and was once the capital of Chauhān Rājputs; B (in Kumaon on the road from Haridvāra to Kedāra) V. 84. 13, P. I. 28. 14-16 (a Devīsthāna, where Devī subsisted on vegetables alone for 1000 years)
- Sāketa—(same as Ayodhyā) It is the Sāgeda of Ptolemy. Vide Br. III. 54. 54. The Mbh. (vol. I, p. 281 on Pān. I. 3. 25) has 'this road leads to Sāketa' and vol. II, p. 119 (on Pān. III. 2. 111) 'arunad-Yavanah Sāketam' (the Yavana besieged Sāketa) The Yavana referred to is deemed to be Menander. The Suttanipāṭa (SBE, vol. X part 2 p. 188) mentions it as existing in the time of Buddha. Fa Hien (about 400 A. D.) refers to it as 'Sha-chi' and Hsuen Tshang as Visākha. Vide A. G. pp. 401-407. The Raghuvamśa (XIII. 79, XIV. 132, XV. 38) treats Sāketa and Ayodhyā

- as synonyms) The *Kāśikā* on Pān V 1 116 cites 'Pāṭaliputraivat Sākete parikhā'. This shows that in the 7th century Sāketa was a flourishing town with a wide ditch. A. C. (p 182) notes that Sāketa, Kosalā and Ayodhyā are synonyms (verse 975)
- Śakrarudra—(three *krośas* from Kokāmukha) Var 140 65
- Śakrasaras—(under Śānandūra) Var 150 33
- Śakratīrtha—A (on the south bank of Narmadā) M 22 73, K II. 41 11-12, P I 24 29, B (under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 81
- Śakrāvarta—V 84 29, P I 28 29
- Śakreśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 75
- Śālagrāma—(a sacred place near the source of the Gandakī river) V. 84 123-128, Vi II 1 24, II 13 4 (king Bharata, a yogin, and a devotee of Vāsudeva resided there), M. 13. 33 (Umā was called Mahādevī in Śālagrāma), 22 62, P I 38 41, Var 144 3 and 14 (all stones there are to be worshipped, particularly those marked with *cakra*); verse 29 says 'the Śālagrāma hill is Viṣṇu'; v 145 says it is also called 'Devūta', that it is twelve *yojanas* in extent (v 159) The sacred stones called Śālagrāma and worshipped as Viṣṇu are found in the bed of the Gandakī towards its source. It was also called Pulahītāma (Vi II 1 29) T K (pp. 219-221) quotes verses of Var, and V 84 123-128
- Śālagrāma—(same as above) K II. 35 37, Nr 64 22-26 (Puṇḍarika came to this Mahākṣetra)
- Śālagrāmāgiri—Var 144. 13 and 29
- Śālakatankateśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 48
- Śālisūrya—V 83 107, P I 26 100 (a tīrtha probably established by Śākhota)
- Śālūkinī—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83.13. The Mbh (vol I p 474 on Vārtika 2 to Pān II. 4 7) speaks of Śālūkinī as a village)
- Śālvikini—(probably the same as above) P. I 26 11
- Sāmalanātha—(same as Śyāmalanātha) M. 22 42, P. V. 11. 35 Dey p 200 identifies with Sāmaly in Mahālanthā Agency.
- Samaṅgā—(a r. also called Madhuvilā) V. 134. 39-40, V. 135 2 (where Indra was freed from the sin of Vṛtravadha). Samaṅgā is so called because it makes all limbs as they should be. Aṣṭāvakra's limbs became straight after a bath in it
- Samantapañcaka—(same as Kurukṣetra) Ādi. 2. 1-5 (five pools of ksatriya blood that were transformed into holy pools of water), Śal. 37. 45, 44 52, 53. 1-2 (the northern Vēdī of Brahmā), P. IV. 7. 74 (written as Syamanta—), Br. III 47 11 and 14. Vide pp. 682-83 above Vām. 22 20 (printed as Syamanta—), 51-55 (lake is called Sannihita and it is half a *yojana* all round, but Vām 22 16 says it is five *yojanas*)
- Samasrotah—(under Mandāra) Var 143 24-26
- Sāmbapura—A (under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55 (also called Kuleśvara), B (on the banks of Candrabhāgā) Bhav, Brahma 140 3 It is modern Multan
- Sāmbhalagrāma—B 213 164 (Kalkin Viṣṇuśaśas will be born here to destroy *mlecchas*), P. VI. 269 10-12 (speaks of Sāmbhalagrāma), G I. 81 6, Bh XII 2 18 Vā 98 104-109, M 144 51, Br II 31 76, Vi IV. 24 98 speak of the future exploits of Kalkin or Pramati (but all don't mention Sāmbhalagrāma). The I. G I vol XXII p 18 identifies it with the town Sambhal in the Moradabad District, U P. many

ancient mounds, temples and sacred spots exist in the neighbourhood.

Sammūrtika—(a tīrtha in VS) P I 37 6

Samṣṭhaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 37

Samsāramocana—(śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results) M 22 67

Sāmudraka—(near Brāhmāvarta) V 84. 41

Samudrahūpa—(under Prayāga) M 106 30

Sāmudratīrtha—(under Go.) B. 172 1-20, about ten verses of which are q by T.S pp. 63-64 (though with variant readings)

Samudreśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 105

Samvartaka—(under VS) K I 35 6

Samvartavāpī—V. 85 31, P I 39 29 (same verse in both)

Samvarteśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 99

Satvidyātīrtha—V 85 1, P I. 39 1

Samyamana—(under Mathurā) Var 153 3

Sanaucareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 67

Sanala—Yama q by T.K. p 248

Sanakesvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 67

Sanaudeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 67

Sānandūra—Var 150 5 § Its exact location cannot be stated. It is between the southern sea and Malaya. An image of Viṣṇu was established there, some saying that it was made of iron, others saying of copper, lead or stone and so on. Dey does not notice it.

Sapatkumāreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 67

Sandhyā—A (r in Kāśmīra) NM. 1471, R I 33 and Stein's note. Vide Trisandhyā, B (river Sindh in Malwa, which falls into the Yamunā) S 9, 23, P. I. 39. 1. C (another r.,

location uncertain) V. 84 52, P. I 32 16

Sandhyāvata—(under Prayāga) M 106 43

Sāndilī—(r in Kāśmīra) NM 1445

Sāndilī—Madhumatī—sangama—NM 1446

Sāndilyeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 68

Sangamana—(under Dvārakā) Var 149 41

Sangamanagara—(under Dvārakā) Var q by T.K. p 226

Sangamesvara—A (under VS) N 11. 50 63-64, B (at confluence of Sābhramatī and Hastimatī) P VI 138, I, C (on the south bank of Narmadā) M 191 74, K. II 41. 36, P I 18 53; D (at confluence of Gangā and Varuṇā) L I 92 88

Sankha-hrada—(under Go.) B 156 1

Sankha-līkheśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 93

Sāṅkha-prabha—(under Śālagrāma) Var 145. 48

Sāṅkhatīrtha—A (on Sarasvatī) Śal. 35 87, B (under Narmadā) K. II. 42, 17 (Sāṅkha-), C (under Āmlaka-

grāma) Nr 66 23

Sāṅkhutīrtha—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83 51

Sāṅkhoddhāra—(an island situated at south-western extremity of the gulf of Cutch) Bh. XI 30 6 (Kṛṣṇa directed that women, children and old men should go to this, when terrible portents were seen in Dvārakā) M 13. 48, 22 69 (śrāddha is ananta here) It is a very sacred place, particularly for Vaiṣṇavas. Vide I G I vol 3 p. 18

Sāṅkukarna—(under VS) M. 181 27, K. I 31. 48, P I 24. 18

Sāṅkukarṇeśvara—(a linga on the southern boundary of VS) K I 33 48, L I 92. 135, N. II 48 19-20

Sāṅkuntalā—Vām q. by T.K. p 236

Sannihitā—(a tract more extensive than Kurukṣetra, but including it) Br III 13. 68 (pumsām Sannihitāyām tu Kurukṣetre viśesataḥ arcayitvā pūrms-tatra sa putrast-vanno bhavet) TP. p 466 reads 'Sannihata', states it is a lake eight krośas in extent and that there are four lakes called Sannihata, Sannihatyā, Sānnihatya and Sannihātā

Sannihati—(another name of Kurukṣetra, according to several works) V 83. 190-195 (Nīlakantha explains that Sannihati is another name of Kurukṣetra) Verse 195 derives as 'tīrtha-sannihanād-eva Sannihatyeti vīrutā' i.e. all tīrthas gather together here every month on Amāvāsyā, P. I. 27. 77-78 (same verses as in V), Vām 41. 9 and 45. 29, Ag 109. 15 (employs the word Sannihiti 'Sarasvatyām Sannihitām snānārd-brahmalolaḥbhā'))

Sannihatya-saras—(in Kurukṣetra) Vām 47. 56, 48. 23, 49. 6 (on the north bank of Sarasvatī and near Dvaitavana)

Sanniti—(in Kurukṣetra) NM 168-169 (seems to be the same as Sannihati above)

Sāntesvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 66

Saptacarutīrtha—see 'Vadavā'

Saptadhāra—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 136. 16 (same as Saptasārasvata)

Saptaganga—V 84. 29, Anu 25. 16, P. I. 28-29 (same verse as in V) The seven Gangās are Gangā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmrāparnī, Sindhu, Sarayū and Narmadā Acc tō NM, 720 the seven Gangās are Bhāgīrathī, Pāvanī, Hrādīnī, Hīlādīnī, Sītā, Sindhu, Vāṅku.

Saptagodāvara—V 85. 44, Vā 77. 19, M 22. 78, Bh X 79. 12, P I 39. 41, IV 108. 39, Br III 13. 19, SK. IV. 6. 23 See Kharha plate of king Yaśāhkarna in Kalacuri year 823

(i.e. 1071-2 A.D.) in E. I vol. XII p. 205 ff where in verse 23 the seven streams are named, in the Godāvarī District Gazetteer p 6 the seven mouths of the Godāvarī are said to be sacred to seven sages viz Kāśyapa, Atri, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmītra, Jamadagni, Vasistha R VIII 3449 speaks of Godāvarī as falling into the sea with seven mouths.

Saptanada—Br III 13. 58 (deyam Saptanade śrāddham Mānase vā viśesataḥ)

Saptakoṣṭhvara—T P p 557 quoting SK. VII

Saptapuskarinī—(seven springs at Thid in Kāśmīra) SM. p 160. It is also called 'Stanakunda' in HC IV 45. An A (vol II p. 361) refers to it 'In the village of Thid is a delightful spot where seven springs unite'

Saptārṣa—V. Dh S 85. 39 (śrāddha very efficacious at it) Dr Jolly identifies it with Sāṭārā.

Saptarākunda (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 46 (where seven dhārās fall from Himavat).

Saptasāgara-linga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 136.

Saptasāmudraka—(under Kubjāmraṇa) Var 126. 91

Saptasāmudraka-lūpa (under Mathurā) Var. 157. 12

Saptasārasvata—(in Kurukṣetra) where sage Mankanaka pierced his hand with the tips of kuśa grass when vegetable fluid began to flow from it and he danced with joy. V 83. 115, Śal. 38. 4-31 (where seven names, for which p 686 above may be referred to, are mentioned). K II 35. 44-76 (story of Māṅkanaka), P I 27. 4 ff (follows V 83), Vām 38. 22-23 (story of Mankanaka), N II. 65. 101-102 (seven rivers are named)

- Saptavati—(r) Bh V 19 18
- Sarabhaṅgakūṇḍa (under Lobhārgala)
Var. 151. 49
- Sarabhaṅgāśrama—V 85 42 and 90 9,
Rām. III 5.3, P. I 39. 39, Raghuvamśa XIII 145 (near Sntāksnāśrama)
- Sarabindu—(under Āmalakagrāma)
Nr. 66. 34
- Sāradātīrtha—(in Kāśmīra) M 22 74,
R. I. 37 Foremost among tīrthas of Kāśmīra is modern Sardi on the right bank of river Kisangaṅgā. In front of the temple sacred Madhumatī falls into Kisangaṅgā Vide SM. p. 206 Ain A. (vol II. pp 365-66) says that the temple of Sāradā dedicated to Durgā is on the bank of the Padmatī river which comes from Dardu country and that on every 8th day of the bright half of a month it begins to shake
- Sarala—(under Kuruksetra) V. 83 75-76, P I 26 76, N II 65 62-63 Vide p 684 above
- Sarastamba—(near Devadāruvana),
Anu 25, 28
- Sārasvata—A (śrāddha very efficacious here) M 22 63, B (under VS) K I 35 12, P I 37, 15
- Sārasvata—lūga (under VS) SK IV. 33 134
- Sārasvatatīrtha—Śal 50 (story of Asita Devala and Jaigīshavya), 51 (birth of Sārasvata from Sarasvatī, who taught the Vedas to sages in a drought for twelve years)
- Sarasvatī—(modern Sarasutī) A—The river starts from Brahmasaras, acc to Śalya 51 19, from Badarikāśrama acc. to Vām. 2 42-43 and from Plaksa tree acc. to Vām 32 3-4, P. V 18 159-160 (say that Sarasvatī was asked to cast the Vāḍava fire into the sea in the west) This is probably an allusion to volcanic action whereby Sarasvatī disappeared Vām. 3 8 says that as Śankara guilty of
- Brahmahatyā plunged into it, it disappeared, while elsewhere (e g in V. 130 3-4) it is said that it disappeared through fear of the touch of śūdras, Nisādas and Ābhīras and Anu. (155 25-27) states that Sarasvatī went to Marudeśa owing to curse by Utathya and became dry and unholy. After disappearing it becomes visible at Camasodbheda, Sivadhbheda and Nāgodbheda The Sarasvatī in Kuruksetra was called prāci Sarasvatī (P V 18. 181-182). See Dey pp. 180-181 for several Sarasvatīs V 130 1-2 state that those who die on the Sarasvatī go to heaven and this was the blessing conferred by Dakṣa when he performed a sacrifice there Vide 'Oldham's paper in JRAS for 1893 pp 49-76, B—There is another holy river of the same name rising in the south-west end of Aravali hills and flowing south-west through the districts of Palanpur, Mahikantha and Baroda and past the ancient cities of Anhilvād and Siddhapur and falling into the lesser Rann of Cutch Vide under Prabhāsa
- Sarasvatī-Arunā-sangama—V 83 151, K II. 30, 22, Śal. 43 31 and chap. 44
- Sarasvatīpatana—(under Mathurā) Var. 154 20.
- Sarasvatī-sāgara sangama—V 82. 60, P I 24 9, Vām 84, 29
- Śarāvati—(Probably Rāphī in Oudh) Bhī 9 20, Pān VI 3 120 (Śarādīnām ca) knew the river Śarāvati, Karaśvāmīn (in com. on Amara 'Śarāvati-āstu yośvadheh') quotes a verse 'prāgudañcau vibhajate hamsaḥ kīroḍake yathā' vidusām śābdasiddh-yartham sā nah pāṇi Śarāvati.' Dr. Agrawala in (J.L.P.H.K.S. vol. 16 p 15 surmises that it is the Chagghar flowing through Ambala District I have grave doubts about

- this. It is possible that when the Sarasvatī became dried and only a marshy bed was left it was called Śarāvati, but that in the times of the Amarakośa, Śarāvati is probably the river Śarāvati which falls into the sea near Honavar (North Kanara District) on which are the famous Gersappa falls. In the Raghuvamśa (XV.97) Śarāvati is said to have been the capital of Lava, son of Rāma
- Sarayū—(r) Rg IV. 30 18, V. 33. 9, X 64 9 (Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned together), In all these places the word is Sarayu, while in classical Sanskrit it is Sarayū or Sarayū (M 22. 19, Vā 45 94, N II. 75. 71, Raghuvamśa 15 95 and 100). M. 121 16-17 and Br II. 18 70 show that Sarayū springs from the Mānasa lake situated at the foot of the Vaidyutagiri. Ayodhyā was situated on the Sarayū (Rām II. 49, 15) Sarayū rises from Himālaya (Vā 45 94, M 114. 21) According to Pān VI, 4 174 (Dāndīnāyana—) the water of Sarayū was called Sārava (Kāśīlā says 'Sarayām bhavam sāravam udālam') In the Cullavagga (SBE vol XX p 302) it is one of the five great rivers of India and in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol 35 p 171) it is one of ten great rivers, but in both places it is written as Sarabhū. Vide T P pp 500, 501 where it is stated that it rises from the left toe of Viṣṇu and is joined by Ghargara It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy (p 99). It is also called the Ghogra or Gharghara
- Sārdūla—a Śarvaksetra, according to Bar S III 122.
- Sargabindu—(under Narmadā) K. II 42 23.
- Sarkarāvartī—(r) Bh. V 19, 18
- Sarvahrada—V §5 39 (uncertain location)
- Sarvatīrtha—P. II 92 4 and 7 (Prayāga, Puskara, Sarvatīrtha and Vārānasi) are the four tīrthas that remove all sins including *brahma-hatyā*.
- Sarvatīrtheśvara—(under VS) SK IV 33. 134.
- Sarvātma—(under Kubyāmra) Var 126. 37
- Sarvāyudha—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 56
- Śaśākeśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p. 97
- Śaśayāna—(under Sarasvatī) V 82 114-116, P I 25 20-23 (same verses in both) Some mss read 'Śaśapāna'.
- Śaṣṭīhrada—Anu 25 36
- Śatadru—(Sutley) same as Śutudrī which see, Ādi 177 8-9 (derivation given), M 22 12, Bh V. 19.18 The Amarakośa gives Śutudrī and Śatadru as synonyms.
- Śatalumbhā—(under Sarasvatī) V. 84. 10. P I 28 11 (same verse in both)
- Śatarudrā—M. 22 35 (śrāddha here is inexhaustible)
- Śatasahasraka—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 27, 45, Vām 41. 3, V 83. 157 and 84, 74 (Śatasāhasraka)
- Śatasrṅga—(m) Devala q. by T.K p. 250.
- Śātāpeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 92
- Śatīkatīrtha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām 41 3
- Satyavatī—(became river Kauśikī) Vā 91 88
- Saubhadra—Ādi. 216, 3 (one of the five Nārītīrthas on the southern sea)
- Sauharava—(as printed in Var 137 7 of the Venkatesvara press edition) is a misreading for Saukaraka. Vide under, Sūlaratīrtha
- Saurpāraka—Br. III. 13. 37. Vide Sūrpāraka

- Śaṅgandhikagiri—M. 121. 5 (to north-east of Kailāsa)
 Śaṅgandhikavāna—V. 84. 4, P. I. 28. 5-6 (same verge in both)
 Saumutrisaṅgama—(very fit for śrāddha) M. 22. 53
 Śaunakeśvara-kunda—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 122
 Savarnīvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 60
 Sāvitrāpāda—(under Gayā) V. 84. 93. Vide p. 619 above
 Sāvitrī—(r. boundary between modern Ratnagiri and Kolaba Districts). P. VI 113. 28
 Sāvitrīvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70
 Sāvitrīritha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6, K. II 12. 19, P. I. 21. 6
 Śeṣatīritha—(under Go.) B. 115. 1
 Setu—the supposed bridge (called Adam's Bridge) between Rāmeśvara and Ceylon said to have been built by Rāma with the assistance of Sugriva and his monkey hosts, Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 15 (Śāṃdraseta), G. I. 51. 8, N. II 76 (contains *setu-māhātmya*). Adam's Peak in Ceylon has a famous foot-print which is venerated by Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Moslems alike Vide T. P. pp. 557-560 for *māhātmya*
 Setubandha—same as above Vide T. S. pp. 1-4 and Tīrthaprakāśa pp. 557-560, Rām. VI 22. 45-53, VI 126. 15 (etat-tu drīyate tīrtham sīgarasya mahā[manah] Setubandha it khyātam &c), P. V. 35. 62 (says that Setu was built in three days), SK III Brāhmahanda, chapters 1-52 on Setu-māhātmya, its subsidiary tīrthas and *Setuyātrākrama*. Vide p. 94 above for visit to Setubandha as an expiation.
 Siddhakeśvara—(one of the eight tīrthas under Virajātīrtha) B. 42. 6
 Siddhapada—(a ksetra on Sarasvatī) Bh. III. 33. 31
 Siddhapura—(64 miles to north of Ahmedabad) M. 13. 46 (Devi is called Mātā here), what Gayā is for Pitṛa, Siddhapura is for the mother. It is on the Sarasvatī river
 Siddhatīritha—(under Go.) B. 143. 1
 Siddhavana—M. 22. 53 (śrāddha here most efficacious)
 Siddhavata—A (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 7, B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92, 153
 Siddhkeśvara—(linga on south bank of Narmadā) Vām. 46. 34, P. II. 20. 34.
 Siddhkeśvara—A (under VS.) M. 32. 43 and 181. 25 q. by T. K. pp. 88, 117 and p. 241, B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 100, C (on the south bank of Go.) B. 128. 1
 Siddhikūta—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 88
 Śikharīritha—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 82, P. I. 20. 78
 Śilātīritha—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 2
 Śilākeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 46
 Simba—a Varuṇa-ksetra acc. to Bār S III 120. Probably the same as Simhāchalām temple of Nṛsimhāvatāra of Viṣṇu about 6 miles north-west of Vizagapattam Vide I. G. I. vol. XXII p. 375
 Sindhu—A (the modern Indus, Greek Sinthos) Rg. II 15. 6 (he made the Sindhu flow northwards), V. 53. 9, VIII 20. 25 (the medicine that is in Sindhu, in Asikni and the seas), X 73. 6 The seven Sindhus (i. e. Indus, five Panjab rivers and Sarasvatī) are mentioned in Rg. II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, A. V. VI. 3. 1, Drona 101. 28 (Sindhusasthā samudragāh), R. I 57 (Stein's note), NM. 394 (Sindhu is Gaṅgā and Vitastā is Yamunā). Vide for description I. G. I. vol. I pp. 29-31. It rises in Tibet north of Kailāsa. Sindhu is also the name of the country through which the river flows,

- vide Pān IV 3. 93. On Pān IV 3. 83 (prabhavati) the Kāśikā gives the example 'Dārādī Sindhuḥ' (the river Sindhu rises in Darat) Some mss. of Kāśikā include 'Darat' in Sindhvādīgana Sindhu country is mentioned in Rudradāman's Junāgadh Ins., B (a r. rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Yamunā) Vā 45. 98, M. 114. 23, B. 27 28 It is the same as Kālī-sindhu between the Chambal and Betwa Mālatī-mādhava refers to its confluence with Pārā (Act IV end) and with Madhumatī (Act IX prose passage after verse 3) Padmāvatī, the scene of the drama, was situated on the confluence of Pārā and Sindhu
- Sindhuprabhava—(source of Sindhu) V. 84. 46, P I 32 10 (same verse in both)
- Sindhusāgara—Nr 65. 13 q by T K p 252
- Sindhusāgarasangama—V. 82 68, Vā 77. 56, P I. 24. 16 (same verse as in V)
- Sindhūtama—(a lake) V. 82. 79
- Siphā—(r) Rg I 104 3 (in which the two wives of Kuyava met death)
- Siprā—(r from Pāriyātra, flowing past Ujjayinī) M. 22. 24, 114 24, Vā 45. 98 Every mile of the river is marked by sacred spots, the reputed haunts of rsis or the scenes of miraculous incidents, the river is said to have sprung from the blood of Viṣṇu and is believed to flow with milk at certain periods Vide Ain A vol II p 196 for this
- Siitā—(a branch of Gaṅgā) Vā 47. 21 and 39, Bh. V. 17. 5
- Sitātīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var 179. 28
- Sitavana—(under Kurukṣetra) P I. 26 55
- Sivadhāra—M 22 49
- Sivahrada—Br III. 13. 52
- Sivakāñci—(at Conjeeveram in South India) P VI. 204 30
- Sivanadī—Nr 65 23 q. by T.K. p 253
- Sivasarasvatī—a Saivakṣetra acc to Bār S III. 122
- Sivodbheda—(where Sarasvatī reappears after disappearing) V 82 112, P I. 25 19
- Slandatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 49, M 191. 50
- Slandeśvara—(in VS) SK IV. 33 125, L q by T.K. p 68
- Slesmātakavana—(on Himavat) Var. 214 24–26, 215. 12–13 and 115 Dey p. 188 says that it is Uttara Goharna two miles to north-east of Paśupati-nātha in Nepāl. For two Goharnas, north and south, vide p. 754 above
- Smasāna—Avimukta, which see, M 184 19
- Smasānastambha—(under VS) L. q by T K p 54.
- Snānakunda—(under Mandārā) Var. 143. 18–20
- Sodaranāga—(in Kāśmīra) NM 13–14 It is modern village Sudarbal situated on a deep inlet of the Dal lake. Vide R I 123–26 and II. 169 and SM p 164 Stein notes that Sodara is an ancient name of the spring now called Nārān Nāg situated close to temple ruins at Bhūteśvara NM mentions it in connection with Bhūteśa and Kanakavāhinī and the distance from Bhūteśvara to Śrīnagara is about 32 miles
- Somakunda—(under Gayā) Ag 116.4
- Somanātha—A (in Saurāstra near Verawal) Ag 109 10 (Somanātham Prabhāsakam), P. VI. 176. 37, vide A G p 319 and under Prabhāsa; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116 23 A popular verse is 'Sarasvatī samudras-ca Somah somagrahas-tathā | darśanam Somanāthasya sakārāḥ pañca durlabhāḥ)
- Somapada—V 84. 119.

Somapāna—M 22 62

Somāśrama—V 84 157

Somatīrtha—A (on the banks of Sarasvatī) Vām. 41.4, V 83 114, M 109 2, B (under Narmadā) M. 191. 30, P I. 18. 30 and 27. 3, K II. 41 47, C (under VS) K. I. 35 7, P I. 37 7 (same verse in both), D (under Go) B 105 1, 119 1, E (under Mathurā) Var. 154 18, F (under Kokāmukha) Var 140, 26-28, G (under Virāja) B 42, 6, H (under Sūkara) Var 137 43 (where Soma secured highest *siddhi*), I (under Sābhramatī) P VI 154 1

Somesa—(under VS) K I 35, 9

Somostara—A (removes all diseases) M 22 29, K, II 35. 20, B (under Sālagrāma) Var. 144. 16-29

Sona—(a *nada*, also called Hiranyavāha, rising in m. Rksa in Gondwana according to the Purānas and falling into the Ganges some miles from Banāpore) M. 22 35 (a *nada*), 114. 25, B 27. 30, Vā. 45 99, Br II 16 29 It is the Sea of Ptolemy (p 99) and Sonas of Arrian It rises near where the Narmadā rises in the Amarakantaka hill Vide AG pp 453-454 for its confluence with the Ganges

Sona-jyotīrathā-sangama—V 85 8, P. I 39 8, V. Dh 5 85 33 (reads Sona-jyotīrathā-sangama, while the com. Vajrayantī notes the v. l. Sona-jyotīrathā)

Sonaprabheda—(prabhava?) V 85 9, P. I 39 9

Sonitapura—(capital of Bānāsura, where Anuruddha was kept in confinement for his intrigue with Usā) B 206. 1, Harivamsa, Visṇuparva 121. 92-93 Dey p 189 says that it exists under the same name in Kumaon and that several other places claim to be the Sonitapura of Bānāsura In the Harivamsa it is said that Sonitapura was, 11000

yojanas from Dvārakā. BV (Kṛṣṇa-janmakhaṇḍa, Uttarārḍha, II 4 847) mentions Sonitapura as capital of Bānāsura. A C. [p. 182] states it was also called Kotivarsa (v 977)

Srāvastī—(Sāhet-māhet on the Rāpti in Oudh) said to be the capital of Lava in Uttara Kosala It is 58 miles north of Ayodhyā, Rām VII 107 4-7, Vā 88 200 and A G. p 409, but some mss of Raghuvamsa (XV. 97) state that Srāvastī was the capital of Lava Vide Marshall's article in JRAS for 1909 pp 1066-1068 for the reasons for identifying Srāvastī with Sāhet-Māhet and the Sāhet-Māhet plate of Govindacandra in E. I. vol. XI p. 20. In JRAS for 1898 pp 520-531 Vincent Smith disputed the identification of Sāhet-Māhet with Srāvastī and holds that Srāvastī was near Nepalgaon in Nepalese territory. B 7 53 says that it was called after Srāvastī of Ikṣvāku race.

Srīlṣetra—Jagannātha Purī

Srīkunda—V 82 86 (now called Lalakmī-kunda, in VS) L. q by TK p 62

Srīkuñja—(under Sarasvatī) P I. 26. 19, V. 83 108

Srīmādala—(the guardian nāga in the south of Kāśmīra) NM 1117

Srīmukhī—(guhā) L. q by T K. p. 60 (under VS).

Srinagara—A (capital of Kāśmīra). It has a long history. R I 104 states that Aśoka built Srinagarī with 96 lakhs of houses Stein in note on this says that Cunningham (A. G p 93) located Srinagarī of Aśoka at the site of the present village Pandrethan (Kalhana's Purāṇādhis-thāna) on the right bank of Vitastā, three miles above modern Srinagar. Pandrethan is at the foot of the hill Takhta-i-Sulaiman Pravaraṣena I erected the shrine of Pravaraṣena

and Pravarasena II built the new capital in the beginning of the 6th century Hiouen T'sang speaks of the new city (Pravarapura) Vide Beal's B R W W vol. I pp 96, 148 and 158 and A. G. pp. 95-96. Am A (vol. II p 355) states that Kōh-r-Sulaiman is to the east of Śrīnagara. Al (vol I p. 207) notes that Addisthan (adhīsthāna the capital of Kāśmīra) is built on both banks of the Zhelum. For the Dal lake close to Śrīnagara and one of the most beautiful spots in the world, vide. I. G. I. vol XI, pp 124-125, B—a town in Garhwal District on the left bank of the Alakanandā (U. P. Gazetteer vol. 36 p. 200).

Śrīngātaleśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92 155

Śrīngatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I 21, 31.

Śrīngaverapura—(or Śrīngbera) V. 85 65, P. I 39, 61 (same verse in V and F), Rām II 113 22, VI 126 49, Ag. 109, 23. Here Rāma crossed the Ganges when going from Ayodhyā into exile. It is modern Srīngaur or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges about 22 miles north-west of Prayāga.

Srpā—(r rising from Vindhya) Br II. 16 32.

Sripāni—(dāna most efficacious here) M 22 49

Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila—A (hill situated in Karnal District on the south side of the Krsnā river 50 miles from Krsnā station). There are numerous lingas here including the famous Mallikāryūna (in L I 92 155), one of the twelve Jyotirlingas, many are named in L. I, 92 147-166. Vide V 85, 18-20 (Mahādeva with Umā is there), Vā 77 28, M 13 31 (Devī called Mādhavī here), 181 28 (one of the eight main Śivasthānas), 186,

79 (one tripura of Bānāsura burnt by Rudra fell here), P I. 15 68-69 (same story as in M 188), Agn 113 4 (Gaurī, assuming the form of Lalāmī practised penance here). Pargiter (p 290 n) does not correctly interpret Ag. K II 20 35 (Śrāddha most efficacious here), II. 37 13-14 (religious suicide allowed here), P. I 39 17, VI 20, 15 (a great place for yogins and those practising penance). It is a Śāltaksetra acc. to Bār. S. III 124. The Mālatīmādhava mentions it several times. Vide E I XX p 9, E I IV p. 193 (Chikkulla plate of Viṣṇukundin Vikramendraravarma). In the Nāgārjunikoṭṭa Inscription F of about 3rd century A. D. edited by Dr Vogel, Śrīparvata is mentioned (E I, vol XX p 1 at p 23), B (a linga in VS) Ag 112 4, C (under Narmadā) Ag 113, 3

Śrīpatitīrtha—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) M 22, 74.

Śrīranga—(modern Śrīrangam, an island between Kāverī about 2 miles north of Trichinopoly and Coleroon) M. 22 44 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results), Bh X 79 14, P VI. 280, 19, Bār S III 120 (a Vaisnava-ksetra). It is mentioned in the Śilappadikāram chap X (tr by Prof Dikshitar p 163). Rāmānuja, the founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy died here. Vide I G I vol XXIII pp 107-108 for a brief description of the temple of Viṣṇu (called Ranganāthasvāmī here).

Śrītīrtha—(under VS) V 83 46, K I 35 8, P I. 37, 8

Stambhatīrtha—(modern Khambayat situated on the gulf of Cambay) K II 41 51, P I 18. 93 (both speak of it under Narmadā). A Stambhatīrtha is mentioned in T S p 101. Vide I, A vol 54 p. 47

- Stambhākhyatīrtha**—(near Mahisā-gara-sangama) SK. I. 2. 3. 27. Probably same as above.
- Stambheśvara**—SK. I. 2. 3. 40
- Stanakunda**—V. 84. 152, Var 215. 97 (Stanakunde Umāyās-tu)
- Sthalesvara**—(a Śivatīrtha) M. 181. 27
- Sthāneśvara**—(a lūga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
- Sthāneśvara**—(modern Thanewar 25 miles south of Ambala) M. 13. 3 (Devī is called Bhavānī here). Vide A G pp. 329-332 It was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1014 A. D. In Harśacarita Bāṇa mentions Sthānviśvara country.
- Sthānutīrtha**—(under Sarasvatī where Vasistha had his āśrama) Śal 42. 4 (Vasistha had his āśrama to the east of this tīrtha and Viśvāmitra had his on the west), Vām. 40. 3 (on the north bank of the Sarasvatī), 42. 30 (it has one thousand lūgas), 49. 6-7 (it is on the lake called Sānubhatya). Vām chapters 47-49 deal with the mātātmya of this tīrtha. Dey p. 194 says it is the same as Sthāneśvara.
- Strīrīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M 194. 31.
- Stutasvāmīn**—(a Visnuksatra on Mani-pūragiri) Var. 148. 8-81. T h pp 222-224 quote about twenty verses from Var 148 without a word of comment Verses 75-76 explain the name (as the god was *stuta* by other gods and the sages Nārada, Asita and Devala) Dey does not notice it and Prof. Aiyangar does not identify it.
- Subhadra-sindhu-sangama** P VI. 129. 25.
- Subhūmika**—(a tīrtha on Sarasvatī) Śal 37. 23 (visited by Balarāma)
- Sucakra**—(under Sarasvatī) Vām 37. 89
- Suddheśvara**—(under VS) L. II by T. h. p 122
- Sudina**—V. 83. 100
- Sugandha**—(under Sarasvatī) I. I. 32. 1.
- Sugandhā**—V. 84. 10. V. Dh. S. 211c (according to com it is a river near Saugandhila m). P. I. 25. I (near Sarasvatī). P and V have same verse
- Sugrīheśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 51
- Sūkaratīrtha**—(Soron on the west bank of the Ganges between Bareilly and Mathurā (according to A. G. pp. 364-365) Vide I G I. vol 23 pp. 88-89. Var. chapters 137-139; T h pp 209-212 quote 37 verses from Var 137 for this tīrtha and from no other source. N. II 40. 31 and 60. 22 (Vyāsa in the form of Varāha appeared here), P. VI 121. 6-7 (the extent is four yojanas) Some texts read Śūkaratīrtha
- Śukasya-āśrama** V. 85. 42, P. I. 33. 39 (same verse in both)
- Śukeśvara**—(on north (oparṇa) Var 173. 9
- Śuklatīrtha**—(on the north bank of Narmadā about ten miles north-east of Broach) K. II. 41. 67-82, M 192. 14, SK I. 2. 3. 5 Vide p. 706 verse for Cānakya's association with it also I. G. I. vol. 23 p. 123 and Bom G. vol. XI. pp. 563-565 for legend of Cānakya's conversion. P. I. 19. 2-35 (about Cānakya rajarā having obtained vidyā here)
- Śukratīrtha**—(on north bank of the V. B. 95. 1, M. 22. 29
- Śukreśvara**—(under VS) K. I. 13. 15, L. I. 92. 93, N. II 50. 65
- Sūktimala**—(one of the seven great mountains of India, being a part of the Vindhya) K. I. 47. 39, 44. 45. 88 and 107, N. II 60. 27. P. V. 19. 16 Vide Dr. P. G. Rao on 'Mountains and rivers of India' in Department of Letters (Calcutta University), vol. 28 pp. 20-21 for the correct identification. It is the same as

- known of the seven principal mountains, and the rivers that flow from it are few and their names are mutilated in the texts Vide Dr Ray Chaudhary's 'Studies' etc pp 113-120 for discussion and Dr. B. C. Law on 'Mountains and Rivers of India' in Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 pp 20-21 for different identifications
- Suktmatī**—(r obstructed by m Kolāhala in Cedi) Bhī 9 35. Vide Dey p 196 for different identifications. B 27 32 and M. 114. 101 say that it rises in Rksa mountain, while Mār. 57. 23 says it flows from Vindhya
- Sukumāri**—(r rising from Suktmat m) Vā 45 107
- Śulabheda**—(under Narmadā) M 191 3, K II. 41 12-14, P I. 18 3
- Śulaghāta**—(in Kāśmīra) Vide under Nilakunda
- Śūlesvara**—(under VS) L q by T K p 52
- Sumantu-linga**—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p 97
- Sunandā**—(r.) Bh VIII 1 8
- Sundarikā**—(r.) P I 32. 21 It is one of the seven holy rivers quoted in a *Pāli* complet (SBE, vol X, part 2, p. 74)
- Sundarikābrada**—Anu. 25 21
- Sundarikātīrtha**—V 84 57, Anu 25 21 (after Devikā), Var 215 104
- Sundilā**—(tīrtha in Kāśmīra) NM 1459
- Sunīla**—(under VS) P. I 37. 3
- Suparnā**—(a tributary of Go.) B. 100.1
- Supārśva**—P. VI 129. 16
- Suprayogā**—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 253, Mār 54. 26, Vā 45 104. It cannot be identified, though it is said that it rises in Sahya (Br II 16 35) Some identify it with the Pennar Vide E I vol. 27 p. 273
- Surabhiavana**—(in the Himālaya on river Śilodā) Br II 18 23
- Surabhikēśvara**—(under Narmadā) P I 18 36
- Surasā**—(r) Vī II 3 11 (rises from Vindhya), Br II. 16 29 (rising from Rksavat), Bh. V 19 18
- Sureśvari-Isētra**—(present village of Isābar in Kāśmīra, two miles north of Dal lake shore) R. V 37, NM. 1532, S M p 161 The chief attraction here is a sacred spring known as Gupta-Gangā
- Śūrpārakatīrtha**—(modern Sopara near Bassein) V 85 43 (resorted to by Parāsurāma), 88 12 (in it was the Vēdī of Jamadagni), 118 8-10, Śānti 49 67 (reclaimed from the sea by Jamadagni's son Parāsurāma), Anu 25 50, Harivamśa, Viṇuparvā 39 29-31 (in Aparānta Śūrpāraka city was five hundred *dhanus* long and 500 *śus* broad and was established by discharging an arrow by Parāsurāma), Br II. 58 17-18 and 32-33 (the strip taken by Parāsurāma from the sea is 400 *yojanas* from north to south), Bh X 79 20, B 27. 58 (Śūrpāraka is mentioned as the first of the Aparānta countries) It is mentioned as 'Śōrpāraga' in Nasik Inscription No 10 q- in Bom G vol 16 on p 569 The Nānāghāt Ins No 9 (A S W I vol V. p 64) mentions a Govindadāsa Sopārayala There is a Suppāraka-jātaka (No 463, vol IV p 86 ed by Cowell), where we are told of the seaport called Bharukaccha and a kingdom named Bharu It is probable that the Ophir of the Old Testament is Śūrpāraka, though some scholars dispute this A G (pp 497-499 and 561-562) argues that Ophir or Sophir (in the Septuagint translation of the Bible) is the country of Sauvira and not Śūrpāraka as many scholars hold. Ptolemy mentions it as

- Soupara. Some eminent scholars hold that Ophir is Abiria (i.e. Abhiras) of Ptolemy (p. 140). Vide JRAS for 1898 pp. 253 ff for discussion and JBERAS vol. 15 p. 273 for a long note on Sūrpāraka.
- Sūryatirtha—A (under VS) V. 83 48, K. I 35 7, P. I. 37 7, B (under Mathurā) Var. 152.50, 156, 12 (where Bali, son of Virocana, propitiated the Sun).
- Susartu—(r., tributary of the Indus on the west of it) Rg. X. 75 6. Keith does not know which tributary of the Indus it was.
- Suskanadi—(under VS)—same as Asi, M 183 62, L q by T. K. p. 118.
- Suskeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 118.
- Susomā—(r.) Rg. VIII 64 11. In Rg. X. 75 5 also it is probably the name of some river, though the Nir. IX 26 takes it to be Sindhu, Bh. V 19, 18, Stein in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration volume pp. 21-28 ('River names in Rgveda') says (on p. 26) that Susomā is Sohan (Suwan) flowing through the Rawalpindi District and reaching the Indus to the north of the Salt Range.
- Susumnā—A (r. under Gayā) N II 47 36, B (under VS) L q by T. K. p. 35 (same as Matsyodari).
- Sutikānāśrama—Rām III 7, Raghuvamśa XIII 41 (at some distance from Agastyāśrama).
- Sutirihaka—V 83 56.
- Sutudri—(same as Sutilej in the Punjab, the Śatadru of classical Sanskrit works) Rg. III. 33, 1, X 75 5. It is the Greek Hupaus or Huphasis (A. I p. 65), which formed the limit of Alexander's march in India. It rises on the southern slopes of Kailāsa and once issued from the Mānasa lake Pargiter (p. 291 n) says that in ancient times this river did not probably join the Beas as it does now but pursued an independent course and that it formerly flowed along the dry bed now called Hakra or Ghaggar at a distance of 30 to 50 miles south of its present course.
- Suvarna—V 84 18, Ag. 109, 16, P. I. 28 19 (where Viṣṇu sought for the favour of Rudra).
- Suvarnāśa—(under VS) M 181 25, K. II 35 19.
- Suvarṇarekhā (holy river near Raivata) SK VII 2 1 1-3 (probably same as the next). There is a river of same name in Bengal. Vide I G I vol. XXIII p. 114.
- Suvarṇasikātā—(in Jungadh Inscription of Rudradāman to be assigned to 150 A.D., E. I. VIII p. 36 at p. 42) now called Sonrehā in Kathiawad.
- Suvarṇatīlaka—(under Narmadā) P. I 18, 46.
- Suvāsta—(r., modern Swāt that falls into Kabul river) Rg. VIII 19 37 (Suvāstā adhi tugvan). The Nir. IV 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and 'tugvan' means 'tirtha'. It is the Soastos of Arrian (A. I p. 191). Pān IV 2, 77 (Suvāstā-dibhyosin) knew Suvāstu and makes it the first word of 'Suvāstāvāda-gana'. Inscriptions in Sanskrit containing famous Buddhist gāthās have been found near Swāt. Vide E. I. vol. II p. 133 for three Buddhist inscriptions in Swāt.
- Suvratasya—āśrama (on Drasvati) V 90. 12-13.
- Svacchoda—(lake) Vide Acchoda.
- Svacchodā—(r.) Br. II 11 6 (rising from lake Svachchoda on m. Candraprabha).
- Svāmītirtha—M. 22 63, K. II 37 19-21 (Skanda is always present there). Dey p. 107 identifies it with the temple of Kumārasvāmī situated about a mile from Truttan on the M and S. M. Railway on a hill called Krauñca-parvata.

Stargabindu—(under Narmadā) P. I 21. 15

Svargadvāra—A (under Kuruksetra) P. I. 27. 55; B (under VS) K. I 35 4, P I 37 4, C (under Gayā) Ag 116 4 (the word here is 'Svargadvāri'), D (under Purnsottama) N II 56 31

Svargamārgabhada—Anu q. by T. K. p 248

Svarga-mārga-pada—V. DH. S 85. 41. Svargatirtha—Anu 25. 33

Svargēvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Svarlineśvara—(under VS) L. I 92.78, SK IY 33 123 (explains why it is so called)

Svarnabindu—(under Narmadā) Anu. 25 9, M 194 15

Svarnalomāpanayana—P I 26 58

Svarnarekhā—(r in Vastrāpathaksetra i e, modern Ginnar and surrounding territory) SK VII 2. 3, 2 and VII. 2 10. 209

Svarnavedi (r)—Vā 77 95, K. II 37.37

Svastipura—(near Gangāhṛada and Gangāhūpa) V 83 174

Svalantresvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6

Svayambhūrtirtha—(modern Suyam in Kāśmīra in the Nachipur pargana) R. I. 34, HC 14 80 Volcanic phenomena are observed here and sometimes vapours rise from fissures in the ground sufficiently hot to boil śrāddha offerings placed by pilgrims.

Śvāvilomāpaha—V 63 61

Śvetī—(r that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI 133. 19-20

Śvetādri—(m) P I 280 19, M. 113. 38 (eastern part of Meru is so called)

Śvetadvīpa—G I 81 7, K I. 1 49, I. 49 40-47, Vām 25 16 and 60 56, Śānti 336 8 ff, 337 27 ff In most of these texts it is a mythical country to the north of Kśīrodadhī

Śvetamādhava—N II 55 3

Śvetatirtha—(under Go) B 94. 1

Śvetajāvarī—(r) Rg VIII 26 18

Śveteśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 99

Śvetī—(r, tributary of Indus on the west) Rg X 75 6 Lit. it would mean the white one It is difficult to identify it with Suvāstu

Śvetodbhava—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 133 15

Syandika—(r Sai, seven miles south of Jaunpur, mentioned after Gomatī) Rām. II. 49 12

Śyāmāyāh-āśrama—Anu. 25 30

Syenī—(r rising in Riksaparvata) M. 114. 25 Dey p 200 identifies it with Ken in Bundelkhand

T

Tarjasa—(to the west of Kuruksetra where Skanda was crowned commander of the gods) P I. 27 52-53.

Taksasīlā—(modern Taxilā) Svargā-rohana-parva 5 34, Vā 88 189-90, Br III 63. 190-91 (established by Taksa son of Dāśarathi Bharata as his capital in Gandhāra), in the Jātakas Taksasīlā is mentioned as a seat of learning (as in Bhīmasena-Jātaka, Fausboll's ed vol I. p 356). Vide Ptolemy p. 118-121 for its history from Alexander's time onwards Ptolemy calls it Taxila It is mentioned in the Dhauī first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka (C I I vol. I p 93) and the word occurs in Pfn. IV 3 93 Vide for description of its ruins A. G. pp 104-113, Marshall's 'Guide to Taxilā' and other works

Taksaka-nāga (sacred spring in Kāśmīra near Jayavana, modern Zevan). V. 82. 90. R I 220, P I. 25 2 (says Vitastā is the home of Taksaka-nāga). It is worshipped to this day in the large pool close to the village Zevan. Vide S. M. p 166, K R p 5

Tālakarnēśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p. 72.

Tālatirtha—(under VS) P I. 37 2

Tālavana—(to the west of Mathurā) Var 157. 35

- Tamasā—A(r, modern Tonse, flowing 12 miles west of the Sarayū and falling into the Ganges) Rām I 2. 3, II 45 32, Raghuvamśa IX 20, XIV. 76 (on which stood Vālmiki's āśrama) Vide C I I. vol III, p 128 where a village Āśramaka on Tamasā is granted in A.D 512-13; B (r rising from Rksa), M 114. 25, Vā 45. 100; C (r falling into Yamunā) Devī Bh. VI. 18. 12
- Tāmrāparnī—(r in Pāndya country rising from mountain Malaya and falling into the sea) B 27. 36, M 114 30, Vā 45 105 and 77. 24-27, V. 88. 14, Rām IV. 41. 17-18, K II 37. 21-22, Br III 13 24, Bh X 79 16 and XI 5 39 The Taprobane of Megasthenes (A. I, p. 62) and Tam-bapanni of Asoka's Girnar Inscription II, it is said to be Ceylon but that may refer to the river as well, E I XX at p 23 (Nāgar-junikonda Ins.), Br III 13. 24 and 25, Raghuvamśa IV 49-50 show that pearls were found there
- Tāmrāprabha—(under Mathurā) Var. q by T. K. p. 191
- Tāmrārūna—V 85 154
- Tāmravati—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 23
- Tandulikāśrama—(near Puskara and Jambūmārga) V 82 43, Ag. 109. 9, P.I. 12 3
- Tāpasesvara—(under Narmadā) K II. 41 66, P I. 18 96
- Tapastīrtha—(under Go) B 126 1 and 37 (it is also called Sattratīrtha)
- Tapatī—(r) M 22. 32-33 (Tapatī seems to be Tāpī here as distinguished from Mūlatāpī) In Ādiparva chapters 171-173 Tapatī is a daughter of the Sun whom king Samvarana married and had a son Kuru from her, Mār. 105 26 (younger daughter of the Sun became river)
- Tāpēsvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 104
- Tāpī—(r. rising from Vindhya and falling into the Arabian sea at Surat, also called Tapatī) M 114 27, B 27. 33, Vā. 45 102, Ag. 109 22 Tāpī is mentioned in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscription No 10 (Bom G vol. 16 p 569). Vide under Payoṇī above and TP pp 544-547 (for mātāmā and sub-tīrthas)
- Tāpikā—same as Tāpī Devipurāna q. by T. K p. 242
- Tāpī-samudra-saṅgama—T P p 547
- Tapovana—A (on south bank of Go.) B 128 1, B (in Vanga country) V 84. 115, P I 38. 31. 'Tato vāham' is a misreading in Vanaparva
- Tārakesvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 104 Tārakesvara is also a village in Hooghly District of Bengal famous for its shrine of Śiva, Vide I.G.I. vol. 23 p 249
- Taranda or Tarantula—(a dvārāpālā of Kurukṣetra) V 83. 15, P I. 27. 92 (reads 'Taranda', Vām 22. 60. Vide p 683 note 1551 above.
- Timi—(to the right of Saṅkharneśvara) P I. 24. 20-23
- Tīrthakoti—V 84 121, P.I. 36 38 (same verse in both)
- Tosalaka—(the guhya name of Visnu is Garudadhvaja here) Nr q by T.K. p 252. Is it the same as Ptolemy's Tosalei (p 230) and the Tosali in Asoka's Dhauli Inscriptions (C I I. pp 92 and 97) and the Nāgarjunikonda Inscription (L I. vol XX. at p 23)? Tosali (modern Dhauli in the Puri District) was the chief city of northern Kalinga in the days of the Mauryas
- Toṣā—(r rising in Vindhya) M. 114 27. Vā 45 103
- Trayambaka tīrtha—A (under Go and sacred to Pitr) M 22 47, K II 35 18, B (under Narmadā) P. I 18 112
- Trastāvātāra—(an āyātana) Devīa q. by T K p 250

Tribhāgā—(r rising from Mahendra)
M 114 31, Vā 45 104

Tridaśajyoti—(under Narmadā) M 194 11

Tridivā—A (r rising from Himavat)
Br II 16 26; B (r rising from Mahendra) M 114. 31, Vā 45, 106, B 27 37, C (r. rising from Rksavat)
Br II 16 31

Tridivābalā—(r from Mahendra m)
Br II. 16, 37. Probably Tridiva and Balā

Triganga—V 84, 29, Anu 25 16, P, I. 28 29

Trigartīśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 16.

Trihalikāgrāma—(where śrāddha is very efficacious) V. Dh. S 85 24 (com Vajrayantī says it is Śālagrāma)

Trijaśvara-līnga—(where Gandakī and Devikā join) Var 144 83

Trikalud—(m part of Himavat) A V IV 9, 8 and 9 (for a salve therefrom), Mātīrāyanī Samhitā III 6 3, Śat Br III 1. 3 12 (all these mention Trailakuda or Trailakubha ānjana), Pān. V 4 147 (trikalut-parvate) teaches that Trikalud is the name of a mountain and the name is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trīni kakudāni kakudākārāni śrngāni asya) Vide Br. III. 13 58 where it is Trikaludagiri (very eminent place for śrāddha), Vā 77. 57-63,

Trikotī—(a r in Kāśmīra) NM 308, 386-87 At Kaśyapa's request Aditi became Trikotī. It joins Vitastā

Trikūta—(m) Vām 85. 4, (son of Sumeru), Nr. 65, 21, P VI 129 16. In Bh. VIII 2. 1 Trikūta m. appears to be mythical From Raghuvamśa IV 58-59 it follows that Trikūta was in Aparānta Dey p 205 specifies three hills as Trikūta. Kālidāsa's Trikūta appears to be the Tirahnu or Tirasmi hill at Nasik Vide Bom. G vol 16 p 633 and E I vol 25 P. 225 at p 232 (copper-plate Ins

discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik of about 709 A D mentions 'Pūrva-Trikūṭavīśaya') The Khannapur plates of Mādhava arman (about 510-560 A D,) speak of him as the 'lord of Trikūta and Malaya' (E I vol. 27 p 312 at p 315)

Triloga—country which has three famous līngas viz Kālahastin, Śrīśaila, Drāṣṣārāma

Trilocana-līnga—(in VS) SK IV. 33, 120, K I 35 14-15, P, I 37. 17

Tripadi(Tirupati)—in the District of north Arcot at a short distance from Renigunta Station It is the same as Venkatagiri on the top of which is the celebrated temple of Venkatesvara or Bālāji

Triplaksa—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br III. 13 69

Tripura—A (a very fit place for śrāddha) M 22, 43, B (capital of Bānāsura) P. I chapters 14-15, Karnaparva 33 17 ff and 34 113-114, M. chapters 129-140 (give the story of Tripuradāha at great length). Vide also Anu. 160 25-31 and an interesting paper on 'The Tripura episode in Sanskrit literature' in Journal, Ganganath Jha R I vol VIII pp 371-395 by Miss Bhakti Sudhā Mukhopādhyāya.

Tripurāntaka—(near eastern gate of Śrīparvata) L I 92 150.

Tripureśvara (modern village Tripbar in Kāśmīra, three miles from Dal lake) R V 46, HC 13 200. Some identify it with Jyestheshvara

Tripsuri—(on the Narmadā) T S. p. 100 quotes three verses about it It is modern Tewar, six miles west of Jabalpur It was the capital of the Kalacuris or Cedis Vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśahkarnadeva in 1122 A.D., E I vol II p 1 at p 3 and E. I XIX p 75 (for extent of Mahākosala) M. 114. 53, Sabhāparva 21 60 and Br S. 14 9 mention Traipura country as situated

- on the back of Vindhya Tripurī is known from very ancient copper coins of early 2nd century B. C. Tripurī-vīṣaya occurs in Betul plates of Sankasobha as situated in Dabhālā country Vide R. D. Banerji's 'Hathayas of Tripurī' p 137
- Triṣṇakara**—Vide Puskara
- Trisāmā**—(r. rising from Mahendra) Vā 45 106, V₁ II 3. 13, Bh V. 19 18 (does not mention source)
- Trisandhyā** or **Trisandhyam**) A-M 22. 46 (sacred to pitrs). B (spring of goddess Sandhyā) one of the holiest Kāsmīra tīrthas It is modern Sundabār in Brīṅgārgana, NM 1471, R I 33, SM p 181
- Tristhāna**—(probably same as Vārānasi) Anu 25. 16
- Trisākhara**—(m) Vā. 42 28, M. 183 2.
- Trisūlagangā**—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145 84 (confluence of Gandakī and Kṛṣṇā)
- Trisūlakhātā**—V. 84. 11. It is probably the same as the Kāsmīra tīrtha Sūlaghātā
- Trisūlapāta**—(under Sarasvatī) P I 28 12. Probably the same as above
- Tritakūpa**—a tīrtha visited by Balarāma, Bh. X 78 19 (after Prthūdaka and Bindusaras). Rg. I. 105 17 speaks of Trita who had been thrown into a well and was helped by Brhaspati. Vide Nir IV. 6
- Trivenī**—A (at Prayāga) Var. 144 86-87, vide p 602 above, B (confluence of three rivers, viz Gandakī, Devikā and another r. called Brahmaputrā) Var. 144 83 and 112-115 It was here that Gayendra was drawn into water by the grāha (crocodile). Var 144. 116-134
- Trivistapa**—P. I 26 79 (where there is Vaitarani river)
- Trinabindusaras**—(in Kāmyakavana) V 258. 13.
- Trinabinduvana**—Nr. q by T. K. p. 252.
- Tryambakeśvara**—(near Nasik, at the source of the Godāvari) N. II. 73. 1-152 (is the mātṛmya), SK. IV 6 23, P. VI. 176. 58-59, B. 79. 6.
- Tulajāpura**—(a Devisthāna) Devi-Bh. VII 38. 6
- Tuṅgā**—(r. that falls into the Kṛṣṇā) Nr 66 7 (reading differs) q. by T. K. p. 254 (Tuṅgā ca dalsine Gangā Kāveri ca viśesatah)
- Tungabhadra**—(The two rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā rise in the Mysore state and join to form the Tungabhadra near Kudli in Mysore State The river falls into the Kṛṣṇā near Alampur in the Raichūr District) M 32 45, Nr. 66 6 q by T. K. p 254, Bh V. 19. 18, M 114 29, B 27 35, Vā 45 104 (last three say that it rises in Sahya) From E I vol. XII at p 294 and Vik. IV 44-68 it is clear that Cālukya king Someśvara I, being attacked by a malignant fever, perished by entering Tungabhadra in 1068 A D.
- Tungakūta**—(under Kolāmukha) Var. 140 29-30.
- Tungāranya**—V 85 46-54, P. I 39 43 (where Śārasvata instructed sages)
- Tungavenā**—(one of the rivers that are the sources of fire) V 222 25
- Tungeśvara**—(in VS) L I 92. 7
- Turāsanga**—(a tīrtha under Narmadā) M 191 29
- Tvāstresvara**—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 96

U

- Udabhānda**—was the residence of Sāhi kings and identified by Stein with capital of Gandhāra, vide R.V. 152-155, VI 175. It is the Wayband of Alberuni and Ohind or Und of modern times (on the right bank of the Indus 15 miles above Attock)
- Udāpāna**—V. 84 110, P I 38. 27
- Udayanta**—(m near Somanātha in Kathiawar) SK VI 2 11 11

Uddālakesvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 59

Uddyāna—Kāl 18 42 (where the two thighs of Satī's corpse fell)

Udditīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā 111 6
Vide p 663 above

Udyantaparvata—(the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā to the left of the Sīlā) V 84 93, Vā 108 43-44, N II 47 51, P.I 38 13. Vide p 647 note 1472 above

Ugra—(under VS) P. I 37. 15, also called Kedāra

Ugrēvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p. 70

Ujjānala—(where Skanda and Vasistha secured peace of mind) V. 130 17, Anu 25 55 It is probably a corrupt form of Udyantala or Udyānaka

Ujjayanta (Girnār in Saurāstra and near Dvārakā) V 88. 21-24, Vā. 45, 92 and 77. 52, Vām 13 18, SK. VII 2 11. 11 and 15 (southern boundary of Vastrāpathaksetra) Vide A. G. p. 325.

Ujjayinī—(modern Ujjain in Central India) B. 43 24 (called Avantī), 44 16 (capital of Mālava) Vide under Avantī and Māhismatī above Ujēni is mentioned in the Dhauki first separate Rock edict (C I. I vol. I p. 93) of Aśoka The Mbh (vol II p 35 on Vārtika 10 on Pān. III 1. 26 mentions it. It is famous for the shrine of Mahākālā, one of the twelve Jyotir-lingas and is situated on the Śiprā river Kālidāsa immortalizes it in the Meghadūta and Raghuvarṇa VI 32-35 A G. (pp 489-90) gives the boundaries of the kingdom of Ujjayinī in the 7th century A C (p 182) gives Viśālā, Avantī and Puspakarandīni as synonyms of Ujjayinī 'Puspakarandakajmodyāna' is mentioned in the Mrcchakatika. The Periplus and Ptolemy speak of it as Ozene Vide Ptolemy pp 154-155 Vide J. A

O S vol. 66 for 1946 p 295 for Jaina sources on Udayana and Vāsavadattā and I A vol III p 153 for inscription of Śravana Belgola about migration of Jainas under Bhadrabāhu from Ujjayinī and S B E vol X part 2 p 188 (Suttanipāta)

Umābaka—(under Narmadā) K II 41 57

Umākunda—(under Lohārgala) Var 151. 64

Umātunga—K II 37 32-33, Vā. 77 81-82 (best place for śrāddha, japa, homa)

Umāvana—(where Śaṅkara assumed the Ardhanārīśvara form) Vā 41. 36 Dey p. 211 says that it is Kotalgad in Kumaon A C p 182 says it is also called Devikota

Upajālā—(r. near Yamunā) V. 130 21

Upamanyulinga—(under VS) L. q. by T K 97

Upasāntasīva—(under VS) P I 37 17, L. I. 92 107

Upavenā—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V 222 24

Uryanta—(in Aparānta) Br III 13. 53 (here are Yogesvarālaya and Vasisthāśrama)

Ūrjayat—m in Rudradāman's Junāgadh Inscription (in E I VIII p 36 at p 42) and in Gupta Inscriptions at p. 45

Urvaśikunda—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 51-64, N II. 67 65

Urvaśilinga—(under VS) L. q by T K p. 66

Urvaśīpulina—(under Prayāga) M. 22 66 and 106 34-35, Anu 25 46 Vide p 615 note 1399 above

Urvaśīvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 72

Urvaśītīrtha—A (under Prayāga) V. 84, 157, M 106. 34, P I 38. 64, B (under Go) B 171 1

Usnatīrtha—M 13 42 (Devī is called Abhayā in tīrthas of hot water)

- Usnīganga (a tīrtha for bathing) V. 135 7
- Utkocaka-tīrtha—V 183 2
- Utpalāvana—V 87 15 (in Pāñcāla country), Anu. 25, 34 Dey p 213 says that it is Bithur, 14 miles from Kānpur in U P
- Utpalāvartaka—(a forest) N. II 60, 25, Vanaparva q. by T. K p 244
- Utpalāvatī—(r. rising from m Malaya) Vā 45 105, M. 114 30
- Utpalini—(r. in Naimisa forest) Ādi. 215 6
- Utpātala—Anu 25. 41
- Uttameśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 102
- Uttara—(under VS) K. I 35 14, P I. 37 17
- Uttara-Ganga—(Gangabal in Lar pargana of Kāśmīra) HC IV 54. It is also called Haramukuta-gangā and Mānasottaragangā
- Uttaragokarna—Var. 216 22, K II 35. 31
- Uttarajāhnavī—H C XII 49 When the Vitastā takes a turn towards the north it is so called.
- Uttaramānasa—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu 25 60, NM 1118 (the guardian nāga of the north of Kāśmīra). The Gangabal lake is popularly so called See Stein's note on R. III 448 and H. C IV. 87, B (near Gayā) Vā 77, 108, 111. 2, V Dh S 85 36, Śānti 152 13, M 121, 69, K II. 37, 44, R 115. 10 Vide pp 650-651 above
- V
- Vadavā—(also called Saptacarū) V. 82. 92-99, 222 24, V. Dh S 85 37. The com. Vaijayanti says that it is some tīrtha in the southern part of India, but Vanaparva points to north-west Dey p. 220 identifies with Bālu on the west coast of the Caspian sea
- Vadhūsarā—(r. on bathing in which Paraśurāma recovered his tejas taken away by Rāma) V 99 68
- Vāgīśvari—(under Go.) B 135. 26
- Vāgmātī—(r. Bāgmātī of Nepal which rises in Himālaya) Var 215. 49 (says that it is 100 times holier than Bhāgīrathī)
- Vāgmātī—Manivati sangama—Var 215. 106 and 110
- Vāhā—Vām 57. 78
- Vāhini—Bhī. 9 34
- Vaidarbhā—M. 22 64, Nalacampū I. 66 (Daksinasaravati sā vahati Vidarbhā nadi yatra). Probably the same as Varadā
- Vaidūrya—(a hill in Ānarta) V. 89 6, 121. 16 and 19 (to which Pāndavas came after crossing Payosnī). Pān IV 3 84 teaches the derivation of Vaidūrya precious stone (Beryl) from Vidūra in the sense 'tasmāt prabhavati' Mbh. (vol II p 313) quotes a verse on this which says that grammarians denominate the mountain Vālavāya as Vidūra. Probably it is the Sātpudā range which has Beryl mines Vide Pargiter pp 287 (a), 365 (a). It may be the Oroudian mountain of Ptolemy (pp. 80-81)
- Vaidyanātha—A-M 13 41, 22 24, P V 17 205 (same words as in M 13 41), B (under VS) L q by T K pp 84, 114, C (under Sābhrāmātī) P. VI 160 1, D (Devī is called Bagalā here) Devī-Bh VII 38 14, E—temple of Vaidyanātha, probably one of the 12 Jyotirlingas, at Deoghar in Santhal Pargana Vide I. G. I. vol XI p 244 for the great temple of Vaidyanātha, which is the oldest of the 22 Śiva temples at Deoghar
- Vaihāra—(one of the five hills that surrounded and guarded Girivraja) S 21 2
- Vaiḥyāsī—(r) Bh V 10 18
- Vaijayanta—(a Sārasvata-tīrtha) Devāla q. by T K p 250
- Vaikuṇṭha-lāraṇa—(under Mandāra) Var. 143 21-23

Vaikunthatirtha—A (under Gayā) M 22. 75, N II 47. 75, B (under Mathurā) Var. 163 1-4 and 10-12

Vaimānika—Anu 25 23.

Vaināyakatirtha—M. 22 32, G I. 81 S.

Vairā—(r) M. 22 64

Vairocanaśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 140

Viśālha—(under Śrīparvata) L I. 92. 156 (established by Viśālha = Skanda)

Vaiśraṇeśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L I 92. 148

Vaiśānara-kūṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var 151. 58

Vastaranī—A (r in Orissa rising in Vindhya) V 85 6, 114 4, Vā 77 95, K II. 37 37, P I 39 6, Ag 116 7, M 114. 27, B 27 33, Jāipur (i. e. Yayātipura) stands on this river, which is the boundary between Balasore and Cuttack (I G I vol VI p 223) Sometimes Utlala and Kalunga are held to be separate as in B 47 7 and Raghuvarṃśa IV 38 Utlala is said to be derived from Utlaliṅga (what is outside Kaliṅga), B (in Gayā) Vā 105. 45, 109, 17, Ag 116. 7, C (in Phalakivana) Vām 36. 43-44, P. I 26. 79, D (a well in VS) L q by T. K p 63.

Vaivasvatatirtha—(under Sūkara) Var. 137 240 (where the sun practised *tapas* for a son), Anu 25 39

Vaivasvateśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 104.

Vajrabhava—(under Kokāmukha) Var 140 61 (the water falls into Kauśikī) Vajreśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 104

Vālakulyeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p. 66

Vāliśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 51.

Vālmīkeśvara—(under VS) L. q, by T. K. p 66

Vālmīkī—āśrama (on the Ganges) Rām VII 47 15-77 Vide under Sthānutirtha and Tamasā.

Vāmana or Vāmanaka—(under Kurukṣetra) V 84 130, V 83. 103, Ag 109 20, P. I 26 96 (Vāmanaka), I 38 47, B (under Gayā) N. II, 46 46, C (under Sābhramati) P, VI 153 2 (where seven rivers flow). Vide I A vol 54 (at end) p 41 where it is said that Vāntali about 8 miles south-west of Junāgaḍ is the Vāmana-tirtha of the Mahābhārata

Vāmanaśvara—(under Narmadā) P I 18 26

Vamśadharā—(r rising from Mahendra) Vā 45 106, Mār 54. 29 (reads Vamśakarā) and Var 85 (prose) reads Vamśavarā Pargiter (p 305n) says that it is the modern Bamsdharā on which Kalūgapatam stands, 17 miles from Chicacole Vide Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarman (E I vol XXV p 194) issued from Kalanganagara

Vamśagulma—(on confluence of Narmadā and Sonā) V 85 9

Vamśamūlaka—P I. 26 38

Vamśodbheda—M 24. 25

Vānaraka—(under Gayā) Ag. 116 6. It may be a misreading of 'cānarake'.

Vandanā—(r) Bhī 9 18

Vānī-sangama—(under Go.) B 135 1 and 23

Vaṇjarā—(r. on south bank of Go) B 159 45 It is probably the modern Manjarā river that falls into Godāvari in Nander District

Vaṇjarāsangama—(under Go) B 159 1

Vaṇjulā—A (r. rising from Sahya and falling into Go) M. 114. 29, Vā 45 103, Vām 57 76, B (r. rising in Mahendra) B. 27 37

Vanku—(modern Oṅus) Sabhā 51, 20 (rāsabhas were brought as presents)

Varadā—(the Vardhā river in C. P) Rām IV 41 9, Ag 109 22, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Vīrapuruṣam tad-

- etad Varadātatanāmaḥam Mahā-rāstram) See under Varadāsāṅgama
- Varadāṣṇa—V. 82 63-64, P I 24 12 (both contain story about Durvāsas conferring a boon on Viṣṇu)
- Varadā-saṅgama—V. 85. 35, P. I 39 32
- Varāhamūlaksetra or Varāhaksetra—(modern Bāramūla in Kāśmīra) It is on the right bank of the Vitastā at the head of the western entrance to the Kashmir valley and is sacred to Ādivarāha, R VI. 186, H C XII. 43, K R pp. 11-12 and SM pp 201-202
- Varāhaparvata — (probably Bāramūla in Kāśmīra) V Dh S 85 7
- Varāha-sithānas—(places sacred to the Great Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu are Kolāmukha, Badarī and Lohārgala) Var. 140 4-5
- Varāhatīrtha—A (under Kuruksetra) Vām 34 32, P I 26 15. B (under VS) P I. 37 6, K I 35.5. C (under Mathurā) Var 166 23 (there were four golden images of Varāha, Nārāyaṇa, Vāmana, Rāghava). D (on Vitastā in Kāśmīra) NM 1559. E (a sub-tīrtha of Sahyāmalaka) Nr. 66 34, F (under Sābhramatī) P VI 165. 10, G (on Narmadā) M. 193 74, K II. 42 14, P. I 20 71. H (on Payosnī) V 88. 7 and 9 (King Nrga performed yajña here and the tīrtha is holiest of all rivers). K II. 20 32, Vām. 90 4. I (under Go) B 79 6.
- Varāheśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p 98.
- Varanā—(r. northern boundary of Banaras) M 22 31, 183 62. Vide pp. 625-626 above, L I 92 87 calls it Varunā.
- Varānaśī—Vide pp. 618-642 Though Kāśī and Varānaśī are treated as synonyms almost everywhere (pp 624-626) still it seems to me that Kāśī was on the eastern side of the Ganges and Varānaśī on the western.
- Varanāvati—(r) Atharvaveda IV. 7.1.
- Vāraneśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18 29
- Vardhanadruma—(in Kāśmīra, an āyatana of Vināyaka Gāṅgeya) NM 1161
- Vāridhāra—(m) Bh V. 19. 16
- Varnāśā—(r Banas in Rajputana rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Chambal) Br II 16. 28, see under Parnāśā
- Varnu—(r.) Pān IV 2 103 (varnau vol) Kāśīk explains that the country on Varnu was also called Varnu. This appears to be modern Banou Varnu occurs in Suvāstivādi-gana. (IV. 2. 77)
- Vārtraghnī—(r rising in Pānyātra and falling into the sea) P VI. 131 36, 68, VI 164, 1 and 71. Mār 57 19, Vā 45. 97 reads Vrttraghnī and B. 27 28 Vātagnī.
- Varunasrotasa—(m) V 88 10
- Varunā—(r tributary of the Go) P. VI 176 59
- Vārunatīrtha—V. 83 164, 88. 13 (in Pāndya country), Bār Sūtra III. 88 (on the shores of the eastern sea).
- Varuneśa—A (under VS) L q. by T K p 66. B (under Narmadā) M 191 6
- Vāruneśvara—A (under VS) L. q by T K p. 103, B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18 6
- Vāsiṣṭha-lunda—(under Lohārgala) Vār 151 40 There is a Vasiṣṭha-lunda on the Alakanandā at Deva-prayāga. Vide I G I vol XI. p 274.
- Vasisthāpavāha—(on Sarasvatī) Śal 42 41
- Vasisthāśrama—A (near Jyestheśvara in Kāśmīra) R I 107 (and Stein's note thereon in vol. I pp 23-21), NM 1323. B (on mount Arbuda (which see) V 102 3; C (on Badarīpācana, which see) V. 102 3 (narrates that in Vasisthāśrama Kāleyas devoured 188 brāhmaṇas

- and 9 *tāpasas* The location is uncertain.
- Vasisthatīrtha—M 22. 68 (śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here).
- Vasisthesā—(under VS) L q by T K p 47
- Vāsisthī—V 84 48, P I 32 12 (same verse in both, but P reads Vāsistham)
- Vasordhārā—V 82. 76, P I 24 24 (same verse in both, P reading Vasudhārā)
- Vastrāpathaksetra—(territory round about Girnar in Kathiawad) SK VII 2 2 1-3 (it is quintessence of Prabhāsa, Ravataka-ksetra is so called), VII 2 11 16 (it is four yojanas in extent) The holy river therein is Suvarṇarekhā (which see)
- Vāsuka—(under Virāja in Orissa) B. 42 6
- Vāsukīśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p. 48
- Vāṣukīrtha—A (under VS) P. I 39 79, L q. by T K. p. 48, B (under Prayāga) V 85 86 (also called Bhogavatī)
- Vāsuprada—M 22 72 (śrāddha here makes a man reach highest goal)
- Vasutuṅga—(Jagatpati is the *gūhya* appellation of Viṣṇu here) Nr. q by T, K p 251
- Vata—A (in Prayāga) M 104 10, 111, 10, B (in Gayā) V. Dh. S 85 5
- Vātanadī—M 22, 37 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible fruit).
- Vāteśvara—A (under Narmadā) M 191. 27, K II 41 19, P I 18 27 (same verse in K and P), Ag 109 20, B (under Gayā) Ag 115 73, P. I, 38 46, N II 47 59, C (under Prayāga) M 22 9, D (under Puruṣottama) N II, 56 28
- Vāteśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. pp. 66
- Vāteśvarapura P I. 38. 46
- Vātula—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1459
- Vātodakā (r. in Pāṇḍya country) Bh IV 28. 35
- Vatsakriḍanaka—(under Mathurā) Var 156 1
- Vāyavjatīrtha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 75
- Vāyutīrtha—A (under VS) K. I 35. 5, P I 37 5 (same verse in both); B (under Mathurā) Var 152. 65; C (under Gayā) Ag 116 5
- Vedadhāra—(under Badarī) Var 141 20
- Vedagiri (hill in Sahya range to the south of Brahmagiri and a sub-tīrtha under Kṛṣṇa-Venṇā) TS p 78
- Vedaśiras—(most efficacious for śrāddha) M 22 71
- Vedasmṛti—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) Anu 165 25, M. 114, 23, Vā 45 97, Br II 16 27. Dey p 223 opines that it is the river Bosuli in Malwa and a tributary of the Sindh, Br S 16.32 mentions it
- Vedaśrutī—(r. after Kosala towards the south) Rām. II 49. 10
- Vedavatī—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) M 114 23, Br II. 16 27, B 27. 29, Anu 165 25; this and the above two rivers cannot really be identified There is a river called Vedāvatī or Hagarī which rises in Mysore and ultimately falls into the Tungabhadra Vide I G I vol XIII p. 5.
- Vedeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 44.
- Veditīrtha—(v l. Devīrtha) P I, 26 92.
- Vegavatī—(r. modern Vaiga or Baiga on which Madurā in south India is situated) Var 215. 58, Vām. 84. 6, P VI 237. 9. Vide E I vol. XIII p. 194 where there is a gift of Ambikāpura on north bank of Vegavatī to the Śāṅkarācārya of Kāmakotī pīṭha The form Vaigai appears in the Śilappadikāram (Prof Dikṣitar's tr p 270)
- Venṇā—A (r. rising from Vindhya) B. 27. 33, M 114 27. This is the Wain-Gangā in C P. and falls into Godāvarī, B-r, rising from Sahya m.

- near Mahabaleshwar The Penganga falls into Wardha, acc. to I. G. I. vol. V p 22, vol XIII. p 229, vol XX. p 102 and the united stream of the Wainganga and Wardha is known as Prāghatā which ultimately falls into the Godāvarī Vide I G I vol. 24 p 349, Bhī 9 20, 28, V. 85 32, 88 3, 222. 24, Anu. 165. 20, Bh. X 79 12, Venā is often mentioned as Kṛṣṇavenā or—Venā or—Venī as in M 114. 29 Rājasekhara in Kāvya-mīmāṃsā p. 94 mentions 'Venā' and 'Kṛṣṇavenā' separately in the first quarter of the 10th century. Vide Fargier p 303n for the various forms of this name.
- Venāśāngama—V 85 34, P I 39 32
- Venī—A (confluence of Gangā and Yamunā) Vide above p 603 n 1369. Vide Banaras Ins. of Karnadeva in Kalacuri year 795 (i.e. 1042 A D) in E I vol. II p 297 at p 310 (Venyaśāśāśā Trilocanam samabharāya), Kāmāuli plate of Jayacandra in E I IV. at p 123 (dated samvat 1230 i.e. 1173 AD); B (r. rising in Sabya from the root of an āmalaka tree and falling into Kṛṣṇā) TS p 78
- Venkata—(m in Dravida country, Arcot District, near Tirupati) G. Brahmakhaṇḍa chap. 26 deals with Venkatagiri-māhātmya, Bh. V. 19 16, X. 79. 13 (in Dravida), R. VI 280 19, SK III Brahmakhaṇḍa, 52 102; SK. I Vaisnavakhaṇḍa is Venkatācalamāhātmya The shrine was once considered so holy that till 1870 no Christian or Moslem was allowed to ascend the hill of Tirumala
- Venumatī—(śrāddha thereon most efficacious) M 22 20
- Venyā—(r. rising from m. Sabya and falling into the Kṛṣṇā) Vām. 13 30, Anu. 165 22 (Godāvarī ca Venyā ca Kṛṣṇavenā tathāpi ca), Bh V. 19 18, P. VI. 113 25 (Mahādeva became Venyā)
- Vetasikā—(r.) V. 84. 56, P. I. 32 20, P. VI. 29. 20 (speaks of Vetasikā-Vetravati-sāngama)
- Vetravati—A (modern Betwa river, which rises in the Bhopal State and falls into the Yamunā) M. 23 20, 114. 23 (rises from Pāriyātra), Br. II. 16. 28 (rises from Rksamat), K II. 20 35, Meghadūta (L 24) says that Vidisā (modern Bilāsa), the capital of Dasārma, was situated on Vetravati; B (a tributary of the Sābhramatī) P. VI 130 and 133 4-5 In 'Questions of Milinda' (S B E. vol 35 p 171) among ten great rivers flowing from the Himālaya Vetravati is one This must be different from the above two
- Vibhāṇḍesvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 115
- Vidarbhā-sāngama—(under Go) B. 121 1 and 23, acc to AC p 182 Vidarbha is the name of Kuṇḍinapura (v. 979)
- Vidhisvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 116
- Vidisā—A (r. rising from Pāriyātra m) B 27 29, Br II 16 28, Mā. 54. 20 Vide Vetravati above, B—A city mentioned in Raghuvarṇa 15 36 (Rāma gave to the two sons of Satrugha, Satrughaṭin and Subāhu, the cities of Madhurā and Vidisā), Meghadūta I. 24 states that Vidisā was the capital of the Dasārma country In the Mālavikāgnimitra (V 1) Agnimitra is shown as enjoying himself on the banks of the Vidisā river and later on Puṣyamitra refers to his son Agnimitra as Vaidisastha (i.e. Vaidisā would mean a city on the Vidisā). Vide Vāṅnera plates of Kālacchuri Buddharāja in 360 of the Kalachuri era (i.e. about 609 A D) issued from 'Vaidisā-vāsakāṭ rājya

- skandhāvārāt' (E. I vol XII at p 30
 Vidyādhara—(under Gandakī and Sāla-
 grāma) Var. 145 62
 Vidyādhāreśvara—(under VS) K I 35
 11, P I. 37 14
 Vidvara—(m) Devala q by T K p
 250 Is it Vidūra?
 Vidyātīrtha—(same as Sandhyā) V 84.
 52, P I 32 16
 Vidyēśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K
 p 49
 Vihangeśvara—(under Narmadā) P I
 21, I'
 Vihārātīrtha—(of Madana, under
 Sarasvatī) Vām 42 10
 Vijayēśvara—(modern Vijabror in
 pargana Vuler in Kāśmīra) HC X.
 191-195 (HC calls it mabāsetra).
 Ain A. vol. II. p 356 refers to this.
 Vitastā is to its east and north,
 Gambhīrā to the west and Viśvavati
 to the south
 Vijaya—(a linga) M 22 73, K. II 35, 21
 Vijaya-līṅga—(under VS) L q by T.K.
 p. 112
 Vijayāśa—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1210, R.
 I, 38, SM p 173, one of the
 most famous tīrthas in Kāśmīra. It
 is less than two miles above Calra-
 dhara
 Vijayēśvara—A (in Kāśmīra) R I 105
 and 113, B (under VS) L q by T.K.
 p 76
 Vijayēśvara—(under VS) L q by
 T.K p 43
 Vikīratīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P
 VI 133. 7
 Vimala—V 82. 87 (where silver and
 golden-coloured fish were found).
 P. I 24 35 (same verse in both)
 Vimalā—(a city) P. IV 17 67 (destroys
 sins of numerous murders, just as
 Avanti and Kāśī do)
 Vimala—(a famous spring near Mār-
 tānda temple in Kāśmīra). Vide
 Mārtānda p 780 above
 Vimalāśoka—V. 84 69-70, P I. 32 33
 (almost same verse in both)
 Vimalēśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K.
 p. 56
 Vimalēśvara—A (under Narmadā) M
 190 14, 194 38-39, 22 8, K. II.
 41 5 and II. 42 36, P I. 17, 11.
 B (under Sarasvatī) Vām 34. 15,
 P. VI 131 50
 Vimocana—V 83 161, P. I 27 49
 Vīnaśana—(where Sarasvatī disappears
 in the great desert in Ambala and
 Sirhind in Punjab) It was known
 from Brāhmana period, vide
 pp 682 and 684 above and V
 82 111, 130. 3-4 Śal. 37, 1
 (śūdrābhīrān prati dvesāt yatra
 naśtā Sarasvatī), K II 37 29, Br
 III 13. 69 Manu II. 21 mentions it
 as the eastern boundry of Mādhyā-
 deśa Devala q by T.K. p 250 speaks
 of it as one of the Sārasvatatīrthas
 Mbh (vol. I p. 475 on Pān II 4 10
 and vol III p. 174 on Pān VI 3
 109) speaks of it as 'ādarśa' and as
 eastern boundary of Āryāvarta The
 Kāśikā on Pān IV. 2 124 speaks of
 ādarśa as a Janapada (country). As
 Oldham says (in JRS for 1893 at
 p 52) the exact position of Vīnaśana
 is unknown, but Oldham surmises that
 it was not far from Sirsa.
 Vināyakakunda—(under VS) L q by
 T K. p 53
 Vināyakesvara—(under VS) SK. IV 33.
 126
 Vindhya—one of the seven great moun-
 tain ranges of Bharatavarsa) V 313.
 2, Bhī 9 11, Vā 77 34, M. 13 39,
 Bh V. 19. 16 It is the Quindion
 of Ptolemy (p 77)
 Vindhjavāsini—(a Devīsthāna) M 13
 39, Devī—Bh VII 38. 8
 Vipās—(modern Beas river in Punjab
 and Hyphasis or Hypasis of Greek
 writers) Rg III 33. 113, IV 30 11
 The Nir IX. 26 explaining Rg X
 75 5 states that Vipās was originally
 called Uruñjirā, and then Āryikīyā
 and that when Vasistha threw him-

self into it bound by ropes through grief he rose up from the river with the ropes rent asunder Pāṇ. (IV. 2 74 'udak ca Vipśāh') mentions Vipś in connection with bulls to the north of it; Ādi. 177. 1-5 refer to Vasiṣṭha's attempt to commit suicide, V. 130, 8-9 (Viśāś here), Anu. 3. 12-13 refer to the same story. Vide Rām. II. 68 19, Yām 79.6, N II 60. 30

Vipratīrtha—(under Go) B 167. 1 and 33 (also called Nārāyaṇa)

Vīrabhadraśara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 87.

Vīraja—A (country round Jāipur in Orissa) V 85 6; B (acc to Tīrthendusekhara p. 6) it is Lonārādēśa and lake i. e. in Buldana District in Berar; C (on Sahya m. near Godāvari and Bhīmā) B 161. 3,

Vīrajā—(r. in Orissa) K II 35. 25-26, Yām. q by T. K. p 235

Vīrajamaṇḍala—(northern boundary of Oḍḍadēśa) B 28. 1-2

Vīrajatīrtha—(on Vaitaraṇī river in Orissa) V. 85. 6, P. I. 39. 6, I. 45 28-29, (it is an Ādityatīrtha), B 42 1 (Vīraje Vīrajā mānā brahmāṇī sampratīṣṭhita), Yām. 22 19 (the southern *vedī* of Brahṁā), Br III. 13 37. Vide T. P. pp 598-599 for Vīraja-kṣetra, which is the popular name of Jāipur in Orissa

Vīrajādri—(under Gayā) Vā 106. 85 (Gayāsura's navel rested on it)

Vīrapatnī—(r) Rg. I. 104.4

Vīrapramokṣa—V. 84. 51, P. I. 32. 14 (same verse in both); probably near Bhṛṅgalinga

Vīrāśrama—V. 84 145 (where Kārtīleya resides)

Vīrasthala—(under Mathurā) Var 157. 14, 160 20

Vīrūpākṣa—A (Hampī) P V. 17. 103. SK., Brahmakhanda 52. 102; B (under VS) L q by T. K p 102

Vīśākhyāpā—(near Kurnksetra) V 90. 15, 177. 16, Yām. 81 9, Nr. 65 14

(Vīśnu's *guhya* name is Vīśveṣa here)

Vīśālā—A—same as Ujjayinī; Meghadūta I 30, vide under Avanti and Ujjayinī. A C says 'Ujjayinī syād—Vīśālāvanti Puspakarandīnī'; B (*asrama* near Badarī) V 90.25, 139. 11, Anu 25 44, Bh. V' 4.5, XI. 29. 47, C (under Gayā) Yām. 81 26-32 (a river), Ag 115 54, P. I 38 33

Vīśālābhavāna—Mār. 105 57 (on a mountain in Kāmarūpa)

Vīśālākṣ—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 115

Vīśālyā—A (r) V. 84 14, B (under Narmadā) M. 186 43 and 46-48 (also called Vīśālyakaraṇī), K II 40 27, P. I 13 39, Br III 13 12

Vīśaprasṭha—(hill) V' 95 3 (near Gomati probably)

Vīśnucaṅkramaṇa—(under Dvāṁkṣā) Var 149. 80 q. by T. K. p 227

Vīśnugḥarā—(under Kōkāmukha) Var. 140 17

Vīśnu-Gayā—P VI 176 41 (where there is Lonārakunda)

Vīśnukāñci—P VI 204 30

Vīśnupada—A (under Kuruksetra) V. 83. 103, 130 8, NM 1238, B (lake on Nīśadha mountains) Br. II. 18 67, Vā 47 64, C (under Gayā) vide pp 645, 646, 653 and note 1471 also e and R D Banerji's 'Pālas of Bengal' (Memoirs of A. S. B. vol. V pp 60-61 for Vīśnupāda temple inscription of the 7th year of Nārāyanapāla's reign; D (under Śālagrāma) Var. 145 42

Vīśnupadī—(name of Gangā, as it is said to rise from the left toe of Vīśnu) Bh. V. 17 1 Amarakōś mentions it as a synonym of Gangā (Gangā Vīśnupadī; Jahnū-lasayā)

Vīśnusaras—A (under Kōkāmukha) Var. 140. 24; B (under Gorikṣramaṇa) Var. 147 43

Vīśgutīrtha—A (under Kōkāmukha) Var 140 71-74; B (under Narmadā)

- M 191. 99, K. II. 41 52 (it is Yodhīpuram Visnusthānam), P I 18. 94 (known as Yodhanipura). C (under Go) B 136 1 and 41 (also called Mandgalya)
- Visnūtīrthas—(108 enumerated) P. VI 129 5-36
- Viśokā—(r in Kāśmīra) modern Veśan NM. 307, 373, 381, 1493, HC XII 35 NM. 307 says that Lakṣmī at the request of sage Kaśyapa became Viśokā, NM 381 says that it formed Vitastā below Vijabror, NM. 1491-1493 speak of the confluence of Kaundini rising from lake Kramasāra with Viśokā
- Viśrāntīrtha—A (the most sacred spot in Mathurā) Var. 163. 162, 167 1 ff, P VI 209 5 (on the bank of Yamunā where Kamsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa), B (a different Isētra from the above in Madhuvana, where Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha) P. VI. 209. 1-3 and 5
- Viśvā—(r) Bh V. 19. 18
- Viśvalakṣmī—(under VS) L q. by T.K p 55
- Viśvakāya—P. VI. 129, 8
- Viśvāmītranadī—V. 89 9, Bhī. 9 26 (has Viśvāmītrā as a river)
- Viśvāmītra—mabānada (in Punjab) NM 151
- Viśvāmītrāsrama—Rām. I 26. 34
- Viśvāmītratīrtha—A V 83. 139, B (under Go) B 93 4 and 27 (where Rāma honoured Viśvāmītra), P I 27. 28
- Viśvamukha—(tīrtha on Jālandhara) Vide under Jālandhara p 758 and P. VI 129 26
- Viśvapada—(a pīṭhīrtha) M 22 35
- Viśvarūpa—(under VS) P. I 37 2
- Viśvarūpaka—P. VI. 129 14 (in Māyāpurī, it appears)
- Viśvavati—same as Viśokā HC. X 192 (it is southern boundary of Vijayēśvara)
- Viśvedeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p. 87.
- Viśveśvara—(one of five lingas in VS) K I 32 12 and II. 41. 59, P. I. 34. 10, N II 51 4, vide pp 632-33 above, B (in Gīrkarna) P. VI. 129 10.
- Viśvasvasveśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p. 116
- Vitamsā—one of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (S B E vol 35 p 171) Dey p 40 identifies it with the Vitastā without assigning any reason
- Vitañkā—saṅgama (with Narmadā) P II 92 33
- Vitastā—(r in Kāśmīra, now known as Zhelum) Rg X 75 5. Vide under Kāśmīra and Takṣaṇāga, V. 82 88-90 (Vitastā is the home of Takṣaṇāga), 130, 20, K II 44 4, Vām 90 7, NM 45, 305-06 (Umā became Vitastā), 336-341 (Śaṅkara struck with his trident and made a hole as big as *vitasti* i e 12 angulas and Satī came bubbling forth as a river which is called Vitastā from the word Vitasti). R V 97-100 inform us that the great and self-taught engineer Suyya in the days of King Avantivarman of Kāśmīra (9th century) changed the course of the Vitastā and the spot of its confluence with the Sindhu Vide Stein's note I in translation of R. vol II pp 329-336 and the note of Mr J C Chatterji, challenging the correctness of Dr. Stein's remarks (in 'confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu', 1906)
- Vitastā-Gambhīrā-saṅgama—SM. pp 101, 110
- Vitastā-madhumatī-saṅgama—NM 1442
- Vitastā-sindhu-saṅgama—(exceptional sanctity) R IV. 391, V 82 97-100, NM 394-95. The place where these two rivers meet enjoys among Kāśmīra people the same sanctity as the confluence at Prayāga

Yamunāsangama—Var. 174 deals with its power.

Yamunātīrtha—Sal. 49. 11-16 (where Varuna performed Rājasūya), M. 108 23-24 (as the daughter of the sun), P. I. 29. 5

Yamunēśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66; B (under Mathurā) Var 154 12

Yantresvarā—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190 1.

Yasti—(under Gayā) N. II. 47 82. Dey p. 215 says it is 'Jethian' about two miles north of Tapovana in Gayā

Yavatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 88

Yāyātīrtha—A (under Sarasvatī) Vām 39. 36, B (under VS) Sal. 41 32, P I 37.9

Yayātipatana—V 82 48, P I. 12. 8 (same words in both)

Yayātipura—(modern Jāipur) on the Vaitarani river in Orissa, A G. p. 512.

In E. I. vol XI p 189 there is a Yayātinagara. It is doubtful whether it is the same as Jāipur.

Yayātiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 115.

Yogitīrtha—(under Sūkara) Var q. by T. K. p. 210

Yonidvāra—(on the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā) V. 84. 94-95, P. I 38. 15 (same words in both), N. II. 44 76-77

Yugandhara—A—a country or people acc. to Pān IV. 2. 130 and the Kāśikā mentions it as one of Śālvāvayavas, B (a m) acc to Kāśikā on Pān III 2 46, Vām 34 47 'Yugandhare dadhī prāśya usṭvā cācyutasthale | tadvad-Bhūtālaye snātīvā saputrā vastum-icchaśi' Br S. 32 19 appears to mention Yaugandhara as the name of a people or country.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON TĪRTHAS

At the end of this long list of tirthas a few words, as promised on p. 722 above, must be said about the attitude that we Indians of the 20th century should adopt towards the mountains, rivers and other holy places in Bhārata. Modern secular education and the prevailing economic conditions, stresses and trends leave hardly any room for moral and spiritual uplift. We are surrounded on all sides by anxiety, want, misery, hardness of heart and crime. Therefore, the endeavour of all those who have the good of our country at heart must be to cherish all such institutions as tend to lift the mind out of narrowness and to make it concentrate for some time at least on noble thoughts and aspirations and on detachment from the all-engrossing pursuit of money. Pilgrimage is one of such institutions. Those who have faith in pilgrimages as enabling a pilgrim to attain heaven, to collect merit and reach release from saṃsāra should give pilgrimages a new orientation, should see that their charity is not wasted on indolent, ignorant and vicious priests, should improve the methods of worship at holy places in such a way as will satisfy all hygienic requirements. The priestly class at holy places should remember that in the coming generations they are likely to find their occupation gone, unless they improve themselves, unless they try to be less ignorant and indolent than they are at present and really serve as honest business agents or Travellers' Guides. The number of people visiting holy places in the belief of accumulating merit is sure to become less and less, as modern secular education spreads. But it would be a calamity for the moral and spiritual greatness of India if pilgrimages to holy mountains and rivers came to be stopped altogether. I would very strongly recommend to all men, however highly educated, the undertaking of pilgrimages to certain hallowed spots. Our country has recently secured independence and it now rests entirely with us to make or mar the character of the teeming millions of this our land. All things that tend to create in Indians the deep feeling that amidst diversities of physical features, food, dress and habits, all of them are one people, that there is no part or district of this vast land which cannot claim to have made some substantial contribution in religious and philosophical thought, in abiding literature, in works of art and in holy places, that the destinies of the Indians

of one part of Bhārata are bound up with the destinies of all others. Frequent visits to distant places in Bhārata, mixing up among people of other parts and understanding their peculiar good points, needs and failings is absolutely necessary if we are to keep our freedom. India is thrice blest in the mountain ranges of the Himalaya, which contains the highest peaks in the world and is full of large and life-giving rivers and of numerous shrines associated with the names of the greatest sages and heroes of antiquity. Every Indian who is proud of the great religious and spiritual heritage of our country must make it a point to devote some part of his time to frequenting holy mountains, rivers and other places of pilgrimage. When we see even from a distance the purity, the whiteness and the serenity of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalaya, the play of delicate and exquisite hues and tints of blue, mauve, and pink when the sun begins to shine on them, a sense of wonder, joy and elevation comes upon us. The glorious view of a peak like Kinchinjunga, which is an unforgettable experience, lifts up the whole life of the onlooker to a higher plane for long. Similarly, the sight of the holy Ganges at night or at sunrise in Haridvāra or on the majestic Ghats in Banaras surely empties our minds of meanness and for the moment at least fills our hearts with a sense of nature's beauty and with purity, and brings us in tune with the Infinite. I may state here that the talk of the conquest of Everest in which some members of European expeditions indulge jars on my ears. This great peak has so far vanquished (physically) all those who attempted the conquest § But in a figurative sense Everest and other high peaks have been for ages conquering the hearts of men. Even the members of these expeditions will admit that Everest and its brethren have drawn men to themselves from all parts of the world, made them give up their usual uneventful and placid activities, have evoked in those who attempt the climbing of these giants unbelievable courage, endurance, resourcefulness and self-abnegation and have been instrumental in exhibiting to the world what unknown powers the human spirit possesses. Therefore, these silent but awe-inspiring peaks should be looked upon as teachers of mankind and not as material things to be conquered and dealt with by human beings as they please

§ While these pages were passing through the Press, news was broadcast on the very morning of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II that Sherpa Tensing Norkay and Mr Edmund Hillary, two members of Col. Hunt's British Expedition, had successfully climbed to the top of Mount Everest.

APPENDIX—of long Sanskrit Passages

Page 118 Note 267. On pp. 117–118 above reference has been made to the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those that had been converted to Christianity or Islam by force or fraud or even voluntarily. Not only was there re-admission of those that were converted, but non-Hindus, such as Yavanas, Kirātas, Śakas, were absorbed into the Hindu fold and were induced to adopt the practices of Hindus (such as śrāddhas and gifts to brāhmanas). Vide Śāntiparva chap. 65. 13–21 quoted above in note 830 (p. 364). A Greek ambassador of king Antalkida (Antialkidas) named Heliadora, son of Diya (Dion), was accredited to the court of king Bhāgabhadra, called himself Bhāgavata and raised a column in honour of Vāsudeva in the 3rd century B. C. (JRAS 1909, pp. 1053 and 1087 and JBERS vol. 23 p 104). Usavadāta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Ksatrapa Nahapāna, is described in one of the Nasik inscriptions (No. 14a in E. I. vol. VIII at p. 85) as a śaka, but made very extensive donations to brāhmanas at Broach, Prabhāsa and other places. Part of one of his inscriptions is cited on p. 710 note 1618 above. Though the name Usavadāta (Rsabhadatta) is a Sanskritized one the two names Dinika and Nahapāna of the Ksaharāta race appear to be non-Indian. Abhiras, Hūnas and Gurjaras became absorbed into the Hindu community. People, after being made Moslems, returned to their original communities and gods. Moslem writers make this clear. Vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India' vol. I. p. 126 ('the people of India had returned to idolatry, excepting those of Kasa') and Alberuni's India (tr. by Sachau) vol. II, pp. 162–163 where he refers to the return of Hindu slaves in Moslem countries to their country and religion. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in 'Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture' (1940) pp. 59–65 presents a very lucid and informing summary of the evidence on this point of the re-admission of those that were converted and of the absorption of non-Hindus. But it is not known what procedure was followed for this purpose. Therefore, a model rite for the return of a convert is set out here.

परावर्तिष्णुः (एकः अनेके वा पुरुषा स्त्रियो वा) स्नात्वा धौतं शुभ्रं वस्त्रं परिधाय
(स्त्रियस्तु यथायोग्यं यथाचारं वा परिधाय) चन्दनादिभिस्तिलकं कृत्वा (स्त्रियस्तु कुङ्कुमादि-
द्रव्येण तिलकं कृत्वा) शिष्टसमाभार्ययेत् । सर्वे धर्मविषेकारो ज्ञानशीलसमन्विता । विधिनाह
परावर्त्य सम्राट् स्यान् मनीषिभिः । इति । अथ शिष्टाः परावर्तिष्णोः (परावर्तिष्णूनां वा)

देशकाल-कामाकामशक्त्यादि विचार्य अत्यल्प-अल्प-गुरुणामेन्यतेम प्रायश्चित्तं निश्चित्य 'ओं तथा । अमुकमायश्चित्तं कृत्वा परावर्तनावधिना भवान् संगृहीतो भविष्यति' इति ब्रूयुः । परावर्तिष्ये नूतनं वासश्च दद्युः । स च तत्पारिदध्यात् । तत परावर्तिष्युरासने पूर्वाभिमुख उपविश्य आचम्य प्राणानायम्य 'इह पृथिव्यां जन्मुद्गीये भरतवर्षे दक्षिणपथे ('आर्यावर्ते' इति नर्मदाया उत्तरत) अमुकग्रामे अद्य अमुकनामसंवत्सरे अमुकमासे अमुकपक्षे अमुकतिथौ अमुकवासरे अमुकनक्षत्रे हिन्दुधर्मे परावर्तिष्युरहं शिष्टैरुपदिष्टं प्रायश्चित्तं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् । सङ्कल्पोत्तरमाचार्य आसने प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य स्वदक्षिणतः परा-

वर्तिष्युपवेद्य आचमनं कारयित्वा स्वयं द्विराचम्य पवित्रपाणिं प्राणानायम्य गणपतिं ध्यायेत् । 'ओं गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे कविं कवीनामुपमश्रवस्तमम् । ज्येष्ठराजं ब्रह्मणा ब्रह्मणस्पत आ न कृण्वजतिभि सीद सादनम् ॥' इति प्रार्थयेत् । 'ओं महागणपतये नमो नम । निर्विकलं कुब' इति नमेत् । ततो देशकालौ सकीर्त्य 'इह पृथिव्या ... नक्षत्रे अस्य परावर्तनेच्छो. परावर्तनावधिं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य पुण्याहवाचनं कुर्यात् । 'अस्य परावर्तनेच्छो परावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मण. पुण्याह भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति प्रार्थयेत् । शिष्टाः 'ओं पुण्याहम्' इति ब्रूयुः । आचार्यः 'अस्य परावर्तिष्णो. करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्याय कर्मणे स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । शिष्टास्तु 'ओं स्वस्ति' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः । आचार्यः 'अस्य परावर्तिष्णो. करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मणे ऋद्धिं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । शिष्टाः 'ओं कर्म ऋध्यताम्' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः । ततः शिष्टास्तत्कृत्य प्रणम्य च विसर्जयेत् । तत आचार्यो गोमयालेपे शुद्धे स्थले शुद्धशुद्धा चतुर्विंशत्यङ्गुलमात्रं समचतुरस्र चतुरङ्गुलौघतं स्थाण्डिलं कृत्वा अग्न्युक्ष्य तत्र, ओं धूर्ध्वं स्व' प्रवेक्षकनामोनमसिं प्रतिष्ठापयामीत्युक्त्वाग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयेत् । प्रोक्षितेन्धनानि निक्षिप्य धनस्यादिना प्रज्वाल्य 'अग्ने वैश्वानर ज्ञापिहृत्पयोत्र मेघवज्र मम सख्यो वरदो भव' इति प्रार्थयेत् । अग्निं परितस्तुल्य परित्तीर्य पशुंक्ष्य प्रादेशमात्रं पञ्च-दशानिधनं प्रादेशमात्रं बहिर्द्व्य संनद्धाग्नेरुत्तरतो निदध्यात् । तत आत्मनोऽग्रतो भूमिं प्रोक्ष्य तत्र बहिरास्तीर्य तत्राज्यस्थालीमाज्यस्य पूर्णां निदधाति । दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्वीमग्नौ निदप्य वामहस्तेन गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्वीमग्नौ निदधाति । समाग्नौ दर्वीमग्नौ निदप्य ग्राह्य आज्यस्थाल्या उत्तरतो बहिर्वि निदधाति । समाग्नौ दर्वीमग्नौ ग्रहरेत् । इधमग्न्यनरग्नं भूमौ निधाय तत्रेधं संस्थाप्य दर्व्याज्येन मूलमध्याग्नेष्वभिधाय दक्षिणेन हस्तेन गृहीत्वा 'ओं, अयं त इधम आत्मा जातवेदस्तेनेधयस्व वर्धस्व च्वेन्धि वर्धय चास्मान्प्रजया पशूभिर्नृपवर्च-सेनाजायेन समेधय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेणाग्नावध्याय 'जातवेदसेऽग्नय इदं न मम' इति त्यजेत् । दर्व्याज्यमादाय स्थण्डिलस्य धाप्यकोणमारग्याग्नेयकोणपर्यन्तमखण्डधारयाऽग्नौ जुहोति । पुनर्दर्व्याज्यमादाय नैर्ऋतकोणमारग्य ऐशानकोणपर्यन्तं तथैव जुहोति । पुष्णीमितावाचारहोती । पुनर्दर्व्याज्येन 'ओं अग्नये स्वाहा' इत्यग्नादुत्तरभागे जुहोति । अग्नय इदं न ममेति त्याग । पुनर्दर्व्याज्येन 'ओं सोमाय स्वाहा' इत्यग्नौ दक्षिणभागे जुहोति । 'सोमायेदं न मम' इति त्याग । अस्मिन्काले परावर्तिष्युराचार्यस्य दक्षिणतः पद्मं कृताञ्जलि-स्तिष्ठन् आचार्यं प्रार्थयते । 'हिन्दुत्वमागाम्य हिन्दुरासानि' इति । आचार्यः 'ओं तथास्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । तत आचार्यः अग्न्याग्निं कृताञ्जलौ तिष्ठति प्रविक्षी (अथवा कृताञ्जलियु प्रविक्षिषु) दर्व्यां आज्येन चतुर्भिर्नृपैश्चतस्रं प्रधानाहुतीर्जुहोति । 'ओं धू. स्वाहा । अग्नय इदं न मम । ओं ध्रुव' स्वाहा । वायव इदं न मम । ओं स्व स्वाहा । सूर्यायेदं न मम । ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा । प्रजापतय इदं न मम । । अथासीन प्रविक्षिषु अग्नौ सनिधमाधाय प्रदीताया तस्या दर्व्यां आज्येन पञ्च प्रधानाहुतीर्जुहोति । ओं उह्यं तमस्परि पश्यन्तो ज्योतिरुत्तरम् । देवं देवत्रा सूर्यमग्न्यं ज्योतिरुत्तरं स्वाहा । सूर्याय ज्योतिष इदं न मम ॥ ओं उद्यजथ मित्रमह आरोहन्तुतरा दिवम् । हृद्गेगं मम सूर्य हरिमाण च नाशय स्वाहा । सूर्यायेदं न मम । ओं असतो मा सद्गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम । ओं तनसो ना ज्योतिर्गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम । ओं सूर्योर्माऽमृतं गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम इति ।

अथाचार्यः प्रविक्षिषु स्वदक्षिणत उपवेद्य होमशेषं समापयेत् । ओं यदस्य कर्मणोऽत्यरीरिचं यद्वा न्यूनमिहाकम् । अग्निं पृच्छं स्विष्टकृद्दिहान् सर्वं स्विष्टं सुहृतं करोतु मे ॥ अग्नये स्विष्टकृते सुहृते सर्वं सुहृतं आहुतीनां कामाना समर्पयिषे स्वाहा इति स्विष्टकृतं जुहोति । 'अग्नये

विषयकृत इदं न मम' इति त्यागः । इदमबन्धनरज्जुमग्नावस्थायाय सत्ताव लुहोति । 'ओं विन्ध्यो देवेभ्यः स्वाहा' इति । 'विन्ध्यो देवेभ्य इदं न मम' इति त्यागः ।

तत आचार्यः प्रविबिक्षुणा (अथवा प्रविबिक्षुभिः) सह कुलाञ्जलिस्तिष्ठन्प्रति । 'ओं च मे स्वरश्च मे यज्ञोप च ते नमश्च । यस्ते न्यून तस्मै त उपयत्तेऽतिरिक्त तस्मै ते नमः । अर्द्धा मेधा यशः भक्षा विद्यां बुद्धिं श्रियं बलम् । आयुष्यं तेज आरोग्यं देहि मे हृद्यवाहनः' इति ।

ततो होमावशिष्टं गोघृतं पात्रान्तरेण प्रविबिक्षवे (अथवा प्रविबिक्षुभ्यः प्रत्येक) दद्यात् । प्रविबिक्षुश्च 'ओं मित्राय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेण प्राश्नीयात् । ततः स्थण्डिलस्थां विभूतिमाचार्यः प्रविबिक्षुश्च ललाटे धारयेताम् ।

तत आचार्यस्तिष्ठन् दुर्ग्या तीर्थोदकं गृहीत्वा 'ओम्' इत्यभिमन्त्र्य तेन आसीनप्रवि-
बिक्षुशिरसि 'ओं आप उन्दन्तु जीवसे दीर्घायुत्वाय बर्चसे' 'ओं' इति मन्त्राभ्यां सकृत् प्रोक्षेत् ।

तत, शिष्टे, प्रविबिक्षोर्ध्यावहारिके किञ्चिक्काम कार्यम् । तत प्रविबिक्षुहस्ते भगवद्गीता-
पुस्तकं दत्त्वा साधारणधर्मः, देवाभ्युदयप्रतिष्ठा, अथवात्म चोपदेष्टव्यानि । तत प्रविबिक्षुः
कुलाञ्जलिस्तिष्ठन् वदेत् । 'भवाद्भिरहृदीतोऽहं धर्मे मनो निधाय प्रवर्तये । ओं ओं ओं ।'
ततो भगवन्तं सूर्यं दृष्ट्वा नमस्कृत्य प्रार्थयेत् । 'ओं सा मा सत्योक्तिः, परिपातु विश्वतो धावा च
यत्र ततनक्षत्राणि च । विश्वमन्यप्राप्तिशक्ते पदेजति विश्वाहापो विश्वाहोदेति सूर्यः ॥' इति ।

तत आचार्योऽग्रे, पश्चात् प्रविबिक्षुणा (प्रविबिक्षुभि वा) सहोपाविश्य 'अनेन विधिना
सर्वोद्धारकः श्रीसूर्यनारायणः प्रीयताम्' इति कर्मसमार्तिं सोढुं श्रूयात् । 'ओं तत्सत्'
इत्युक्त्वा हिराचामेत् । तत, सर्वेभ्य' मसादं दत्त्वा सभा विसर्जयेत् ।

This procedure is based on the हिन्दूकरणविधि prepared by the Dharm-
anayamandala, Lonavla The late Lala Lajpat Rai in his work on the
Aryasamaj gives (on pp. 221-222) a much briefer rite adopted by that body.

N. B.—These hymns are translated and annotated above
at pp 191-201.

Note 441. ऋ १० १४. परेयिवासं प्रवतो महीरु बह्वन्ध्रः पन्थानमुपस्पृशानम् वैस्वतं
सङ्गमनं जनानां यम राजानं हविषा हुवस्व ॥ १ यमो नो गातु प्रथमो विवेद नैषा गन्धुतिरप-
भर्त्ता उ । यथा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेऽसुरो जज्ञानाः पटया ३ अहं स्वा ॥ २ मातली कश्यपमो
अङ्गिरोभिर्बृहस्पतिर्ऋकमिर्बाह्वधान । याश्च देवा बाह्वधुर्यं च देवान्साहान्ये रथधान्ये
मदन्ति ॥ ४ इमं यम मस्तरमा हि सीदाङ्गिरोभिः पितृभिः संविद्वान । आ त्वा मन्त्रा
काविक्षस्ता वदन्त्वेना राजन् हविषा मादयस्व ॥ ४ अङ्गिरोभिरा गहि यज्ञियेभिर्मय वैरूपैरिह
मादयस्व । विदस्वन्तं हुवे य पिता तेऽस्मिन्यज्ञे बहिष्ण्या निषद्य ॥ ५ अङ्गिरसी न पितरो
नवगा अथर्वणो भृगव सान्प्रासः । तेषा वयं ह्यमतो यज्ञियानामपि भद्रे सोमनसे स्याम ॥ ६
मेहि मेहि पथिभिः पूर्व्यैर्भिर्यत्रा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेऽसु । उभा राजाना स्वधया भद्रता यम
पदयासि वरुण च देवम् ॥ ७ सं गच्छस्व पितृभि स यस्तेनोपात्तेन परमे स्थोमम् । हित्वाथावथ
पुनरस्तमेहि सं गच्छस्व तन्वा सुवर्चाः ॥ ८ अपेत वीत वि च सप्यतातोऽस्मा एतं पितरो
लोकमक्रन् । अहोभिरङ्गिरक्तुभिर्यक्त यमो ददात्यवसानमस्मै ॥ ९ अति द्रव सारमेयो श्वानो
चतुरक्षी क्षत्रलो साधुना पथा । अथा पितृन्सुविद्वत्रो उपेहि यमेन ये सधमाद मदन्ति ॥ १०
यौ ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षौ वृचक्षसौ । ताम्यामेनं परि देहि राजन्स्तरति
चास्मा अतमीनं च धेहि ॥ ११ उरूणसावसुवृषा उदुम्बली यमस्य हूतो चरतो जनीं अह ।
तावस्मन्त्यं दक्षये सूर्याय पुनर्दातामसुमद्येह भद्रम् ॥ १२ यमाय सोमं ह्युत यमाय लुहता हवि
यमं ह यज्ञो गच्छत्यग्निहूतो अरं कृतः ॥ १३ यमाय वृत्तवद्धविर्होत य च तिष्ठत । स नो देवेभ्य
यमहदीपमातु प्रजीवसे ॥ १४ यमाय सधुनत्तम राज्ञे हव्यं लुहोतन । इदं नम ऋषिभ्य
पूर्वेभ्य पूर्व्येभ्यः पथिर्ऋक्ष ॥ १५ त्रिकङ्कुकेभिः पतति पल्लवीरकमिदुहत् । विण्डुत्मायत्री
ह्यन्दासि सर्वा ता यम आहित ॥ १६

यजनानेषु येहि ॥ १ अपो अस्मान्मातरः शुन्धयन्तु दूतेन नो दूतम्. पुनस्तु । विश्वं हि रिपं प्रवहन्ति देवीवदिदाम्य. शुचिरा दूत एनि ॥ १० द्रुप्तश्चस्कन्द मघनो अलु धुनिने च पोनिन्तु यश्च पूर्व । समानं योनिनलु संचरन्तं द्रुप्तं लुहोन्पलु सत होवाः ॥ ११ यस्ते द्रुप्त स्कन्दति यस्ते अंशुराहुच्युतो धिपगाया उपरयात् । अल्लयोर्वा परि वा य. पवित्रात् ते लुहोनि ननसा वपदकृतम् ॥ १२ यस्ते द्रुप्त. स्कन्नो यस्ते अंशुरवश्च य पर. लुचा । अयं देवो वृहस्पति नं वं सिञ्चतु रायसे ॥ १३ पयस्वतीरपधय. पयस्वन्नामकं वचः । अपां पयस्वदित्पपत्तेन ना सह शुन्धत ॥ १४

अ. १०. १० परं भूत्यो अलु परेहि पन्थां यस्ने च इतरो देवयानात् । चक्षुष्मते लृप्ते ते जीविनि ना न. प्रजां रीरिपो नोत वीराव ॥ १ भूत्यो. पदं योपयन्तो यदेत द्वाधीष आलु मतर दधानाः । आप्यायमाना. प्रजया धनेन लुहा दूता भवत यज्ञिधासः ॥ २ इमे जीवा वि भूतेरा पवृक्कयुद्धा देववृत्तिर्नो अद्य । प्राञ्चो अगात दूतये हताय द्वाधीष आलु मतरं दधाना ॥ ३ इमं जीवेभ्य. परिधिं दधानि नेपां लु गावपरो अर्थमेतम् । क्वतं जीवन्तु कपदं लुल्लुकीरन्तर्ह्यं वधतां पर्येत ॥ ४ यथाहान्पलुपूर्वं भवन्ति यथ न्तव. कलुभिर्धमिन्ति साह । यथा न पूर्वमपरो जहात्येवा धातरादृषि कल्पयेयात् ॥ ५ आ रोहतायुर्जरसं दृणाना अलुपूर्वं यतमाना पाति ह । इह त्वदा शुजनिना सजोपा दीर्घनायु. कराति जीवसे व. ॥ ६ इमा नापीरविधवा सुपत्नीराजनेन सर्पिषा सं विज्ञान्तु । अनश्रवोऽननीवाः सुरत्ना आ रोहन्तु जनयो योनिने ॥ ७ उदीर्घं नापीनि जीवलोर्कं गतालुनेतलुप जेप एहि । हस्तग्राभरय विधियोत्तवेदं पत्युर्जित्वमभि सं वसुध ॥ ८ धनुर्हस्तादाददानो मुतरपारमे सजाय वचसे नहाय । अत्रैव त्वनिह वय सुवीरा विम्बा. रघुषो अभिनातीर्जयेम ॥ ९ उप सर्प नातरं भूतिनेतालुच्यवचसं धृषिर्वा लुनेवात् । ऊर्ण-प्रदा सुचतिर्दक्षिणावत एवा त्वा पातु निर्गतेवपरयात् ॥ १० उच्छुञ्जस्व धृषिभि ना नि बाधया.

सुपायनास्तै भय सुपवञ्चना । नाता पुत्रं यथा सिन्धामेनं भूम ऊर्णहि ॥ ११ उच्छुञ्जन्ना धृषिर्वा लु तिष्ठतु सहजं नित उप हि अयन्ताम् । ते गृहासो दूतश्चुतो भवन्तु विश्वाहास्तै शरणाः सन्त्वत्र ॥ १२ उन्ते स्तन्मानि धृषिर्वा तत्परीनं लोणं निदधन्मो अहं रिषद् । एता रघुणां पितरौ भारयन्तु तेऽज्ञा यम सादना ते निनीतु ॥ १३ प्रतीचीने नामहनीयाः पर्णनिवा दधु । प्रतीचीं कनभा वाचमश्वं रक्षानया यथा ॥ १४

Note 693a आशौचदशक of विज्ञानेश्वर

मातुर्गर्भपितृवर्षं त्रिदिवसं नासन्नपेऽतो यथा मासाहं त्रिषु चत्विकाविधिरत स्नान पितु सर्वदा । ज्ञातीना पतगादि जातनरणे पित्रोर्दशाहं सदा नाम्नः मातु तदपेति सूतकवशाद् मातुर्दशाहं परम् ॥ १

ज्ञातीनां वृक्षानात्पुत्राद् व्रतविधे मागास्वोऽशुस्वहं चोटाद् माग्दहनान्धये परमहर्नाम्नोत्र दन्तात् उपहम् । त्यागे चैवमथ व्रतादृशदिनं जन्मन्यपीत्यं नमदा मासं पुंससने तु मातुरपरत्रैतदृशहाधिकम् ॥ २

कन्यात्वापुतिराधुराद्यथ दिनं दाने उपहं चोमयो—
जात्युक्तसृष्टसम्भवे पितृकुलस्पोडाह मर्हं भवेत् ।
सूतास्वाह सृगल वा पितृगृहे तरप त्रिरात्रं दिनं तत्पत्न्य पराश्रयास्वपि तथा भर्त्रोश्च तत्पत्नयोः ॥ ३

दाहाद्याद्वैतवह्निकेषु मरणान्येषु तेषां पुनः—
संस्कारे उपहमाहिताग्निविषये तस्मिन्दशाहं त्वथम् ।
शिष्टाहं विटिन्तरा दशदिनेष्वीते उपहं त्वास्वोऽ
त्यन्दे द्यादृतिकालजं न जनने नैवाहपेतात्यये ॥ ४

ह्यद्विः पूर्वसमासितः सप्तशयोर्योगेऽग्निदं स्रुतिकां
हिलैवं मृतनन्मनोर्ध्वतवशाद्बुधैर्योर्दीर्घतः ।
अल्पात्पञ्चादिनाधिकाद्दशदिनीं गच्छेत्तद्वशाद्वागमः
पूर्वस्याल्पदिने यदि द्विदिवसाच्छुभ्येत्प्रभाते त्रयहात् ॥ ५

उत्पत्ते त्रिदिनं मृतेऽप्युपनयाद्दूर्ध्वं समानोदके
पुत्रे चैवमनौरसेऽन्यपितृजे भेते तथा सोदरे ।
मातृभ्रातृपितृस्वसृश्च श्वरतत्पत्न्यास्विगाच्चार्यतद्—
भायां तत्सुतयाज्यशिश्व्यश्वहसमासेषु वा ज्ञातिषु ॥ ६

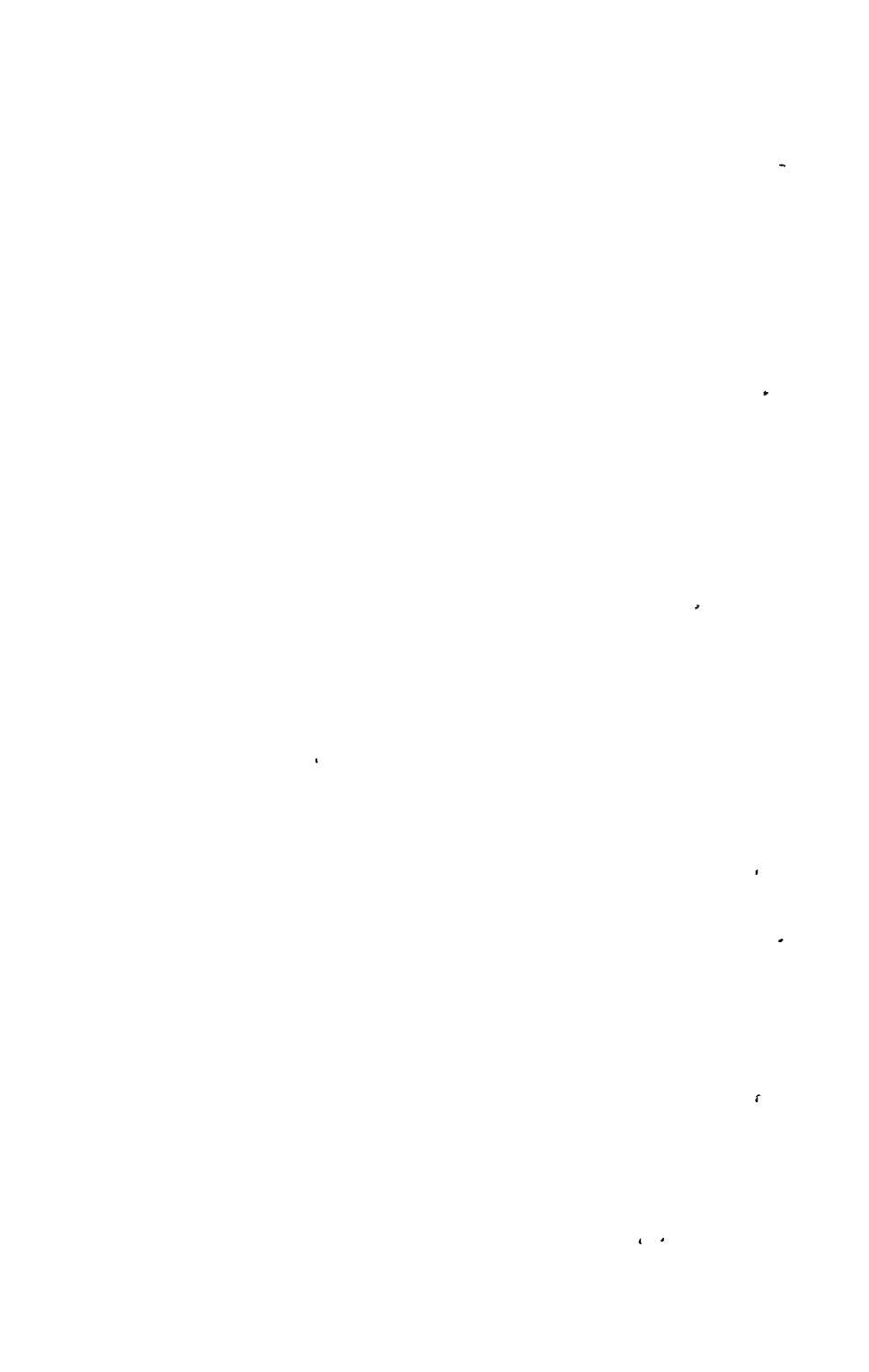
पित्रोस्तत्सहजेषु तत्सुतपतिष्वन्योन्यतः पक्षिणी
स्यादेकाध्ययनेपि सा श्वसुहृद्भूपस्वसृर्षेणवः ।
सृष्टङ्गास्थिन त्रिदिनं दिनं तु विरसेऽनुष्या कृवाचामकौ
शिष्ट भोक्तार्येक्षछुद्ध्यधिक मोहाद्द्विदिनं व्यापदि ॥ ७

सद्यः स्यात्कृपाकदासभियजां कृत्येण्वमार्यस्य वा
कदापस्तु च पूर्वसम्भृतमखोद्वाहोत्सवादिष्वपि ।
कृच्छ्रादिष्वगृह्यधमेषु वसतां भेते यतो निवृत्ते
गोमायादिभिरिच्छता च मरणे तत्रापि वैधे त्रयहम् ॥ ८

निर्हारे मृतवस्तुताज्जरहिते जीर्णव्यवासे दिन
सज्ज्योतिस्तु बहिर्भूतो द्विमुणितं धर्मे सचैलाह्वः ।
रोदे स्नानमनस्थि वाचमनक हीनेषु रात्र्याह्वनी
छन्द्रे तु त्रिदिनं निशाप्यनुगतौ बह्वन्यादियुक्तं च तत् ॥ ९

क्षत्रे द्वादश विंशतिर्विंशि निशा. त्रिंशच्च शूद्रे क्रमाद्—
विमाद्द्विभिच्चतुर्गुणा वयसि सच्छूद्रे तु पञ्चाशुरे ।
मत्ताखीसुतशिश्वदासभृतका भञ्जादिवद् बान्धवे
हीने स्वं लज्ज वा तदीयमाधिके शूदैः समा. सङ्हराः ॥ १०

The text of the आशीचदशक here printed is based on three mss. from the Deccan College collection (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona), viz. No. 216 of 1879-80 copied in *samvat* 1539 (1482 A. D.), No. 196 of 1884-1887 copied in *samvat* 1578 (1521 A. D.) and No 85 of 1895-1902 copied in *samvat* 1780. All these mss. contain the *bhāṣya* of Harihara, which ascribes the work to विज्ञानेश्वर In the first ms the commentary on the first three verses is wanting. I intended at first to give explanations in Sanskrit of these verses (as p 308 will indicate) but owing to considerations of space I omitted the Sanskrit explanations.



GENERAL INDEX

OF

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nisad gives an esoteric meaning to Avimukta, Varanā and Nāśī 625-626; Jain works like the Kalpasūtra say that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras 621, Jñānavāpī, origin and importance of 638; Kapālamocana-ghāt at K. is ancient 639; Kāśīkhaṇḍa, a part of Skandapurāṇa, devotes 15000 verses to Banaras and sub-tīrthas 623, known under five names from ancient times viz. Vārānaśī, Kāśī, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna 624; lauded and described at great length in several Purāṇas 623; lingas and tīrthas at K. mentioned in some purāṇas are numerous 639-40; Lolārka is one of the twelve shrines of the Sun in K. 633n, 634; Manikarnikā pool is the most holy among tīrthas at K. 635, mantras recited when contemplating Manikarnikā 633, Mlecchas, insects, birds, beasts, worms after death in K. find happiness 630, by identifying Aśī and Varanā with Idā and other nādis mystic flavour is imparted to those names 631; name Avimukta, derived and explained in two ways 626, name Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna due to various causes 626-627, name Vārānaśī is derived from the two rivers Varanā (modern Bārnā) and Aśī, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city 625, name was spelt as Benares up to recent times, but now it is spelt as Banaras 618, Nārāyaṇapurāṇa says that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Śaiva-kṣetra 622n, Nārāyaṇabhṭta says that in the case of Viśveśvara-linga there is no blemish due to the touch of the untouchable 633, one should not commit the slightest sin in K. as punishment is relatively far heavier 638, Pañcagangā-ghāt, so called because five rivers, Kīranā

Dhūtāpā, Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī are supposed to meet there 636, Pañcakrośī pilgrimage by road is held the most meritorious of all and is described in detail 637, Pañcatīrthī (five essential tīrthas) named and described 633-634, present temple of Viśvanātha was built by Ahalyabai Holkar 633, questions about Banaras asked in the Skandapurāna 624; residents of K must repair to the river every day, take a bath in Manikarnikā and visit Viśveśvara 640, rules of conduct (particularly moral) for those who dwell in K 638-639, results of sins committed outside K but sinner dying in K, and of sins committed in K by one who dies outside K 640-41, several images of Keśava existed at K 636n, śrāddha should be performed at K 639, stotra of Durgā called Vajrapañjara 638, sub-tīrthas at K are numerous 638, temple of Bhairavanātha, supposed to be *katwal* of K., who wields a thick stone cudgel 638, temple of Durgā at K very popular and much frequented 638, temple of Sākṣi-Vināyaka 637, temple of Tārakeśvara near Manikarnikā 635, temple of Viśvanātha re-established by Nārāyanabbatta about 1585 A. D. was desecrated by Aurangzeb 631-32, there are about 1500 temples in K built during the last 225 years, 632, there is in Kāśī a holy place at every step and there is not even as much space as a sesamum grain which has not a *linga* 631, there were one hundred temples in K. in Hiouen T'sang's time and in one of them there was a copper image of Mahādeva about 100 feet high 631, though cremation of corpses is continually going on, yet Banaras, owing to the Ganges, is held purest 626, though Kāśī, Vārānasi and Avimukta are generally

used as synonyms, sometimes a distinction is made in their extent 627-629, traditions of great learning associated with K as vouched for by Kāśīkhanda, Alberuni and Ain-i-Akbari 641-642, Vācaspati held that Avimukteśvara-linga is the same as Viśvanātha, but the Skandapurāna treats them as distinct 633, Vana-parva states that by visiting Avimukta and by a bath there pilgrim becomes free from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder and by dying there secures mokṣa 629, Vārānasi was burnt by Nikumbha, a gana of Śiva and was re-established by Divodāsa 620, Viṣṇu is said by Kāśīkhanda to have assigned a place called Dharmakṣetra to the north of Kāśī and stayed there in the form of Buddha 641, Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal temple in it and every resident is required every day to take a bath in the Gaṅgā and visit Viśveśvara 692, was burnt by Kṛṣṇa with his *calra* in pursuit of a *kṛtyā* 622, was the capital of Brahmadatta kings according to the Jātaḥas and Purāṇas 621, was the capital of the Kāśīs 619, was the name of a country long before the Śat Br. was composed 619, yātrās of great lingas should be celebrated every month from the first *tithī* onwards 640

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- Tīrthayātrā (pilgrimage to holy places) 552-722; see 'Gaya', 'tīrtha', 'woman', 'tonsure', advantages of t. to the community and to the individual pilgrim 553, all religions lay great emphasis on the sanctity of certain places and enjoin pilgrimages to them 552; ancient Dharmaśāstra works lay emphasis on visits to tīrtha because of the benefits derived therefrom 553; as a means of removing the consequences of sins, 55-56; brāhmaṇa born and bred at a tīrtha like Mathurā or Gayā should be preferred to a stranger, though the latter may have mastered all the Vedas 579, brāhmaṇa should wander about tīrthas acc. to Brahmapurāṇa after his capacity to perform yajñas has come to an end 570, classification of tīrthas into four, viz. daiva, (established by gods), āsura (associated with asuras like Gaya), ārsa (established by sages such as Prabhāsa) and Mānusa (established by kings like Manu, Kuru) 567,

dharmas common to all men include truthfulness, restraint of mind, charity, ahimsā and t. 533-554; digests on tirthas follow a process of selection, i. e. each describes only a few tirthas known to it 565; digests have a tendency to make every religious act more elaborate and harder 573; fast at a tirtha is optional according to Kaupatarn but if observed it confers special rewards 473, 584; five classes of people do not reap the rewards of pilgrimage 563; four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists 552; fourteen acts which a pilgrim had to give up after reaching the Ganges or other tirtha 578; held superior to Vedic sacrifices in several respects by the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas 561-562; honouring the pits at the time of starting on t. is specially obligatory on rich men 574; house-holder whose wife is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her, otherwise he would not reap the fruit of t. 568; idea in the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas was that t. may help those who have no high moral qualities in removing their sins while those that possess moral qualities gain a great store of merit by t. 562-563; kārpati-veda on t. 573; large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated in India as sacred and as the abodes of gods 552; literature on, is more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmasāstra 580-582; Mahābhārata lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of t. is to be reaped 562; Mahābhārata and some purāṇas emphasize that a pure mind is the real tirtha and that it is better to stay at home and perform one's duties including performance of vedic sacrifices than undertaking t.

570; Mahābhārata and Purāṇas contain at least 40000 verses on t. 582; meaning of *tirtha* in the Rgveda and other vedas is either 'road' or 'ford' and rarely a holy place 554; meaning of tirtha in this section 555; meaning of tirtha is sometimes extended to places where Agnicourā and Śrāddha are performed, to temples, to house where Vedas are being studied, to cowpens, parks, where an *āśvattha* tree exists, where a teacher stands or a chaste woman dwells 564; mode of travel, use of conveyances, horses, bullock carts, wearing of shoes, rules about these in Purāṇas and digests 576-577; *śruti* *śāstra* and *ḥṣaṃ* distinguished 575; not only men of all varṇas but also women and even cāṇḍālas have adhikāra for t. 567-568; number of tirthas declared by Vāyu, according to Matsya, Padma, Nāradya and other Purāṇas, is 35 millions in the sky, the aerial regions and the earth 564; number of tirthas, acc. to Varāha-purāṇa, is 60 thousand crores 564; one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmaṇas at a tirtha 578-579; one who wants to undertake t. should pay off his three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and consign his wife to their care 571; rewards promised for baths at tirthas 727; rites to be performed when a person undertakes t. 572-73, 583; rivers in general, certain named rivers and waters are referred to with great veneration as early as Rgveda 555; sacred places for Moslems 552; *śarīrāṅga* to be made at starting on t. 577, Shah Jahan, emperor, remitted the tax levied on pilgrims at Prayāga and Kāśī owing to eloquent pleading of Harināṇḍa-cārya 571; six rivers having their sources in the Himālaya and six to the south of Vindhya are declared

to be most holy devatīrthas by Brahmapurāṇa 567, some digests state that a pilgrim has to wear the *kūrpaṭī* dress at all tīrthas when he is actually travelling, while others say that he has to do so only at Gayā 573, some purāṇas say that some virtues may be called mental tīrthas and purity of mind is the highest tīrtha 563, some say that tonsure and fast are necessary at all tīrthas except at Kurukṣetra, Viśālā, Vīraṇā and Gayā 574; śrāddha has to be performed at most famous tīrthas, but from the procedure of śrāddha are omitted arghya, āvāhana, entering the thumb of the invited brāhmaṇa in the food served, the question about being satiated and vikṛa 616, śrāddha may be performed at any time after a pilgrim reaches the tīrtha 616, śrāddha at tīrthas consists, if the whole procedure cannot be followed, in offering pindas of barley meal or rice cooked in milk, cake of sesame or jaggery and one should offer a single pinda to all relatives after pārvanaśrāddha and another pinda for servants, slaves, cattle, trees etc. 616-617, tended to foster the idea of the fundamental unity of India and Indian culture 553, tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers and shrines 553; three grounds on which tīrthas are said to be holy 554-555, tonsure and fast are not obligatory but only kāmya according to Kalpataru but otherwise according to others 573-575, t, sacrifices and various gifts are the means of cleansing the mind 563, t yields full fruit only if performed bare-footed 576, t yields fruit to men of all varṇas and āśramas 563, use of bullock-cart condemned in Matsya-purāṇa as leading to hell and of other conveyances (not drawn by

bulls) as fruitless, but Kūrma recommends to those who are unable to walk conveyances drawn by mules, horses or men 576, use of a conveyance is according to Kalpataru condemned only in pilgrimage to Prayāga 576, use of a vessel allowed 577, view that the institution of t was first started by Buddhists and Jains is wrong 558; was deemed very early to be a way of redemption of sins for men and women 569, was favoured by writers on Dharmaśāstra by prescribing that no money was to be demanded by a ferryman or a toll officer from a pilgrim, from a pregnant woman, from a vedic student, forest hermit or ascetic, but this was not followed even by Hindu kings 571, whether tonsure at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is obligatory 573, who are eligible for or have adhikāra for t 567-571, widows, ascetics and śūdras have to cut all hair on pilgrimage 575, women could not undertake t without husband's permission 569, works on, repel by their over-statements and exaggerations, when they state that pilgrimage to a particular tīrtha will yield all one's desires in this world and the next, that even gods secured perfection at Puskara, that Prthūdaka is the holiest of tīrthas etc. 565-566

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